Encyclopedia of Queer Studies in Education

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Critical Understanding in Education

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Encyclopedia of Queer Studies in Education

Edited by

Kamden K. Strunk and Stephanie Anne Shelton

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Kamden K. Strunk and Stephanie Anne Shelton

1 About the Volume

This volume, we hope, fills a need in the fields of educational research and queer studies in education. While queer scholarship in education has proliferated in recent years, there was not yet, at the time of this writing, an attempt to collect clear definitions and to examine the current state of the field, through various concepts, terms, and ideas. This volume seeks to meet that need and point readers to sources from which they can learn more deeply about various topics.

In putting together this volume, we were guided by several principles. One was to provide a broad and expansive survey of the field of queer studies in education, without pretending to be fully comprehensive. In this effort, we were aided by a large advisory board comprised of queer and trans studies scholars who are well recognized for their work in the field. However, we open by recognizing that we and the entire advisory board have a focus on the U.S. and Canada in our work, and thus the volume reflects an emphasis on work done in those countries. We worked with the advisory board to create a list of topics for the encyclopedia which we believe provide an overview of the scope and quality of most queer studies in education scholarship.

One of our central goals in putting together this volume was to attend to race, racism, ability, coloniality, and intersectionality in the volume. This is an important emphasis given the historical investment of queer studies in whiteness and coloniality. This emphasis, we believe, shows up even in entries on more 'traditional' areas within queer studies, where authors intentionally brought in critiques and emancipatory frameworks. We were also intentional in soliciting entries on emerging areas of queer and trans scholarship in education which offer promising approaches to decentering whiteness, cisgender identities, and majoritized ability statuses. Authors worked to avoid detached and neutral tones to their writing, openly offering critical perspectives and challenges to traditional scholarship. We also hope that researchers will take this volume as a first attempt and go further and deeper in engaging these critiques and frameworks.

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Authors in this volume span multiple disciplines, career stages, and social positions. The authors represent fields across educational research, K-12 education, teacher education and preparation, higher education, student affairs, adult education, informal community learning, and more. They also represent the full range of career stages, including graduate students, early career scholars, mid-career researchers, established senior scholars, and those working outside of formal research and academic roles. Similarly, authors have attempted to write for a diverse audience, including both those with no or limited familiarity with the field and established scholars. Entries were intentionally structured, as much as possible, to be useful for both novice and advanced readers. Finally, all entries in this volume have gone through at least two rounds of peer review involving a minimum of two reviewers. In addition, throughout the volume, cross-references to other entries appear in **bold font** to direct readers to learn more about concepts and ideas used in each entry.

2 A Note on Acronyms

Throughout the volume, we have worked to maintain a level of consistency with the use of acronyms. This is difficult, as queer scholars use a range of acronyms to define their work. We have generally used the acronym LGBTQ+ throughout the volume, with exceptions we note below. This acronym is typically defined as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and more. We recognize this acronym does not fully capture all of the identities queer and trans people might hold; that other acronyms have been proposed (e.g., LGBTQIAA, 2SLGBTQ, and others); and that none of them are perfect or without their own issues. We used LGBTQ+ because it both acknowledges the most commonly used versions of the acronym and notes the need for that acronym to extend in continuous ways to include and celebrate a range of identities.

There are instances throughout the book where other acronyms are used. For example, we asked authors writing specifically about sexual identity (and whose entries did not take up gender identity) to use narrower acronyms like LGB or LGBQ. Similarly, some entries focus very specifically on trans identities and individuals, and thus either do not use an acronym or use the QT acronym. Authors in the volume have tried to be attentive to their use of acronyms and to be as transparent as possible about their meaning.

Finally, authors vary in their approaches to terminology related to transgender identities. Some have used the shortened "trans" to capture a range of trans and non-binary identities. Others have used terms like "transgender," which may be read as a narrower term than "trans." In at least a few cases, authors

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have also used the term "trans*" in which the asterisk serves as a 'wildcard' operator. This is derived from Boolean search logics, where the * might serve to indicate a whole range of possible trans* identities. We debated working for greater consistency across entries, but ultimately left the choice up to authors, many of whom made intentional political and ideological decisions (some of which are explained in text) about which terminology to use.

We hope that this volume provides a useful resource for those interested in or currently engaged in queer and trans scholarship in education. We also hope that this catalyzes future work, critiques, advances, and innovations within queer studies in education.

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CHAPTER 2

Abolitionist Teaching

Jenell Igeleke Penn

1 Introduction

Drawing on the lineage of abolitionist thinkers and organizers who worked to dismantle the system of chattel slavery in North America, abolitionist teaching refers to teaching at the intersection of love and activism to dismantle state-sanctioned police and prison violence, racism, xenophobia, and colonialism, which disproportionately impact dark bodies and lives. Bettina Love (2019) defines abolitionist teaching as a "practice of working in solidarity with communities of Color while drawing on the imagination, creativity, refusal, (re)membering, visionary thinking, healing, rebellious spirit, boldness, determination, and subversiveness of abolitionists to eradicate injustice in and outside of schools" (p. 2). Thus, educators who embody **abolitionist teaching** acknowledge that educational freedom cannot be achieved by tweaking the current system of injustice out of which schools operate. Instead, these educators work to examine and abolish the root causes.

Bettina Love explains that her impetus for writing about abolitionist teaching came from studying the "ingenuity and creativity and stories and methods of abolitionists in the past and present day" (Stoltzfus, 2019, para 2). So, though abolition work is not new, this concept of abolitionist teaching is a new response to modern-day manifestations and traumas of structural oppressions and racial inequities/injustices in educational spaces, such as physical violence, lack of educational funding, the school to prison nexus, loss of teachers, and in particular, the "spirit murdering" of children whose lived experiences reside at the intersections of race, racism, sexual orientation, and gender. Spirit murdering (Williams, 1991; Love, 2019a) refers to the personal, psychological, and spiritual injuries caused by racism and additional forms of discrimination "intended to reduce, humiliate, and destroy people of Color" (Love, 2019b, para. 6). Abolitionist teachers, then, also work to honor, advance, and celebrate the work of Black, Indigenous, people of Color (BIPOC), and queer BIPOC abolitionist activists.

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2 Solidarity and Abolitionist Teaching

A critical component of abolitionist teaching is the need for solidarity and co-conspiracy. Different from allies, co-conspirators stand in solidarity, sharing in the risks and responsibilities often involved in fighting for educational freedom. While allies support causes and work within systems, co-conspirators recognize systemic oppressions and use their privileges to challenge and ultimately abolish those systemic oppressions. Therefore, abolitionist teaching is an intersectional approach (Abolitionist Teaching Network) and centers moving into more active community-engaged and community organizing roles. Taking note from past movements, such as the Feminist Movement, often queer people, and especially queer people of Color, have been historically silenced during struggles for justice and liberation and/or erased from the published historical accounts. However, at the core of such movements are queer Black people, even if they have historically been pushed to the margins (Taylor, 2017). Thus, abolitionist teaching was developed through a Black queer feminist lens and is markedly pro-Black and LGBTQ+ liberation. Citing E. Patrick Johnson's coined term, "**quare**," which rests at the intersection of **queer theory** and Blackness, Love (2019) states, "Quare studies is interested in the way dark people subvert spaces, identities, and resources to ensure our survival. We all need quare studies as a lens for liberation, freedom, and abolitionism" (p. 143). Quare studies as a lens for abolitionist teaching, then, works against the practice of erasing the voices and actions of Black, queer, and queer Black people from the historical struggle for racial justice and liberation both inside and outside of the classroom.

3 Abolitionist Teaching Practices

It is important to note that there are no lists of tricks, gimmicks, or steps to follow when implementing abolitionist teaching practices. Because it is grounded in the lived experiences and needs of students and their communities and woven together with broader social justice movements and social justice organizations such as the Movement for Black Lives and the Abolitionist Teaching Network, there is no singular or set collection of methods for abolitionist teachers to follow. Instead, abolitionist teaching is an embodiment of a particular stance against the white supremacist **cisheteorpatriarchy** and white rage experienced by communities of Color and toward activism and solidarity with those communities. Educators who embody this stance, then, enact pedagogies that critique educational practices grounded in racial inequities and/or

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inequalities (i.e., policing, police brutality, surveillance, standardization, and erasure of literacies, histories, and languages) and seek to abolish these practices entirely instead of reforming them. Abolitionist teachers also embrace practices, such as healing circles and community activism, to promote solidarity between teachers, families, and students, and to hold space for Black joy and hope.

Abolitionist teaching practices also include the centering of healing and growth for educators of Color committed to fighting for educational freedom. For example, building on the work of Bettina Love and other Black, queer, and feminist theorists, The Abolitionist Teaching Network is a collective of teachers working to promote and center liberation in their schools and communities. Its mission is to "develop and support those in the struggle for educational freedom by utilizing the intellectual work and direct action of abolitionists in many forms" (Abolitionist Teaching Network, 2020). Through this network, educators have access to various forms of professional development and training. Because Black, Indigenous, and other people of Color have historically borne the burden of the labor of fighting for educational freedom, many trainings and development opportunities offered by organizations like the Abolitionist Teaching Network have been carefully cultivated in order to be culturally relevant and sustaining (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Paris & Alim, 2014) and to provide opportunities for BIPOC educators to thrive instead of bearing the burden of being experts or surviving additional trauma in spaces constructed by and for whiteness.

4 Recommendations for Research

Though abolitionist movements are not new, applying this lens to educational contexts is. Thus, there is a need for research on the implementation of this approach, particularly as it relates to reversing whitewashing policies that have erased Blackness and queerness from curricula and texts in classrooms, co-constructing transformative curricula, eliminating standardized testing, abolishing racially-biased and cisheterosexist dress code policies, centering culturally relevant and sustaining texts (instead of including them as supplemental), abolishing language policing practices, and abolishing all carceral discipline practices. Case studies that focus on how the implementation of abolitionist teaching practices impacts students, schools, and local communities could provide nuanced perspectives and support for adopting abolitionist teaching practices across school districts and larger communities.

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CHAPTER 3

Affect

Mark E. Helmsing

1 Defining Affect

Affect refers to invisible forces that humans encounter and perceive but cannot easily be represented, measured, observed, or explained. Affects are challenging to define and pinpoint because they are nonrepresentational (Thrift, 2008). Thus, affects cannot be directly or empirically seen or felt—in other words, represented—although the effects of affects are often seen or felt, such as the goose bumps that may emerge on a person's skin when a powerful key change happens in a Broadway show tune, or when a person tenses and curls up out of fear during a jump scare in a horror film. The person feels an emotion, such as awe or fear, in these two examples. However, something was produced and transmitted to elicit those emotional feelings and responses, which we can call affects. Affects are what create a particular mood, emotion, vibe, and passion that people detect, inhabit, or pass on to others. If one considers the idiomatic phrases "there was something in the air" or "I sensed something was wrong," what is being referenced in these expressions is a particular affect. Grossberg (1992) explains this process in how "our emotional states are always elicited from within the affective states in which we already find ourselves" (p. 81). Schooling provides students and teachers with infinite affective states that play out in different spaces within a school, such as the affective states produced in gym locker rooms that create emotional states for trans students, or the affective states produced in school board meetings when homophobic comments from the public are directed towards queer members of a school, or the affective states produced during **Gay-Straight Alliance** meetings that in turn create emotional states for the youth attending the meetings. These examples illustrate the pervasive ways affect intersects with **queerness** and education.

2 Defining Affects

As a concept, affect has been described as "tricky," "slippery," and "elusive" because it can mean many different things to different people in different

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contexts (Cetinić & Diamanti, 2017). For psychologists, cognitive scientists, and educators, affect may be thought of synonymously with emotion. In the field of education, for example, the concept of affect often appears in discussions of the affective domain of learning. Educators may encounter affect when studying the three domains in Bloom's Taxonomy, which distinguishes learning into three distinct types: thinking as cognitive learning, doing as psychomotor learning, and feeling as affective learning (Krathwohl et al., 1965). From this perspective, anything to do with feelings, emotions, and attitudes is thought of as affective, or relating to affect.

Beginning in the 1990s and growing throughout the 2000s and 2010s, the concept of affect grew beyond the scope of psychology and questioned the separation of the affective from the cognitive that had long been a hallmark of educational thought. No longer confined to study within psychology, affect became studied in fields such as literature, art, anthropology, performance studies, religious studies, and queer studies. This created many different meanings used to define affect. In *The Affect Theory Reader*, a book that helped establish the study of affect as a distinctive field and area of work, Gregg and Seigworth (2010) outline eight overlapping approaches to theorizing affect: (1) affect as the production of forces from bodies, such as when a teacher clears their throat to quiet noisy students; (2) affect as a force existing between humans and machines, such as a person's response at seeing or hearing a text message alert from a romantic partner appear on a mobile phone; (3) affect as non-Cartesian, meaning the head and the heart, feeling and thinking, are not separate entities; (4) affect as something that is psychologically or psychoanalytically innate, such as having a drive to succeed or an impulse to be loved; (5) affect as a feeling that binds people into a collective group, such as the collective will to identify as a community or vote for a collective cause; (6) affect as ethico-aesthetic potential, such as the affects perceived through genres of music (e.g., chillwave and punk); (7) affect as atmospheres of sociality, such as the affective quality in the moments leading up to the uprising at the Stonewall Inn in 1969 or the affects produced by the gender-nonconforming drag ball house culture; and (8) affect as material forces produced in the biological world, such as wonder or awe when looking out flying in the air, or the erotic charge during sexual encounters.

3 Affect, Queer Studies, and Education

Many aspects of queer life, **queer** identities, and broad issues of diverse genders and sexualities relate to affect and are in some particular ways produced

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by affects, such as the affects produced in classrooms when a student is bullied for their perceived **sexuality** or **gender expression**, an experience that circulates affects, "in the air," so to speak, amongst the bully, the bullied student, and, in some cases, bystanders to the **bullying**. In other ways, queer life, queer identities, and broad issues of diverse genders and sexualities produce particular affects, such as the highly charged tension affective practice of "throwing shade" that originated as a Black queer rhetorical practice in which the affects produced through a verbal insult can produce a tense emotional response of uneasiness or embarrassment (Davis, 2019; Pritchard, 2017).

Affect is increasingly seen as an important element within educational practices and as something that powerfully shapes how sexualities and genders interact within education. Educators can draw upon existing theories and conceptualizations of affect to consider how gender, sexuality, and education converge and collide through numerous issues. For example, Bennett (2004) demonstrates how affect is produced through "the force of things" and objects that surround us in our everyday lives (p. 347). The force of things such as photographs of a teacher's partner and family, or the depiction of naked bodies in a sex education lesson, can produce intense affects perceived by queer students in school.

As another example, Berlant (2011) demonstrates how affect is produced through "cruel optimism," the affective state produced when something you want or think you want actually works against you, working in a cruel twist of fate to harm you instead of improving you. As Rasmussen and Allen (2014) demonstrate in their thinking of cruel optimism as a mode of queering education, "the notion that families will care for us, and that schools and institutions promote democracy and meritocracy" are examples of cruelly optimistic expectations of life that can make queer youth feel inadequate in many ways, preventing them from imagining how to live good lives that do not match up to these dominant modes of existence. When these notions become taken for granted in classrooms and schools, they produce particular affective spaces that can work against queer youth in various ways.

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CHAPTER 4

AIDS Activism

J. Michael Denton

1 Eras of AIDS Activism

Epstein (1996) described AIDS activism as:

> more than just a "disease constituency" pressuring the government for more funding, but is in fact an alternative basis of expertise.... This is indeed the first social movement in the United States to accomplish the large-scale conversion of disease "victims" into activist-experts. In this sense, the AIDS movement stands alone, even as it begins to serve as a model for others. (p. 8)

When U.S. scientists first noticed the cluster of symptoms that would become known as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in 1981 in metropolitan areas, the discovery was met with indifference by many governmental leaders at federal, state, and city levels (Gould, 2009; Schulman, 2021). The Reagan administration actively opposed providing services and education; Reagan was nearly silent about the epidemic for six years (Bronksi, 2004; Francis, 2012). Given the widespread disregard for the AIDS epidemic over the years, people living with HIV (PLH) and people with AIDS (PWA) found grassroots activism and broad-based coalitions necessary to educate, mobilize, protect, and extend their lives. Responses to the AIDS crisis changed as the epidemic progressed.

Gillett (2011) framed AIDS activism in North America as going through four distinct periods: Mobilization, Normalization, Medicalization, and Globalization. Mobilization (1983–1989) reflects the time when PLH/PWA took collective action to address the social and governmental indifference and stigma. This period reflects the ways community members supported each other. Organizers and activists became the experts on the disease. Normalization (1989–1996) describes the advances made by activists and organizations, forcing medical experts and government officials to focus more resources and attention on **HIV/AIDS**. During this time, portrayals of PLH/PWA began to change, and better medicine and information emerged. Medicalization (1996–2000) begins with the invention of protease inhibitors, which evolved

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into antiretroviral treatment (ART) to make HIV a chronic, manageable disease for those who have access. Globalization, which began in 2000, is the shift in attention to the global AIDS pandemic. This era continues with international AIDS conferences, shifting inter/national priorities, AIDS service organizations, non-governmental organizations (e.g., the World Health Organization), corporations, and private foundations (e.g., the Gates Foundation) playing a large role (Chambré, 2006; Gillett, 2011; Padamsee, 2020; Parker, 2011; Patton, 1990). Parker (2011) characterized the modern global response as "fragmented" with different scales of focus between localized and larger issues (p. 22). This entry focuses primarily on the Mobilization era of AIDS activism in the United States, as this represents the queerest period of AIDS organizing.

2 Initial AIDS Organizing

The initial reports of HIV/AIDS came in 1981, one in June from a Centers for Disease Control (CDC) report about five homosexual men in Los Angeles being treated for pneumocystis carinii pneumonia for reasons unknown at the time (CDC, 1999). The second report was from a *New York Times* article reporting a "homosexual cancer" (Bronksi, 2011). However, HIV/AIDS circulated for decades prior in other populations. These symptoms went unnoticed because of racism and classism among scientists and health experts (Schulman, 2021).

The first known organizing began in 1982. Initial organizing efforts focused on providing support and resources primarily to white gay men because the limited information available about the disease focused on them almost exclusively. In New York City (NYC), Larry Kramer and five other gay men formed the Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC), Michael Callen formed Gay Men with AIDS (GMWA), Jim Fouratt began Wipe Out AIDS! The AIDS Network connected gay and AIDS organizations (Chambré, 2006). In San Francisco, Cleve Jones co-founded the Kaposi Sarcoma Foundation, which would later become the San Francisco AIDS Foundation (Hotchkiss, 2019). Many pre-existing organizations on both coasts expanded their focus to support PLH/PWAs.

In 1983, the AIDS Network supplied funding to members of the GMHC to attend the 5th National Lesbian and Gay Health Conference in Denver. These delegates created the Denver Principles. The Denver Principles, read at the closing session of the conference, and informed by feminist and civil rights movements, rejected portraying PWA as victims and asserted the rights and dignity of all PWAs (King, 2013). The document changed the national discourse about PWAs and lead to the creation of the National Association of People with AIDS (NAPWA) (Wright, 2013). The Denver Principles had recommendations

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for health care providers, PWAs, and others. This became one of the earliest declarations of the expertise of PWAs, stating the need for PWAs to be directly involved with policy, organizations, and media.

Also, in 1983, in NYC, Michael Callen and Richard Berkowitz, part of the delegation that created the Denver Principles, self-published "How to Have Sex in an Epidemic," a manual targeted to gay and bisexual men about HIV/AIDS risk-reduction during sex. They incorporated principles by numerous San Francisco gay groups and health organizations, such as the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, resulting in the widespread acceptance and use of "safe sex" (Chambré, 2006). This same year the AIDS Resource Center was created to help with housing PWAs in NYC.

As the epidemic progressed, indifference and hostility toward thousands of deaths of PWAs continued. The need for continued organizing only increased. The year 1985 saw numerous new organizations, particularly in NYC. Callen co-founded the PWA Coalition (PWAC), which empowered PWAs and asserted the dignity, rights, and expertise of PWAs in their own healthcare. PWAC created the first publication for, by, and about PWAs. The same year, GLAAD started to combat negative media coverage and to advocate for PWAs during city council meetings deciding the fate of HIV-positive teachers, students, and staff and also bathhouses (Chambré, 2006).

A splinter group of GLAAD formed the Lavender Hill Mob, which used outsider protest tactics called "zaps" to effect change, while GLAAD used more insider tactics (Chambré, 2006). Zaps were "creative but confrontational protests that inherently challenged frames of power" (Schulman, 2021, p. 8). Zaps were frequent tactics of one of the earliest oppositional AIDS activist organizations, The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP). The same year of the founding of ACT UP, Cleve Jones helped create the AIDS Memorial Quilt, which was displayed in October 1987 on the Capitol Mall in Washington, D.C. (Chambré, 2006).

Given the focus on primarily white gay men, the Hispanic AIDS Forum, Minority Task Force on AIDS, and the Association for Drug Abuse and Treatment began to serve people of Color; however, lack of funding and support limited their growth (Chambré, 2006). In 1986, Black gay men and lesbians organized the first two national conferences on people of Color with AIDS. More formal organizing for people of Color tended to happen later in the later era of AIDS activism as attention to populations other than white gay men increased (Cohen, 1999).

The danger HIV posed to women and the needs of HIV-positive women were also greatly overlooked. Black lesbians and white coalitional lesbians, who were already working with gay men prior to the discovery of AIDS, contributed to

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gay men's social service organizations (Dolinksy, 2013; Schneider, 1997; Stoller, 1997). However, because of a lack of attention to HIV-positive women, organizations rarely focused on supporting them. Because of this, many lesbians did not perceive AIDS as a salient issue at the time. However, early lesbian activism included pushing the National Organization for Women to call for more AIDS research and to support civil rights protections (Schneider, 1992). In 1983, the Women's AIDS Network was formed to provide services and education for women. Later, in 1986, lesbians formed the Southern California Women for Understanding to support lesbians (Schneider, 1992). Transgender men and women, and other queer people, were part of all eras of AIDS activism, including activists like Marsha P. Johnson and Miss Major Griffin-Gray (Greer, 2018; Schulman, 2021; Watkins-Hayes, 2019).

3 ACT UP and Mobilization

With a death toll from HIV/AIDS mounting to 40,000 people in 1987, Larry Kramer, disenfranchised from GMHC, gave an impassioned speech at the NYC Gay and Lesbian Center, resulting in the formation of ACT UP a few days later (Hubbard & Schulman, 2012). ACT UP was a loose assembly of individuals, subgroups, and coalitions called "affinity groups" whose focus, tactics, priorities, and memberships varied—sometimes greatly—and sometimes clashed (Stockdill, 2003). ACT UP was an attempt at a more egalitarian and broad-based form of queer organizing (Stockdill, 2003; Stryker, 2017). Realizing AIDS intersected with other forms of oppression, resulting in disproportionate impacts on multiple populations "required gay men, and many lesbians, to rethink the cultural politics of homosexuality and the ways in which homosexual communities related to and intersected with broader social structures" (Stryker, 2017, p. 166).

ACT UP relied on the tactics, practices, discourses, and representations established by previous AIDS, feminist, and civil rights organizing and "increased the volume of AIDS discourse" (Chambré, 2006, p. 6). Many iconic images from this era, such as the Silence=Death pink triangle graphic on a black background, were created by allied groups or ACT UP affinity groups, such as the Silence Equals Death Collective and Gran Fury. Another affinity group included DIVA TV, women videographers, wanted to "control the images" of PWAs and HIV activism (Hubbard & Schulman, 2012). ACT UP used public, dramatic tactics such as die-ins and protest marches incorporating funerals with the bodies of deceased PWAs.

People of Color, lesbians, straight women, and trans people played crucial leadership and made distinct contributions to ACT UP and AIDS activism

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(Schulman, 2021; Schneider, 1992; Stoller, 1997; Watkins-Hayes, 2019). Among these strides was improved treatment and services for HIV-positive women. One of their most important contributions was changing the CDC's definition of AIDS to include women (Schulman, 2021). ACT UP groups also worked on behalf of people of Color and homeless people. They started ACT UP Puerto Rico, fought for Haitians—who were incarcerated by the U.S. government—and established housing for homeless PWAs (Schulman, 2021). In addition to leadership in groups like ACT UP, women created other important AIDS organizations. Among these are the HIV Law Project and Women Organized to Respond to Life-Threatening Diseases (WORLD). Dázon Dixon Diallo created SisterLove in Atlanta, Georgia, to support women of Color (Watkins-Haynes, 2019).

The high-profile tactics of ACT UP drew the attention of activists in other major metropolitan cities. In San Francisco, the organization AIDS Action Pledge merged with ACT UP and became ACT UP/San Francisco. One of its first actions was a die-in at the Pacific Stock Exchange during George H.W. Bush's inauguration (Hotchkiss, 2019). ACT UP/Los Angeles was formed later that year in a town hall meeting endorsed by 21 pre-existing organizations (Roth, 2017). That same year, activists formed Chicago for AIDS Rights, which would become ACT UP/Chicago (Makkai, 2020). In 1992, Treatment Action Group, an ACT UP/NY affinity group, left "to create a nonprofit to accelerate treatment research" (Treatment Action Group, n.d.). This split, along with other factors, led to ACT UP disintegrating, even though ACT UP/NY still exists. Almost all of the other numerous chapters of ACT UP disbanded in the late '90s or early 2000s for numerous reasons, including the death of members, burnout, and accomplishment of goals.

4 Impact and Legacy of AIDS Activism

Although some organizations from this era continue, such as the San Francisco AIDS Foundation, ACT UP/NY, and TAG, the effectiveness and legacy of AIDS activists are difficult to assess. Some surviving ACT UP members expressed disappointment and burnout in interviews (Hubbard & Schulman, 2012). But many also remarked how activism gave them a place of renewal, community, connection, and the ability to celebrate sex in a post-AIDS world. The artistic output of AIDS activists greatly increased public awareness of HIV/AIDS during the 1980s and 1990s (Griffin, 2000). Schulman (2021) listed numerous accomplishments of ACT UP but noted it failed to achieve universal health care. Without a doubt, AIDS organizations and activists provided support, resources, and care for PWAs, who were heavily stigmatized and ignored by

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most sectors of society for years. AIDS organizing, especially ACT UP and other organizations following it, provided a space and model for queer worldbuilding and coalition work across sexuality, gender, race, and class.

Without the pressure of AIDS activists, the development of lifesaving medicines would have likely taken longer and been less well-funded, resulting in greater loss. AIDS activists changed the framing of patient rights and agency. AIDS activists invented the ongoing sexual and educational practices of safe/r sex. AIDS activists, particularly many members of ACT UP, contributed to the body of thought called queer theory by challenging the ways public institutions constructed, regulated, and invalidated citizens through discourses of sexuality (Halperin, 1995; McRuer, 2002). AIDS changed the FDA in ways that help all people, regardless of HIV status, now.

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CHAPTER 5

Allies and Allyship

S. Adam Crawley

1 Introduction

The term "ally" has a range of meanings, and definitions have changed over time. In the *Sage Encyclopedia of LGBT Studies*, Nicola Curtin and Glenda M. Russell (2016) asserted

> The term *ally* refers to individuals who engage in social change efforts in coalition with social groups to which they do not themselves belong. Allies may have more social power, status, or privilege than the group with whom them are allied. [...] Most often, the term *LGBTQ ally* is applied to heterosexual people engaged in social change for LGBTQ people. However, there is increasing interest in understanding cisgender allies to transgender people, and such allies can include cisgender people who are LGBQ or heterosexual. (pp. 76–77)

Following their definition, the authors further described how others within LGBTQ+ movements have supported one another, such as when lesbian activists worked alongside gay men during the AIDS crisis and when alliances are built across class and race differences (Curtin & Russell, 2016).

2 Ally Approaches and Considerations

In addition to defining the term, there are also various descriptions and recommendations for how to be an ally. The descriptions span a range from passive to active steps as well as from actions that are interpersonal and micro-level in support (e.g., affirming a friend's identity) to being increasingly engaged, active, and politically charged in larger, macro-communities and in ways that dismantle **cisheteropatriarchy**. Learning for Justice (2018), formerly Teaching Tolerance, asserted that anyone could be(come) an ally, "but the journey might look different depending on one's identity, experience and familiarity with issues of power and privilege" (p. 15).

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GLAAD (2020) suggested ten actions for allies, spanning from steps that are initial and passive (e.g., be a listener, be open-minded) to increasingly active (e.g., confront your own prejudices and biases, defend LGBTQ+ people against discrimination). Further, Phillips (2019) recommended five actions that require allies to increasingly attend to their positionalities: (1) understand their own privilege; (2) seek resources rather than ask people from marginalized groups to explain their identities or experiences; (3) avoid speaking "over" marginalized people (and instead highlight and uplift them); (4) apologize when they have been insensitive or harmful; and (5) repeat these actions to continuously grown, learn, and be further active.

Moving beyond conceptions of ally work as being reflective and more interpersonal, Hobson (2017) recommended people wanting to be allies should get involved in the community (e.g., attending events to show solidarity and hear others' perspectives) and be vocal against discrimination. Allies can provide platforms for marginalized people to be heard and work to change oppressive policies. Allies' actions are sometimes reactive (i.e., responding to discrimination after it has occurred) and proactive at other times (i.e., taking steps that advance equity before further marginalization occurs) (Crawley, 2018; GLSEN, 2015).

The active role of being an ally is allyship. **GLSEN** (2015) described that allyship occurs

> When an individual speaks out and advocates for a person or group that is often targeted and discriminated against. Allyship works to interrupt and end oppression by supporting and advocating for people who are stigmatized, discriminated against or treated unfairly either proactively, reactively, or both [...] Allyship is important throughout the [LGBTQ+] movement, for folks to utilize their privilege to demand the safety of those that are experiencing oppression. (p. 3)

Related to the concept of allyship—to be active rather than passive—has sometimes resulted in a shift away from the term "ally." Looking to discussions of "ally" and "allyship" in regards to racism, some Black activists have argued to stop using the term "ally" completely and not use other terms at all (McConnell, n.d.; Owens, 2017). Other Black activists suggested replacing "ally" with terms such as "accomplice" (Harden & Harden-Moore, 2019) and "co-conspirator" (Move to End Violence, 2016). Jana (2021) described the terms as a continuum of phases, with ally equating with thinking and learning, accomplice as reactive, and co-conspirator as proactive. Specifically, co-conspirators work to overthrow and change oppressive systems, and Jana (2021) urged that co-conspirators

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> not co-opt the cause, instead, they respect the work already being done by leaders in justice spaces and offer meaningful support [...] conscious of their privilege and they use it as fuel to help erode barriers that are tougher for affected constituencies to surmount. (online, para. 5)

The move from the term "ally" to "accomplice" and "co-conspirator" has also been applied to LGBTQ+ activism (e.g., Hermann-Wilmarth & Ryan, 2019; Jana, 2021: Move to End Violence, 2016). For example, co-conspirators go beyond simply being an "ally" that supports progressive ideals with the hope that things will improve, such as using a red equal sign on a Facebook profile to support marriage equality which some critics deem as "empty signifiers" (Grzanka et al., 2015, p. 168).

In addition to considering terminology and the extent of allyship, scholars have also studied the intent—whether implicit or explicit—of people who identify themselves as allies to marginalized groups. For example, scholars and activists revealed that people who involve themselves in ally work often acquire social, monetary, political, and other benefits as a result (Ahmed, 2006, 2012; Grzanka & Maher, 2012; Murphy, 2010). Further, Grzanka et al. (2015) noted that heterosexual participants in their study who identified as allies of LGBTQ+ people valued praise for their efforts, became reticent when critiqued by queer-identified peers, and frequently hid their ally stances from family and friends who might not align with their own perspectives. In these studies, people who considered themselves to be allies were—to a great extent—not actually allies, let alone accomplices or co-conspirators. As the researchers demonstrated, the concept of being an ally and performing allyship can be problematic in various ways.

3 Queer Allyship in Education

Researchers have shown that much work needs to be done to support LGBTQ+ youth of all ages (Crisp et al., 2016; GLSEN and Harris Interactive, 2012; Kosciw et al., 2020). To address this need, an increasing number of organizations, books, articles, and other resources exist to support LGBTQ+ youth and help educators learn tangible, specific ways to enact allyship. For example, GLSEN provides on their website current policy and legislation information pertaining to LGBTQ+ youth, along with guides and forums to develop Gender and Sexuality Alliances (GSAs) in schools. In other instances, free lesson plans are available to support educators' allyship via curriculum and teaching, such as those available from Learning for Justice (http://learningforjustice.org). To

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support California's state law for LGBTQ+-inclusive education in K-12 public schools, the website of The F.A.I.R. Education Act[1] also includes lesson plans. Although the resource is specific to California's legislation, any educator in any context can access and use the provided resources.

In addition to the above items, scholars have demonstrated via empirical research how allyship occurs via teaching in K-12 schools and/or extracurricular spaces (e.g., Crawley, 2020; Frantz Bentley & Souto-Manning, 2016; Pennell et al., 2017; Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018; Van Horn, 2015). Further, scholars have not only described teacher practices and student interactions but also probed how educators navigate or even critique their own allyship in their specific contexts. For example, Hermann-Wilmarth and Ryan (2018) examined how two teachers differing in **sexual identity** and geographic location consider the importance of their teaching as ally work and respond to parents who question or resist their practices.

Blackburn (2014) and Shelton (2019) conducted studies with individual teachers regarding how their approaches to allyship changed over time. Specifically, Blackburn (2014) interviewed "Jared," a queer-identified person whose activist work as a high school student had involved being heard and seen along with such actions as creating and distributing queer-inclusive zines. However, years later, when Jared was a graduate student and in-service high school teacher, the activism was less about being visible as a queer person and more about having conversations with people of various backgrounds and perspectives, along with helping LGBTQ+ people connect their queerness to other aspects of their identity and interests. "Jared's" changes in allyship were largely informed by shifts in their own **queer** identity over time; Jared identified as a "lesbian" and "butch dyke" as an adolescent, whereas their identity as an adult was "trans man" (Blackburn, 2014, p. 10). More recently, Shelton (2019) discussed how "Bailey," a high school teacher, changed from conceptualizing allyship as being visible and active (e.g., starting a GSA, displaying a **Safe Space** sticker) to realizing she could be a more effective ally when she removed ally symbols that might deter students from approaching her for support and instead embed conversations about gender and **sexuality** in class such as through character study in a novel. Similar to "Jared" in the previous study, "Bailey" made these shifts due to her specific context and via continuous reflection over time—from being a student to being an educator. Moving from interviewing teachers to ethnographic work in classrooms, Schey (2021) analyzed teachers' and students' (in)attention to intersections of race with gender and sexual diversity in classrooms where LGBTQ+-inclusive teaching and discussions readily occurred.

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As indicated by the resources and empirical research described in this entry, work is being done to support and portray allyship in education. However, as also reflected in the above studies, increased attention is needed to examine how educators' ally work affirms or further marginalizes identities or groups of people based on race, physical or neurodiversity, social class, and other ways of being. Although some researchers examine such intersections (e.g., Schey, 2021; Shelton, 2017), much extant scholarship about queer allyship in schools centers white, cisgender, and gay or lesbian people. Echoing the assertions earlier cited in this entry (e.g., Phillips, 2019), ally work cannot be complacent but rather requires continuous learning and interrogation for how to best support others for equity and justice to occur. Thus, more resources and scholarship addressing intersectional queer ally work in education are needed.

Note

1 http://lgbtqhistory.org/about-fair-education-act

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CHAPTER 6

Allonormativity and Compulsory Sexuality

Amanda L. Mollet and Brian Lackman

1 Definitions

Allonormativity is a worldview that assumes all people experience sexual and romantic attraction. The term "allonormativity" comes from the term "allosexual," which is a term used for describing people who experience sexual attraction and do not identify with an asexual-spectrum identity. The word allosexual developed through online asexual communities as a linguistic tool for moving asexuality from the margins to the center. Affixing the prefix allo-, which means other, situates **asexuality** as central while positioning allosexuality as a differentiation. Instead of labeling people who experience sexual attraction as sexual—making their experiences normative for comparing others against—the prefix allo-, which means other, was added to the word sexual by individuals within the asexual community (Mollet, 2020). The decision of situating asexuality as conventional and allosexuality as "the other" was an act of resistance by asexual people against normative assumptions.

Other scholars (see Brake, 2011) have also coined the term "amatonormativity" as a related concept referencing "assumptions that a central, exclusive, amorous relationship is normal for humans, in that it is a universally shared goal, and that such a relationship is normative, in that it should be aimed at in preference to other relationship types" (p. 88). Amatonormativity specifically references the normative beliefs and constructions that prioritize certain relationships above others, while allonormativity names the oppressive structures that ubiquitously assume sexual attraction in all people.

Finally, as a concept intertwined with allonormativity and amatonormativity, compulsory sexuality further describes "the social norms and practices [of Western societies] that both marginalize various forms of non-sexuality, such as a lack of sexual desire of behavior, and compel themselves as desiring subjects, take up sexual identities, and engage in sexual activity" (Gupta, 2015, p. 132). While **heteronormativity** acknowledges systems that privilege heterosexuality, **compulsory sexuality** acknowledges a broader system that uniquely normalizes allosexuality for people of all sexual identities.

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2 Pressures of Allonormativity and Compulsory Sexuality

Allonormativity and compulsory sexuality exert pressure on asexual people in multiple ways, often in conjunction with heteronormativity, cisnormativity, and other oppressive systems of gender and sexuality. Negative influences of compulsory sexuality can manifest in multiple ways including: pathologization, isolation, unwanted sex and relationship conflict, the denial of epistemic authority (Gupta, 2017), and inhibiting self-identification for asexual people (Fine, 2019). Even when people self-identify as asexual, allonormativity and compulsory sexuality delegitimize asexuality as an identity. As a self-preservation tactic focused on avoiding invalidation, asexual people in education and community spaces often refrain from disclosing their asexual identity (MacNeela & Murphy, 2015). Another disclosure strategy, focused on acceptance and belonging, included asexual students describing their identities with less accurate identity labels (e.g., queer, gay) that aligned with existing spaces or communities (Mollet, 2021). For example, in campus-based LGBTQ+ spaces—which some students found harbored more oppressive allonormativity than other spaces in their lives—some asexual trans students would only share their gender (Mollet & Lackman, 2018; Mollet, 2021).

Compulsory sexuality and allonormative socialization perpetuate the belief that people should seek intimate (sexual) relationships, positioning singlehood as an undesirable status (Darrington et al., 2005). As a heterogenous group, some asexuals have intimate relationships and others prefer remaining single but even scholars examining fulfilment with singlehood (Park et al., 2020) advance the idea that sexual satisfaction is a key predictor of satisfaction and happiness. When in relationships, asexual people can also encounter challenges when their partner's relationship expectations emanate from allonormative scripts (Fine, 2019; Scherrer, 2010), which include ideas such as: sexual behavior is necessary for demonstrating love, sexual intimacy is the defining feature of intimate relationships, and people without intimate relationships are lonely or flawed (MacNeela & Murphy, 2015). Challenges in relationships represent one of the reasons some asexual people seek consultation with health professionals, who in many instances reaffirm beliefs of compulsory sexuality by pathologizing asexuality (Gupta, 2017).

Societal norms, in western cultures, have socialized individuals with orientations toward relationships that assume sexual attraction and intercourse as both essential and foundational elements of healthy relationships (Chasin, 2013; Gupta, 2015, 2017). This conflation of sex and intimacy limits perceptions of possible relationship formats and structures while elevating sexual relationships above other intimate relationships. This results in maintaining

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allonormative conversations and relationship hierarchy and excludes and causes asexual individuals to be "othered" (Scherrer, 2015).

The omnipresence of compulsory sexuality also contributes to unwanted sex and sexual violence perpetrated against asexual people, including corrective rape where perpetrators believe they can 'correct' (Doan-Minh, 2019) an asexual person through sexual violence. Online asexual communities commonly include individual stories of corrective rape, and sexual violence perpetrated against asexual students is prevalent in higher education. In a study of over 2,000 asexual college students, nearly three quarters experienced non-consensual sexual exposure (i.e., forced to see someone else's sexual body parts, made you show your sexual body parts, or made you look at sexual photos or movies), more than half experienced unwanted sexual contact, and nearly a quarter were raped through physical force or coercion (Mollet & Black, 2021).

3 Presence in Scholarship, Literature, and Media

Education research further perpetuates allonormativity by using frameworks that assume all people experience sexual attraction (Lange et al., 2019). Guided by existing research, education practice further advances allonormative socialization. When offered, sexual education at all levels of education reinforces assumptions of the omnipresence of sexual attraction, which can leave asexual students—and student who may identify as asexual—without information or scholarly knowledge about their identities (Mollet, 2018). Instead of resisting compulsory sexuality, many programs reinforce messages of abstinence that emphasize strategies for resisting sexual desires instead of also normalizing that some people do not experience sexual attraction. Some religious cultures and doctrines further reinforce abstinence as a virtuous decision based in foregoing sexual desires; not acknowledging the distinction between chastity as a conscious choice and asexuality as an identity inaccurately conflates these two distinctly different experiences.

A growing body of asexual fiction is beginning to provide language and scripts that resist allonormativity by amplifying stories of asexual people in healthy romantic relationships with allosexual people, where they collaboratively re-imagine non-allonormative relationship patterns (Carter, 2020). Movies and shows have also begun highlighting positive examples of asexual characters and relationships. By portraying dynamic asexual relationships that challenge asexual stereotypes (e.g., loneliness, lack of intimate relationships), these media representations demonstrate the potential for nonsexual intimate relationships. Netflix's Bojack Horseman and Varys in *Game of Thrones* are two

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of the most prominent portrayals of asexual characters. Unfortunately, these examples also display the significant limitations of presenting asexual identities associated with cisgender men.

The systems of allonormativity and compulsory sexuality influence all people, not only those who are asexual (Gupta, 2015). Across society and within education, the perpetuation of these systems manifests continued oppression of asexual and aromantic people while also reifying norms that limit and constrain conceptions of possible intimacies.

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CHAPTER 7

Androgyny

Kate E. Kedley

Androgyny is an expression of **gender** that is not clearly defined in terms of masculine or feminine and is instead ambiguous or unclear. Androgyny can be either intentional or unintentional and can be achieved by a mixture of masculine and feminine characteristics or by appearing in muted features. Thus, an androgynous person can have overlapping masculine and feminine traits or exist in-between or outside of what would be considered masculine or feminine (Andrews, 2016).

Because the **gender binary** itself is socially constructed and not based on any naturally occurring or biological phenomenon, it thus has the potential to change, shift, or be undermined. Androgyny—a **gender expression** not clearly defined on the binary—is just such an undermining possibility.

Androgyny is often used as a descriptor for clothing or hair, such as an androgynous short-sleeved button-up shirt that is considered unisex or an androgynous short hairstyle. A person may intentionally tailor their expression so they appear androgynous to others based on clothing, hairstyle, first names, **pronouns**, or speaking patterns. They also may appear androgynous to others unintentionally. Because androgyny is an expression of gender and not a **gender identity**, androgynous individuals may personally identify as agender, nonbinary, gender-neutral, **genderqueer**, or various other gender identities, including transgender or cisgender.

In U.S. mainstream culture, feminine and masculine standards of beauty are built around European whiteness, cisgender ideals, and anti-fatness. Androgyny, then, if only conceptualized on a masculine-feminine spectrum based on these beauty ideals, can reify gender and white supremacy instead of undermining them. By undermining the gender binary itself and by not reifying femininity and masculinity, there is a potential to undermine whiteness and other norms that are harmful to those who sit outside the status quo or who have been marginalized by society.

However, androgyny as an expression has also been critiqued by its focus on thin or slender people (or people able to hide curves), and thus exclusive of curvy or fat people (King-Miller, 2018). It also may be difficult to express an androgynous gender based on access to resources, money, urban shopping centers, and stores, or tailors. Androgyny has also been linked to the fashion

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world and thus is in some ways inaccessible to those without that access (Leach, 2015).

Androgyny is not a permanent state of existence, as a person can frequently change their clothing, hair, and appearance. However, androgyny depends on the interactions of people and understandings of the gender binary during a certain time and place. For example, androgyny, or gender ambiguity, may look a certain way in one region of the world or during one decade of our history. But in another region or decade, that same-gender expression may be read as clearly feminine or clearly masculine. A short crew cut in the mainstream U.S. culture of the 1950s may have been read as clearly masculine and not androgynous. At one point in mainstream U.S. culture, pants were reserved only for an expression of masculine gender. Today, a close-cropped haircut does not necessarily indicate masculinity and may be read as masculine, feminine, or androgynous, while pants are utilized across many genders.

The existence of the concept of androgyny stems from the fact that mainstream U.S. society has a strictly defined gender binary or the idea that there are non-overlapping and clearly defined genders (girl and boy, woman and man) that are expressed by feminine and masculine roles. There is a widespread belief that there is a natural and neutral link between being assigned female at birth, identifying as a girl and then a woman, and presenting as feminine. Androgyny undermines the idea that the relationship between male and masculine and female and feminine is natural or neutral.

Because contemporary mainstream U.S. society is ordered around a gender binary, the inability to clearly identify someone else's gender because of their androgyny can be seen as a joke. In the early 1990s, a *Saturday Night Live* sketch centered around an androgynous character named "Pat" (never revealing if the name was the masculine "Patrick" or the feminine "Patricia"), and whose friend was named Chris (not the feminine Christine, and not the masculine Christopher). The gag was that Pat's co-workers surreptitiously and overtly trying to get Pat to reveal Pat's gender, and Pat always answered (albeit unintentionally) in a way that didn't reveal Pat's gender. This joke worked because in the U.S., society is ordered around a clearly defined gender binary, and Pat successfully avoided claiming a side (Ring, 2019).

Examples of famous people exhibiting more intentional gender androgyny are David Bowie, Freddy Mercury, Jaden Smith, Lady Gaga, Marilyn Manson, Prince, Ruby Rose, and kd lang.

An androgynous appearance—regardless of one's sexual or gender identity—can lead to marginalization because an androgynous expression may be perceived as a part LGBTQ+ community (Boskey, 2021). Because interactions between individuals are influenced by gendered social cues, the lack of a clear

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gender may lead to confusion for those interacting with androgynous people, which also can lead to further marginalization.

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CHAPTER 8

Antiblackness

Romeo Jackson, Zachary Brown and Brenda Anderson Wadley

1 What Is Antiblackness?

Antiblackness as a theoretical term arises from various intellectual traditions and disciplinary protocols. However, theories of antiblackness generally attend to the social, political, economic, and psychological dimensions of power that continue to make Black people the targets of myriad forms of violence throughout multiple temporalities. In addition, antiblackness as a general frame attempts to account for how violence "constructs Black subjects, and positions them in and against law, policy, and everyday (civic) life" (Dumas & ross, 2016, p. 417), including educational institutions and structures. Or, put another way, antiblackness as a paradigm attends to the inability of prominent theories of racism to specify antiblackness as the condition of possibility for modernity and the current social order. In this way, antiblackness analytically thinks with/in and against categories like race, gender, and **sexuality**.

For example, Black feminist scholar Christina Sharpe (2016) attends to manifestations of antiblackness through her characterization of the weather. She notes, "the weather is the totality of our environments; the weather is the total climate; and that climate is antiblack" (p. 114). To this point, Sharpe (2016) argues that antiblackness as the effect of racial slavery is not a singular event but an ongoing ontological and epistemological project with coordinates in our sociopolitical and psychoaffective worlds. Through her use of the concept, *weather*, Sharpe (2016) is gesturing towards a method of seeing that accounts for antiblackness in both its terror and wanton violence, but also in the progressive calls for inclusion and presumed networks of "care."

In addition, Black feminist scholar and cultural historian Saidya Hartman's (2006) focus on the condition of the female slave punctures the historicity of slavery and the fraught nature of emancipation as an index of Black humanity to problematize notions of sociality under the weight of antiblackness. She troubles notions of racial progress and linear temporalities when she reminds the reader that current antiblackness conditions in the United States as emblematic of the "afterlife of slavery," writing, "Slavery had established a measure of man and a ranking of life and worth that has yet to be undone [...] This is the afterlife of slavery—skewed life chances, limited access to health

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and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment" (p. 6). Both Sharpe and Hartman show how the effects of slavery are key to thinking about the nature of citizenship and how beings get constituted as subjects.

Lastly, a general theory of antiblackness is a central concern and proposition within the project of Afro-pessimism. This framework theorizes Blackness as constitutive of Slaveness and thus structurally positioning Blacks in an antagonistic relationship with the category of the Human. For example, putting both Afropessimism and **Queer theory** into conversation, Calvin Warren argues that the figure of the "black queer" is thrown into crisis under the grammars of queerness as queerness registers a "closeted humanism" that is unavailable to the "socially dead" object, or Black, as Afropessimsim would attest. While the **queer**, through **heteronormative** violence, often exists at the limit of humanity, the gratuitous violence that sutures Blackness to Slaveless, for Warren, presents a paradigmatic impossibility in the face of queer studies as a field and its relation to education.

2 Antiblackness and Education

Antiblackness remains an animating force within both K-12 and postsecondary educational spaces. For example, scholars such as kiyana miraya ross' (2020) formulation of the afterlife of school segregation offer a helpful analytic to theorize antiblackness in K-12 schools. In this framework, ross takes up the insufficiency of the legal mandate to end school segregation to account for the pervasive and systematic dehumanization of Black children that marks educational spaces a site of trauma and violence. Blending concepts from psychoanalysis and the literary fiction of Black feminist writer Octavia Butler, Dumas (2014) underscores k-12 schools as sites of suffering for Black students, teachers, and staff through is engagement with antiblackness as a form of racial melancholia, "that heavy, deeply-felt awareness of the history and persistence of anti-black disregard and subjugation" (p. 3).

Dumas and ross (2016) have sought to intervene into scholarship on race and racism in education through their introduction of BlackCrit, a paradigmatic turn that acknowledges the impact of race and racism in schooling and situates schooling as a site of impossibility in the antagonistic production of a global anti-black drive while also attending to the potential of educational spaces as mechanisms of Black educational imaginations.

As with K-12 schools, antiblackness was foundational to the first colleges and universities in what is currently called the United States as racial slavery became the condition of possibility for the first U.S. colleges and universities (Mustaffa, 2017; Wilder, 2013). To extend this point, scholars have used the term

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plantation politics (Dancy et al., 2018; Squire et al., 2018; Williams et al., 2021) to theorize antiblackness in higher education spaces. For example, Dancy et al. (2018) draw connections between plantation politics and the role of athletics programs in higher education. These authors draw on the ways that college student-athletes are unable to profit from their own likeness and image while universities make millions of dollars from top university football programs from Black labor. Moreover, the intellectual production that emerged from higher education has also been a site of anti-Black violence through racial eugenics that supported violent experimentation on Black bodies, as Roberts (1997) details in *Killing the Black Body.*

3 Black Queer and Trans Studies: An Invitation

Educational spaces continue to push out gender-nonconforming Black people and Black girls (Crenshaw et al., 2015). In sum, the need for queer studies in education and beyond to engage anti-blackness is clear. Black Queer (Johnson, 2016) and Black Trans (Ellison et al., 2017) studies are here. In making this claim, we are attempting to reject the notion that queer studies has not engaged the realities of anti-blackness. Rather, we attest that white queer studies and politics have failed to engage Blackness seriously. The relationship between white queer studies and anti-blackness is clear in Cohen's (1997) prescient essay "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?", through her interrogation of the ostensible turn towards a 'queer politic.' In this essay, Cohen proposes for those invested in queer politics and studies to center a greater investment in coalition-building threaded under the web of intersubjective deviance and non-normativity, a politic, that foregrounds those at the margins. Or put differently, the radical potential of a *queer politic,* as remarked by Cohen, is instituted by social locations that under the rubric of antiblackness share similar structural coordinates. In education, scholars can deploy Black queer and trans theories to center the realities Black queer and trans students face (Mobley & Johnson, 2019; Means & Jaeger, 2013). As authors, we call on all education researchers, practitioners, and those who believe in the radical potential of queer politics to take the systemic realities of antiblackness seriously.

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CHAPTER 9

Antidiscrimination Laws and Policies

Nicholas Catania

1 Introduction

Under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution, all people, including members of the LGBTQ+ community, should be guaranteed equal protection of the law. In addition, local and state civil rights laws hold similar protections. This means that discrimination on the basis of **sexual orientation** or **gender identity** (SOGI) should be protected under the law (ACLU, n.d., para. 9). However, it is important to note that the way these laws are often interpreted can vary by context, judge, geographic location, among other variables leading to discrimination for many members of the LGBTQ+ community.

2 Antidiscrimination Laws and Policies in Schools

LGBTQ+ students have consistently reported negative and hostile environments in school (Kosciw et al., 2018). As expected, this can have a strong impact on their academic achievement. Results from the Human Rights Campaign (HRC, 2018) and Kosciw et al. (2018) highlight the range of negative experiences in schools for LGBTQ+ students. These include hearing anti-LGBTQ+ remarks at school, experiencing victimization, abuse, assault, and/or harassment at school, and feeling unsafe in the hostile environment of schools. Each of these can add to the negative experiences of LGBTQ+ students in schools and can be viewed as a key reason to require antidiscrimination policies in schools. Further, this type of hostile environment can not only have a major impact on the academic success of students but their mental health as well (Kosciw et al., 2018). Students who experience victimization and discrimination in schools have "worse educational outcomes and poorer psychological well-being" (p. xx). Without supportive policies in place across the nation, schools remain a hostile place for LGBTQ+ students, making them vulnerable to discrimination, harassment, and victimization (HRC, 2018; Kosciw et al., 2018).

According to HRC, there are currently 22 states and the District of Columbia that address harassment and/or bullying of students based on sexual

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orientation and gender identity in their policies. HRC also includes the recommendation for school leaders and administrators to "establish clear and inclusive policies to support LGBTQ youth" (2018, p.19) to ensure a safe learning environment for students. Unfortunately, it has been found that, "Most LGBTQ students (62.2%) reported experiencing LGBTQ-related discriminatory policies or practices at school" (Kosciw et al., 2018, p. XIX). More specifically, some of these policies target particular groups within the LGBTQ+ community, namely transgender and gender-nonconforming students (Kosciw et al., 2018).

3 Title IX

Title IX was signed into law in 1972 as part of the Educational Amendments to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This law "bans any educational institution that receives federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex, and applies to all academic and extra-curricular programs" (Cohen, 2019, p. 7). Historically, it has been viewed as a major advancement made in women's rights. But there have also been federal court cases where Title IX has been used by federal judges and appeals courts to hold school districts accountable to protect LGBTQ+ students from issues including gender-based bullying (Kimmel, 2016), access to appropriate bathrooms, and other issues related to gender identity and sexual orientation. Although these protections tentatively and unevenly exist, that does not mean that this is reflective of the experiences of LGBTQ+ students in schools.

4 No Promo Homo Laws

No Promo Homo laws are state and local education laws prohibiting the "promotion of homosexuality" in schools (Mayo, 2020). According to the Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), No Promo Homo laws "expressly forbid teachers of health/sexuality education from discussing lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) people or topics in a positive light – if at all" (2019, para. 1). These laws are not only discriminatory to LGBTQ+ people, preventing students in schools from learning important information about their own health, but they reinforce negative views of LGBTQ+ people and "stigmatize LGBTQ students and teachers by providing K-12 students false, misleading, or incomplete information about LGBTQ people" (para. 1). Currently, there are six states that have these types of laws which include: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Texas (GLSEN, 2019). Representation and visibility matter, and it is important for students and teachers to see

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themselves reflected in the curriculum taught in schools which is why these laws must be eliminated.

5 Title VII

Title VII is a federal law, which was established as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, protecting American citizens from discrimination on the basis of sex, race, color, national origin, and religion (Davis-Young, 2018; Eckes & Lewis, 2020). According to Eckes and Lewis (2020), "Prior to the U.S. Supreme Court's 2019-2020 term, only 22 states specifically prohibited discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity" (p. 58) due to the fact that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and former U.S. Attorney General, Eric Holder, at the time had previously ruled that gender identity and sexual orientation were not covered (Davis-Young, 2018). As a result, LGBTQ+ teachers have to decide whether or not to come out to their school community. "The harsh reality for many queer teachers is that legal protections only go so far, and individual queer teachers are subject to the homophobic whims of students, colleagues, and administrators who may or may not embrace their queer identities" (Mayo, 2020, p. 34).

Until June of 2020, LGBTQ+ educators and school personnel had to worry that they could be fired because of their sexual orientation, depending on the state they lived in (Eckes & Lewis, 2020). "In Hively v. Ivy Tech Community College, a lesbian adjunct faculty member sued under Title VII, alleging that school officials neither renewed her contract nor hired her for various positions because of her sexual orientation" (Eckes & Lewis, 2020, p. 58). In June of 2020, the Supreme Court ruled 6-3 that Title VII includes discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity, which means that employers can no longer fire their employees simply because they are LGBTQ+.

6 The Fight for Equality under the Law

Antidiscrimination laws and policies based on SOGI support LGBTQ+ students and school personnel and are linked to a more supportive and safe school climate. According to Day et al. (2019), "SOGI-focused policies were associated with more positive experiences and perceptions of school climate for LGB youth and, to a lesser extent, transgender youth" (p. 29).

> Anti-bullying governance and policies that provide more comprehensive protections for students—those that specifically prohibit bullying

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> based upon personal characteristics, including sexual orientation and gender identity/expression, require professional development for staff on how to prevent and intervene in student bullying, and stipulate district accountability for documenting bullying incidents—may be more effective in protecting students than those without such provisions. (Kull et al., 2015, p. 13)

In an effort to fully support the inclusion and safety of LGBTQ+ students, The Safe Schools Improvement Act (SSIA) was introduced in the House of Representatives on May 9, 2019, and in the Senate on September 25, 2019 (Safe Schools Improvement Act, 2021). Unfortunately, legislative bodies have been historically resistant to passing these laws and policies throughout education, the U.S., and much of the world. If passed, it would amend the Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA) and "require all school districts that receive ESEA funds to adopt codes of conduct specifically prohibiting bullying and harassment, including on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, and religion" (para. 1). In addition, states would be required to report all data on bullying and harassment to the Department of Education, providing Congress with a report on each state every two years.

As a result of the ruling in June of 2020 of the Supreme Court regarding Title VII, LGBTQ+ teachers will now be protected under federal law against discrimination on the basis of sex, race, color, national origin, and religion (Davis-Young, 2018; Eckes & Lewis, 2020). The next challenge that requires attention is to now update school employment policies, including nondiscrimination and anti-harassment policies, and any other related policies to ensure protections are in place for all LGBTQ+ employees in schools to protect their rights as well.

With the inauguration of President Joseph R. Biden Jr. on January 20, 2021, swift action has been taken to support the inclusion and protection of LGBTQ+ people in the United States. On his first day in office, President Biden signed an Executive Order on Preventing and Combating Discrimination on the Basis of Gender Identity or Sexual Orientation (Executive Order No. 13988, 2021). According to the order, Biden explained, this policy is meant "to prevent and combat discrimination on the basis of gender identity or sexual orientation, and to fully enforce Title VII and other laws that prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender identity or sexual orientation" (2021, 7023). Although this illustrates major progress in the fight for antidiscrimination laws and policies for LGBTQ+ people in the United States, it does not bear the final say on how the laws are interpreted and enforced throughout the country.

Most recently, The Equality Act (HR 5) has been reintroduced in the United States Congress. This historic legislation would amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964, among other federal civil rights statutes, and "would provide clear, and

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permanent protections under federal law for all Americans in vital areas of life, like housing, access to public spaces, credit, education, jury service, and federally-funded programs" (Tran, 2021, para.1).

Recently, some progress has been made in the fight for equal rights and protections for LGBTQ+ people in education, but there is still more work to be done, and this does not mean it will immediately translate into equal protection for ALL (Edwards, 2020). Although the Supreme Court ruled in favor of protections under Title VII for LGBTQ+ employees, the court has not addressed discrimination under federal law related to health care, housing, adoption, religious exemptions, and other areas in education (i.e., bathrooms, participation in sports, dress code, etc.). Over time and with continued advocacy from the LGBTQ+ community and their allies, support for the inclusion and safety of LGBTQ+ students and teachers in schools and society can be achieved. As such, the fight for equal rights for LGBTQ+ Americans will continue.

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CHAPTER 10

Asexuality & Asexuality Studies

Amanda L. Mollet

1 Definitions

The definition for describing an asexual person used most commonly is "someone who does not experience sexual attraction" (AVEN, 2021). This definition emerged from, and is still used in, the largest online asexual community, the Asexual Visibility and Education Network (AVEN). While used most commonly, this definition actually essentializes asexuality as a static orientation marked by never experiencing any level of sexual attraction (Chasin, 2013). Providing only the definition of *never* experiencing sexual attraction masks the modern use of the term 'asexual' for referencing both a distinct identity and an umbrella of identities inclusive of people with varying levels of sexual attraction. For the purpose of clarity, some people use the term asexual-spectrum when referencing asexuality as an umbrella term. The shortened colloquial term of ace is also sometimes used in place of the term asexual.

The spectrum of asexual identities includes identities such as gray-A or greysexual (i.e., people who occasionally experience sexual attraction) and demisexual (i.e., people who only experience sexual attraction to someone after a deep intimate connection). Online asexual communities remain a common space for the development and proliferation of this still-growing identity terminology.

2 Prevalence of Asexuality

Currently, only one national probability sample has included asexuality as an identity category. Bogaert (2004) found that approximately 1% of the British respondents self-reported having never felt sexual attraction to anyone. More recent studies of college populations that allowed asexual self-identification by providing asexual as a sexual identity category (see McAleavey et al., 2011; Rankin & Associates, 2014) found approximately 5% of college students identified as asexual. Some contend that adding asexual as an identity category where it is alphabetically first has incorrectly inflated prevalence numbers, but Bourdon et al.'s (2018) study suggests students intentionally selected the label of asexual as representative of their identities.

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3 Identity Labels & Differentiating Attraction

Asexual people acknowledge the breadth of other potential types of attraction or intimacy. The idea of distinguishing between types of attraction frequently appears in asexual discourses. In a general examination of human desire, Diamond (2003) interrogated the idea that sexual and romantic desire are not codependent and instead can exist with or without the other. Within asexual contexts, people commonly reference this distinction as the "split attraction model" (Przyblo, 2019), and many use this model in describing their personal identities. Specifically, an individual might identify as demisexual and heteroromantic; this would mean they only experience sexual attraction after they have a romantic relationship with someone and that they only experience romantic attraction to people who have another gender. Providing both sexual and romantic identity labels support asexual peoples' agency for selecting and using accurate identity labels.

4 Diversity of the Asexual Community

Far from a monolithic group, a breadth of diversity exists amongst asexual people. Asexual people include those of multiple genders, social classes, religions, and races (Cerankowski & Milks, 2010; MacNeela & Murphy, 2015; Mollet, 2018). Recent studies by emerging scholars (Bush et al., 2021; Cuthbert, 2017; Miller et al., 2020) also begin exploring intersections of autism and disability in the asexual community.

Cisgender women consistently represent the largest gender group in studies of asexual people (Carroll, 2020); however, binary gender options remain common practice by many scholars. Researchers who used more expansive gender options found a substantial number of asexual people who are also transgender, agender, genderqueer, or gender-non-conforming. No population-level data exist; in non-representative research studies, the percentage of asexual people who identified outside of the gender binary has been reported as approximately 33% (MacNeela & Murphy, 2015; Mollet, 2018).

Asexual scholarship, online communities, and literary representations overwhelmingly perpetuate whiteness and contribute to the invisibility of asexual people of Color, as noted by Chasin (2015), Miles (2019), and Mollet (2020), who have produced studies that highlighted racial and ethnic diversity of asexual people. Limited discussions of Black asexual people (Owen, 2018) primarily describe juxtapositions of the Black asexual 'mammy' with the hypersexual 'Jezebel.'

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Asexual people also do not all necessarily align with, engage in, or identify with LGBTQ+ identities or communities (Carroll, 2020; Mollet, 2020). The queer politics and hierarchies also often exclude asexuality in ways that push asexuality and asexual people to the margins, even within queer contexts (Miles, 2019; Przybylo & Cooper, 2014).

5 Debunking Assumptions and Stereotypes About Asexuality

The invisibility of asexuality broadly, and specifically within educational contexts, often means that when people do know about asexuality, their knowledge is based primarily on assumptions or stereotypes (Mollet & Lackman, 2018), such as the conflation of asexuality with celibacy (Miles, 2019). Celibacy, a conscious decision to refrain from sexual behavior, differs from asexuality which is a sexual orientation that should not be minimized only through individuals' sexual behavior. Other incorrect stereotypes include perceptions that: asexual people have not found the right person yet, that asexual people are lonely, and that asexual people do not experience oppression (Decker, 2015).

Advancing untrue assumptions and stereotypes perpetuates erasure of asexuality, invalidates asexual individuals, and can contribute to isolation and marginalization (Lund, 2021; Mollet, 2018), including sexual violence such as corrective rape" (Doan-Minh, 2019) with perpetrators who believe they can "cure" asexuality (Mosbergen, 2017).

6 Asexuality Studies

As the study of asexuality emerged, scholars approached asexuality from multiple perspectives, including pathologizing asexuality as a paraphilia, psychological disorder, or sexual dysfunction (i.e., Female Sexual Interest/Arousal Disorder, Hypoactive sexual desire disorder) before conceiving of asexuality as a sexual orientation or even a dimension of identity (Brotto & Yule, 2017). Others (see Cerankowski & Milks, 2010, 2014) have explored how the study of asexuality both fits with and extends theorizing from queer, feminist, and sexuality studies.

The interdisciplinary scholarship of asexuality studies includes research from fields including education (Mollet, 2020; Mollet & Lackman, 2018), sociology (Carrigan, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015; Scherrer & Pfeffer, 2017), and psychology (Bogaert, 2004; Brotto & Yule, 2016, 2017; Prause & Graham, 2007). To date, a distinct field or discipline of asexuality studies has not yet emerged. Instead,

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calls for future research remain focused on considering how a new asexual lens (Bogaert, 2012) can shift existing discourses in sexuality studies and other disciplines (Cerankowski & Milks, 2014; Przybylo, 2013).

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CHAPTER 11

Ballroom Culture

Steve D. Mobley, Jr. and Quortne R. Hutchings

1 Imagine a 'Ball'

Ballroom, often referred to as the 'house/ball community,' is a communal network of Black and Latinx queer and trans* individuals who utilize these communities as spaces of refuge from racist and **cisheteropatriarchal** norms. An essential hallmark of Ballroom communities is that its members challenge and confront dominant notions surrounding **sexuality**, gender, and even **gender identity** (see Arnold & Bailey, 2009; Bailey, 2009; hooks, 1996; Roberts, 2007). Essentially, members of ballroom communities use performance and **kinship** structures to critique and revise dominant notions of gender, sexuality, family, and community (Bailey, 2011). Much of the aforementioned occurs at 'balls,' which are a form of competition primarily held within Black and Latinx LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer plus) ballroom communities. During these competitions, members of the ballroom culture vie for bragging rights, prizes, and national recognition (Bailey, 2013; Cvetkoich, 1992).

Imagine a "ball." During these events, portrayals of sex, sexuality, and gender run the gamut. Queer and trans* individuals compete in "categories," such as "Butch Queen Realness" where gay men regardless of whether they present as masculine or feminine are judged on their ability to 'pass' as heterosexual. Participants are judged based on how well that they meet the specific criteria for the category, with the goal of ultimately winning a prize, such as a trophy and bragging rights. These "categories" are intricate facets of ballroom competitions that utilize performative gender and sexual identities that are then 'performed' in distinct manners and presentations that revolve around complex choreography, physical attributes, and even fashion choices. Members of ballroom cultures confront ideologies that are deeply embedded in the racial and social constructs that are present within broader societal contexts. As Bailey (2011) expresses, "queer members of the ballroom community use performance to unmark themselves as gender and sexual non-conforming subjects. Unmarking oneself through performance or "passing" is a necessary strategy by which to avoid discrimination and violence in the urban space" (p. 366). For instance, when a Black gay man competes in a category titled "Town and Country" or "Executive Realness," which both reference socioeconomic affluence

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and authority that Black and Latinx people are often denied, participants can defy gender binaries and choose to present as a woman, man, or neither—while also examining class-based exclusions through their appearances and performances. These are bold acts of transgression.

However, while these performances challenge constructions of gender, it must be noted that they are also often dominated by stereotypical notions of race and class (Cvetkoich, 1992). What messages are being conveyed? Within this culture, when one participates in a category that challenges dominant notions of varying levels of systemic oppression (race, class, gender, religion, etc.), the power within these displays potentially relies on other oppressive symbols (Cvetkoich, 1992). For example, when present at a Ball competition, one is likely to come across a trans* woman in a full-length fur, or a man in a pair of tan khakis, pink oxford shirt, shiny loafers, and with a cable-knit sweater draped around his shoulders. While their participation rejects **cisnormative** expectations, they borrow from dominant and white-centric notions of affluence; to them, these symbols denote wealth. Why are these displays necessary? What is gained? Ballroom status. In some cases, one may win a trophy, and along with it, the social destination that they are, in ballroom terms, "legendary," and therefore "worthy" of acceptance. Dorian Corey, an iconic figure in the ballroom community, once expressed that: "In a ballroom you can be anything you want…the fact that you are not [what you choose to portray] is merely because of your social standing in life" (Livingston, 1990). This is powerful to consider. Ballroom culture is complex, with simultaneous potential to reject and to rely on a range of social norms.

2 Ballroom Is Not "New": Providing a Historical Backdrop

Many within majority queer and trans* communities often erroneously argue that Ballroom culture was brought to the mainstream with Jennie Livingston's (1990) documentary *Paris Is Burning*. However, Ballroom communities and Ballroom culture can be traced back to the antebellum period. The lineage of Ballroom originates in the late 1860s, with Black fraternal organizations hosting masquerade ball fundraisers in Harlem, NY (Lawrence, 2011). While these events were first hosted by Black fraternal organizations, which are historically associated with **cisheteronormativity**, these forums did provide **queer** communities with opportunities to openly appear in '**drag**'—a practice that was not only taboo but also illegal during this time period (Spectrum News, 2020). These masquerade balls attracted large crowds in various New York City locations, including Madison Square Garden, The Astor Hotel, and the Hamilton Lodge, and continued for the next forty years (Lawrence, 2011).

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The birth of Black LGBTQ+ ballroom culture originated during the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s (Bailey, 2013). During this period, Black artists, musicians, and writers redefined and created a movement that centered Black culture(s) across the African and Caribbean Black diaspora. Amidst this rich backdrop, Black LGBT communities were also fostering much-needed social networks (Garber, 1989). These Black LGBT enclaves sparked a historical revolution where expressing one's gender identity and sexuality openly and freely was nurtured and revered. The artistic and intellectual work that was occurring during the Harlem Renaissance cultivated a space where Black LGBT individuals felt liberated to perform and express themselves in 'drag ball' competitions where conventional notions of gender and sexuality were challenged and confronted (Bailey, 2005). These events promoted a liberatory environment where Black LGBTQ+ people could openly convey and celebrate their diverse queer identities. Just as this subculture began to grow and flourish, the balls faded as a result of the Great Depression, anti-LGBTQ+ legislation, and hostile police presences within the U.S. that thwarted and further marginalized these early ball communities (Lawrence, 2011).

3 Major Turning Points

During the early 1950s until well into the 1960s, balls were heavily attended, racially mixed, and even led to some racial unity among Black and white LGBTQ+ participants (Lawrence, 2011). However, during this time, racism began to fragment Ballroom spaces. Many times, white participants would be favored by the increasing presence of white judges and ultimately win these competitions because Eurocentric beauty standards were overwhelmingly valued in these environments that had previously been a refuge for Black LGBTQ+ participants. Of note, during the 1967 *Miss All American Camp Beauty Pageant* drag competition, tensions were high after a white panel of judges, including famed artist Andy Warhol, selected a white competitor, Rachel Harlow, as the winner (Lawrence, 2011). At this event, legendary 'house mother' Crystal LaBeija openly voiced her frustrations and called out the anti-Black racism that was occurring in the drag community. Even though LaBeija had been a frequent title winner of these white organized events, she and many other prominent Black drag artists left the majority-white mainstream drag performance and competition forums to create their own spaces (Lawrence, 2011).

This mass exodus of Black LGBTQ+ performers would lead to the contemporary understandings of the Ballroom movement. While the first Black "drag ball" was held in 1962, the first Ballroom community "house"—The House of

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Labeija—was not founded until the early 1970s by Crystal LaBeija and Lottie LaBeija (Bailey, 2013). Again, it is critical to note that ballroom communities were born as a result of white supremacist circumstances and founded by individuals who are contemporarily recognized and celebrated as Black trans* women (Bailey, 2013). Not even a decade later, after she and many of her sister performers left white 'drag' spaces, Crystal LaBeija quite literally shaped the house and ball culture as it now exists today (Goodman, 2018). Paying homage to fashion houses in their naming, these houses consisted of (and still do) mostly Black and Latinx LGBTQ+ individuals. "Houses" are a critical facet of Ballroom culture and cultivate strong familial kinship bonds between these families, which are often led by "house mothers" and many times "house fathers." These house parents support their houses' "children," who have often been rejected by their biological families due to their sexuality, gender identity, and/or gender expression (Bailey, 2013; Rowan et al., 2013). During this period, other notable houses included the House of Corey in 1972, the House of Dior in 1974, the House of Wong, and the House of Dupree in 1975 (Lawrence, 2011).

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CHAPTER 12

Biological Essentialism

Kamden K. Strunk

Biological essentialism refers to a set of beliefs about gender and its relationship to human biology. Specifically, it is the belief that there are only two genders and that those genders are directly connected to human biology, genders which are also held to be comprised of two distinct "biological sexes." As a result, biological essentialism holds that **gender identity** and **sex as assigned at birth** are inseparable and biologically determined. This view is scientifically incorrect in that human biology is not easily or neatly divided into two categories of sex (Ainsworth, 2015; American Psychological Association, 2006). This ideological belief system rejects the existence or reality of trans, nonbinary, two-spirit, and genderqueer identities. It is also typically associated with other misogynistic and transmisogynistic ideas, like the idea that women are less biologically or cognitively suited for leadership or higher-order tasks (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). As such, not only does biological essentialism deny the existence of a range of gender identities, but it also constructs a hierarchy of human identities, typically with men (defined in this ideology as only ever those assigned male at birth) positioned as biologically, cognitively, and physically superior.

Biological essentialism can also refer to beliefs about other social identities, such as a biological or genetic hierarchy to race (Windsor, 2006). As such, it is often closely associated with eugenics and eugenicists. At the core is a belief that identities and outcomes are not determined by social, cultural, or systemic factors but rather by biology. Gender and racial disparities, then, are explained in this view as the natural consequences of real, essential, biological differences that are innate to people of certain social groups.

This view is also closely associated with other ideologies, such as gender complementarianism (Bryant, 2009; Colaner & Warner, 2005). This religiously derived ideology holds that men and women were created differently with divergent sets of abilities and traits that complement one another. As a result, this view holds that one cannot be truly 'whole' without a man-woman intimate partner pairing (e.g., husband and wife), as the two roles are complementary and also mutually exclusive. While sometimes pitched as an egalitarian view (that men are different from, not superior to, women), this view almost always positions men as leaders, intellectuals, and those who should have power. As a result, this view almost always includes sexist beliefs while also denying the

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humanity and validity of trans, two-spirit, nonbinary, and genderqueer people. In addition, by asserting mutually exclusive and complementary roles for men and women, this view also positions lesbian, gay, and bisexual people as unnatural and asexual people as incomplete or broken.

It is important to note that biological essentialist views are fundamentally incompatible with scientific understandings of human biology (American Psychological Association, 2006; Blackless et al., 2000; Fausto-Sterling, 2000). Sex is a biologically complicated construct, and there are multiple recognized human sexes. Sex is not as simple as this viewpoint espouses. Often biological essentialists will suggest there are only XX and XY combinations in human genetics, which is patently false as there are many other combinations of genes possible (e.g., Montañez, 2017). Sex is also more than genes, with a complex interaction of hormones, physiology, and environment determining primary and secondary sex characteristics. As a result, human gender (as a social construct and psychological phenomenon) is even more complex and multifaceted. Similarly, biological essentialist views on race do not hold up to any level of scientific scrutiny, and observed disparities are entirely attributable to social, cultural, structural, and systemic factors. Biological essentialism, then, represents a scientifically unfounded, discriminatory, and dehumanizing view of human identity. Many other entries in this volume offer more informed views on gender identity, sexual identity, and other topics.

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CHAPTER 13

Bisexuality and Bisexuality Studies

Kaity Prieto

This entry begins with a brief history of bisexuality to contextualize current definitions and bisexuality's place in modern sexuality research. Next, it advances several definitions of bisexuality. Related terms often included under the umbrella of bisexuality include pansexuality, plurisexuality, polysexuality, omnisexuality, fluid, and queer, among others. While there are significant overlaps, there are also notable differences. Each of these identities is unique and valid. Next, this entry details the prevalence of bisexuality in society before concluding with an overview of contemporary bisexuality studies.

1 A Brief History

Bisexuality as a sexual and emotional practice dates back millennia (Cantarella, 2002), and the related terms "bisexed" and "bisexous" had been used as early as the 17th century to describe Ancient Greek and Near Eastern mythological ideas about androgyny (Monro, 2015, p. 11). The first use of the term "bisexuality" as a means of anatomical classification, however, dates to 1859, when it was first used to describe human male and female reproductive structures (MacDowall, 2009). Bisexuality as a biological term was used to describe a state of arrested or maldevelopment. It then passed into the realm of sexology and psychology in an attempt to wrest it from medical discourse, which primarily focused on the treatment of illnesses that originated in the physical body. Nevertheless, the field of sexology struggled to make sense of bisexuality, and the term was not applied to sexuality, as distinct from sex and gender, until the late 19th century. Even then, it was largely ignored, as any individual engaged in same-sex behavior was quickly labeled 'homosexual,' where both bisexuality and homosexuality were thought to be caused by an inversion of the gender role (Angelides, 2001). Bisexuality was thus treated as a stage of development rather than a sexual identity category (Callis, 2012), a practice that continued through foundational lesbian and gay identity development models (e.g., Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1979).

Psychologists picked up sexologists' work of understanding bisexuality but had similar challenges accounting for bisexuality. Bisexuality was understood

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in two ways; first, as "feminine" and "masculine" psychological traits within a single person, and second, as attraction to men and women (Bowie, 1992). Psychoanalysts discounted bisexuality as an impossibility or a means of denying one's gay identity (e.g., Burger, 1956/1962), a position which has had lasting implications for bisexuality's place in contemporary society and its erasure in educational institutions (For more on bisexual erasure, refer to the monosexism entry in this volume).

2 Definitional Challenges

It is difficult to reach an agreed-upon definition of bisexuality. Bisexual people and bisexuality scholars advance differing descriptions, indicative of the challenges in theorizing human sexuality more broadly (Halperin, 2012). Bisexuality has been conceptualized in terms of desire, behavior, and identity (Hayfield, 2020). In the most expansive sense, it is an umbrella term for sexual and emotional attraction to more than one gender, as well as to individuals who may identify in other ways, including as multiple genders or as agender. A similar way of conceptualizing bisexuality is as attraction to one's own gender and to other genders (Hayfield, 2020). Some may prefer terms such as pansexual, omnisexual, or queer, which better capture attraction beyond the gender binary (Callis, 2014; Rice, 2015). In practice, however, many pansexual and bisexual people define bisexuality in similarly expansive ways, rejecting the notion that bisexuality implies an attraction only to cisgender men and women (Flanders, LeBreton et al., 2017).

Definitions of bisexuality are further complicated by the tendency to conflate concepts of sexual and romantic attraction. The label bisexual, for instance, might not resonate with biromantic asexual individuals who do not experience sexual attraction and/or engage in sexual activity but who experience romantic attraction to people of more than one gender. Varied descriptions, while important for self-definition, lead to inconsistencies across research studies and risk erasing individual experiences.

In addition to having the capacity for sexual and/or romantic attraction to more than one gender, bisexuality also includes self-identification (Flanders, LeBreton et al., 2017). Understanding bisexuality in this way recognizes the incongruence between identity and behavior, particularly when behavior is often constrained by heteronormative social forces and "the bias of compulsory heterosexuality" (Rich, 1980, p. 632). It is important to recognize that an individual's circumstances may not allow for a full exploration of their sexual **desires**; bisexual people may feel pressured to describe themselves in terms of

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their current partner and for whom self-identity may change over time (Flanders, LeBreton et al., 2017). Additionally, many young people identify with a sexuality label prior to becoming sexually active (Morgan, 2011).

3 Rates of Bisexuality

In addition to definitional uncertainties, it is also challenging to reliably report the prevalence of bisexuality, as many surveys do not include **sexual identity.** When they do, methodological challenges in quantifying sexual identity persist (Garvey, 2017). For example, survey designers must decide which response options to include and whether to ask only about identity or behavior and attraction as well (Garvey, 2017). Often, bisexual individuals will adopt multiple identity labels dependent on context (Callis, 2014). Given the fluid nature of identity (Jones et al., 2013), students may prefer to select more than one option, and their responses may change over time (Garvey, 2017). That said, National College Health Assessment (NCHA) survey responses indicate bisexual students constitute 10.5% of respondents, with an additional 1.9 and 1.7% identifying as pansexual and queer, respectively (ACHA, 2020a). When respondents were limited to undergraduate students, rates were 11.4, 2.1, and 1.8%, respectively (ACHA, 2020b), mirroring research that suggests increasing rates of bisexual identification among young people (Smith et al., 2019). This reflects national data that indicates bisexual people make up the largest segment of the LGBTQ+ community (Gates, 2011). National data collected by the Williams Institute further indicated "those who report any lifetime same-sex sexual behavior and any same-sex sexual attraction are substantially higher than estimates of those who identify as LGB" (Gates, 2011, p. 1). This suggests the number of students who have bisexual attractions or engage sexually with members of more than one gender is larger than the number of students who identify specifically as bisexual. As such, national and institutional-level data likely underestimates the number of students who would benefit from bisexuality-inclusive resources.

4 Bisexuality Studies

Bisexuality largely has been understudied relative to the literature on gay and lesbian identities (Rodríguez Rust, 2002), with research on bisexual identity development particularly lacking (Dugan & Yurman, 2011). Historically, the earliest research on identities that deviated from heterosexuality conceptualized all non-heterosexual identities as pathological (Paul, 1984). Even as researchers began taking a more affirmative view of lesbian and gay identities, bisexuality

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remained deviant (Fox, 2003). In the post-War period, the folding of bisexuality into the homosexual category functioned to reify the heterosexual (universal, normative) and homosexual (deviant) divide (Angelides, 2001). Scholars such as Kinsey et al. (1948/1998) and Klein et al. (1985) worked to problematize this pathologizing of same-sex desire and prompted a rethinking about the assumptions commonly held about sexuality.

Nevertheless, contemporary bisexuality research remains limited (Monro et al., 2017). Gender and sexuality research has historically privileged lesbian and gay identities and experiences (Rankin et al., 2019). Throughout the 1990s, higher education research began to include bisexuals along with lesbian and gay students (Rankin et al., 2019). Typically, when bisexual students appear in the education literature, they are included in aggregated samples of LGBTQ+ or LGB people, and few studies have allowed students to identify their sexuality in multiple ways. Given the dearth of literature exploring the specific experiences of bisexual students, most of the information available to educators comes from other fields, including psychology (e.g., Diamond, 2008; Rust, 2003), counseling, and mental health (e.g., Flanders, Dobinson et al., 2017), and sexuality studies (e.g., Alarie & Gaudet, 2013; Eisner, 2013; Knous, 2006; Monro, 2015); much of the interdisciplinary literature is concentrated in the *Journal of Bisexuality*. At present, white, middle-class, cisgender women are overrepresented in bisexuality studies, and scholarship has focused on challenges (e.g., erasure and exclusion, sexual victimization, mental and physical health concerns, drug use) rather than strengths. Additional research which highlights bisexual student agency is needed.

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CHAPTER 14

Bullying

Whitney Neumeyer Roach and Elissa Bryant

1 Introduction

Despite some variability across definitions in legal and school policy contexts, it is generally agreed upon that bullying differs from other intentionally harmful and aggressive behaviors in that it is both repetitive in nature and establishes an ongoing power differential between the aggressor and victim (e.g., Olweus, 1993; Swearer et al., 2010). This process of establishing and maintaining the social hierarchy is accomplished through repeated identification of and punishment for perceived "unacceptable" differences and is underscored by social inequities based on race, ethnicity, class, **sexuality**, **gender identity**, and physical ability. While the social phenomenon of bullying is commonly understood as a childhood pathology, tactics of imposing social stigma meant to "punish" difference are not at all unique to children and are, in fact, tools that have long been used among adults to enforce the categorization of a binary "normal us" and "Other them" (Davies, 2011; Corsaro, 2005).

Enforcement of socially normative behaviors by children (bullying) is rarely correlated with similar adult acts of harassment, discrimination, and attempts to maintain the regulated societal status quo (Pascoe, 2010). Instead, discrimination and violence among adults are made normative by way of sanctioned policies and laws as well as systemic and systematic sexism, homophobia, racism, and cisgenderism—to name but a few (Cahill & Makadon, 2017; Gilbert, 2014; Jones, 2018). Adults have developed sophisticated bullying tactics, which are often more subversive and insidious than those employed by children, obscured by complex language, and supported by policy, thus allowing violence toward difference to continue unquestioned. In contrast, children, who are developmentally incapable of comprehending problematic complexities of their adopted adult ideologies, fail to skillfully disguise the cruelty and brutality of enforcing oppressive social norms through shame, stigma, social isolation, and physical violence (Chalik & Dunham, 2020).

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2 Schooling

Acts of schoolyard bullying, including verbal and emotional harassment of peers perceived as social outliers or as Other—those who are "different," too feminine, too masculine, too smart—is a problematic yet effective deterrent for "unacceptable" behaviors and identities. However, by determining and categorizing specific bullying tactics as "inappropriate" for school settings—i.e., defining the term *queer* as a slur and as an attack on one's perceived **cisgender heteronormative** (cishet) reputation—schools actively define queerness itself as undesirable. By contending the root causes of bullying reside solely with individual children, educational institutions enact a self-serving guise of neutrality, allowing ongoing avoidance of systemic discrimination (Meiners, 2016; Vaught, 2014). Educational discipline policies designate bullies as "broken, threatening subjects—[who are] the cause of group conflict" (Vaught, 2014, p. 163) and respond from a position of the "carceral state"—wherein discipline practices and procedures are informed by state "agencies and institutions… that have punishing functions" (Meiners, 2016, p. 122). It is the normative social order itself that is the most active player in perpetuating victimization based on cishet rubrics of difference against queer youths.

Somewhat counterintuitively, the concept of the bully obscures and protects the actual mechanism of bullying, placing responsibility squarely on individual children who are deemed morally deficient, thereby undermining possibilities for systemic interventions and effectively maintaining the status quo. Much like the "one bad apple" response to police brutality, the "individual bully" appeases the collective outcry to address anti-queer violence through individual retributive justice rather than systemic change. Situated as pathologically violent outliers, bullies validate existing hierarchies of power and make interventions appear relatively straightforward. Situated instead as overzealous and unskillful childhood guardians of the white cishet normative order, bullies illuminate larger structural violence and exclusionary ideologies against queerness which descend far below individual childhood consciousness. Attempts to counter school bullying via individualist anti-bullying interventions further perpetuate bullying behaviors. These programs, which aim to systematically identify, shame, and socially exclude or punish bullies, often employ peer-surveillance techniques, known as "bystander interventions," not only putting bystanders at significant social and physical risk but ironically modeling the same Othering and shaming techniques for which bullies themselves are castigated. In turn, this hypocrisy adds to adolescent social confusion among individuals deemed bullies, impeding social-emotional growth necessary to mitigate their violent behaviors (Martocci, 2015; Meyer, 2016).

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3 Individualizing Violence by Pathologizing the Bully

In recent years, associations between school bullying and emotional, behavioral, and academic risks for students have gained attention, enabling the greater implementation of policies and practices focused explicitly on sexual orientation and gender identity-based bullying (Russell et al., 2016). However, discourse within these anti-bullying policies often focus on creating and perpetuating an aggressor-victim binary, thereby failing to account for how peer "policing" (the regulating of social norms and subsequent punishments for those who fail to conform—separate and apart from law enforcement) is made possible by way of school culture (Preston, 2016). While bullies regulate outlier peers, causing humiliation, physical injury, and fear for their victims, both bullies, and victims of bullying experience varying degrees of mental health concerns and psychosocial difficulties resulting from engagements with bullying (Benedict et al., 2015; Martocci, 2015). Situating bullies and victims within an individualist binary to be addressed punitively neglects the reality that victims of bullying and other forms of abuse are more likely to become perpetrators of bullying themselves, internalizing violence as self-hate and enacting similar violence in an attempt to disassociate from "the self" (Sterzing et al., 2020). One such example of enacting experienced bullying includes adolescents who have experienced anti-queer name-calling or pressure to enact gender norms which are more likely to bully others who challenge or resist cishet conformity in the future (Ioverno, 2020).

In schooling and throughout Western society, markers of success and achievement remains explicitly defined within the context of cishet whiteness, making it even more difficult for some students (e.g., queer youth and youth of Color) to position themselves for academic success (Grady et al., 2012). These perpetuations of societal inequities against queerness in schooling include that of colonial enforcement to impact Black youth who are disproportionately recognized as discipline subjects (Gregory & Roberts, 2017). Specifically, Black students, identified as disciplinary concerns either for bullying or by over-policing Blackness, "are not conceived of as unfit through the systems of power and domination that produce them, such as misogyny and homophobia," but rather by the aforementioned arguments of innate deficits which fashion them as perfect candidates to become "the source of societal ill" (Vaught, 2014, pp. 156–157). Problematizing these phenomena further, many educational institutions have become sites where queer Black students are doubly delegitimized due to both their queer and their Black identities. As such, Black queer youth are left uncategorizable, designated as too queer to embody the concept of the bully and too Black to embody a queer victim (McCready, 2015).

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4 Conclusion

As bullying is not a function of individual pathology or moral deficit, but rather a misguided attempt to establish the self among the "normal us," it is not surprising that efforts to reduce bullying through "character development" programs since the 1990s have been largely unsuccessful (Galloway & Rolland, 2004; Jiménez-Barbero et al., 2016; Yeager et al., 2015), especially in the United States where populations are more heterogeneous than elsewhere in the world (Evans et al., 2014). As students enter older adolescence, existing anti-bullying programs may even have an iatrogenic effect, inadvertently instructing youth in the more skillful tactics of violence and social exclusion often used by adults (Yeager et al., 2015). Reframing discourse regarding behaviors of violence and social exclusion among youths in schools, recognizing instances of bullying as amalgamations of white cishet policing and anti-Blackness performed by individuals who are themselves struggling to establish 'the self" may create more substantial and effective interventions.

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CHAPTER 15

Calling In/Calling Out

Dianna (D) Tejada

1 Context

Avoidance of conflict is one of the characteristics of white dominant culture (Okun, 2001). Conflict and disagreement, however, are not unhealthy or inherently violent. Often, the fear that lies beneath the surface that a person will be judged and disposed of because of the harm they have caused. Cancel culture and call-outs have magnified those fears and shifted how people think about and engage in conflict and conflict resolution. Calling in demystifies perceptions of conflict resolution as toxic and harmful to the wrongdoer because calling in utilizes a facilitative approach to better understand the root of behaviors, mindsets, or perceptions instead of a directive one (calling out), which helps remove affective barriers that may inhibit learning as well as supports the development of a common understanding because "not every correction allows both parties to move forward" (Dillard & Collins, 2019). Two ways to engage with and potentially resolve situations where there is misalignment or disagreement are to utilize directive (directing someone in order to teach) or facilitative (asking questions in order to teach) approaches. Thus, deploying the incorrect method could cause more harm than good in a situation that is meant to educate, not isolate.

2 Calling Out

Calling out has developed a negative connotation due to perceptions that a call-out could lead to someone being "canceled." This cancellation means the person is often de-platformed and isolated. Calling out typically happens in a public manner where the "wrongdoer" is being told and shown how their behavior, mindsets, or beliefs are inappropriate. For instance, if a celebrity is de-platformed and isolated for racist views without resources or supports to help them increase their awareness, they may be returning to the same existence that led to those views. Adrienne Maree Brown (2020) argues that "call outs need to be used specifically for harm and abuse, but within movement spaces, they should be deployed as a last option" (p. 52) because the fear

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call-outs instill does not remove the belief or the behavior, it pushes people to conceal them. According to Dillard and Collins (2019), however, "calling out may be the best response to those who refuse to accept responsibility for the harm they encourage or who pretend they are only innocently using their right to free speech" (craze and label). Calling out, however, **can** support the development of those who may not be aware of how their actions, mindsets, or beliefs may be harmful, especially when the call out is leveraged as a space to share readings, evidence, and additional references to educate without the fear of being canceled or disposed of. Directness can be effective.

3 Calling In

Calling in, on the other hand, is characterized as happening privately and from a more facilitative place (Aguilar, 2013) where the goal is understanding. Calling in developed in reaction to calling out and the perception that calling out is a punitive approach. Some have argued that calling in differs from calling out in that it occurs with love (Bennett, 2020)—love meaning in dialogue with the accused and out of the public eye. This same idea has led to pushback because the person or people who have been harmed are the ones extending the love, not the harm doer. During a call-in, the person doing the calling in asks questions to clarify the rationale behind the situations that led to the call in and approaching the conversation from the "what happened?" space (Stone et al., 2010), where blame and presumed intentions are removed in place of understanding. Calling in has also been criticized due to the perception that this strategy was developed to coddle harm doers and decenter the person or people who have been harmed. This strategy, however, can be transformational for all parties if used effectively. More specifically, it is imperative that the person or people who have been harmed are not responsible for responding to or educating the person or people who have harmed them.

4 Calling in/Calling out in Education

Knowing when and how to deploy strategies to support learning and transformation is just as important as, if not more important than having the strategies. Calling out makes space for wrongdoing, misconceptions, and confusion to be addressed directly, whilst calling in involves making space for the person to reflect and be heard. The issue lies in the connection between calling out and cancel culture because mistakes render a person disposable. This completely

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defies the purpose of education—learning. Calling out has also led to educators and students being asked to leave their positions, while calling in often makes the people who have been harmed responsible for doing the emotional labor of educating and understanding the people who have been harmed. It is crucial for there to be balance and for people to engage in healthy conflict that changes and moves people effectively because both strategies can be effective depending on the context and the need. Choose wisely.

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CHAPTER 16

Campus Activism

Rob Loren Hill

1 Introduction

Campus activism refers to advocacy done by and for individuals in higher education contexts to effect social change. LGBTQIA campus activism overlaps with activism that serves various communities, including Black, Indigenous, and other people of Color and groups holding many other social identities. Activism on campuses usually involves coalition-building to effect changes for student and employee well-being but can also be tied to larger movements beyond the campus' scope, such as advocacy for local, state, and national policy change.

2 History of LGBTQIA Campus Activism

In the mid to late-twentieth century, LGBTQIA student activist groups began to proliferate on college campuses. The emergence of such groups mirrored the beginnings of visible LGBTQIA activism in the United States generally (including homophile organizations such as the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis that provided forums for gay men (Mattachine) and lesbians (Daughters of Bilitis) to connect and seek social tolerance (Marine, 2011)). In the 1950s, these counterculture movements were threatened by the Red Scare: the effort led by Senator Joseph McCarthy to rout out and discredit various progressive beliefs and their backers by connecting them to a nebulous conception of communism. Homophile organizations like Mattachine and Daughters of Bilitis believed organizing provided a possible antidote to the worst of McCarthyism (Marine, 2011).

As the '60s wore on and feminist and civil rights activists gained prominence, so too did gay and lesbian organizing, sometimes connected to other progressive movements. Major protests such as those at Cooper's Do-Nuts in Los Angeles, Dewey's in Philadelphia, Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco, and, most notably, the Stonewall Inn in New York City gave rise to the **visibility** of LGBTQ+ resistance, especially among LGBTQIA people of Color, to the homophobic, transphobic status quo and led to the formulation of more

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radical activism groups such as the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). The GLF's more aggressive politics became popular and spread throughout the U.S. Although the GLF groups that emerged often splintered, creating trans-led and other organizations such as Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), and Queens' Liberation Front (QLF; Stryker, 2017), the impact of a new politics was undeniable.

LGBTQIA students founded campus organizations in the 1970s and adopted naming conventions that connected them to the GLF. These groups sought various institutional, governmental policy, and cultural changes related to LGBTQIA well-being and livelihood, such as integration of LGBTQIA people into nondiscrimination policies, abolishing anti-sodomy laws, and recognition and visibility on campus and in society generally. LGBTQIA campus activism overlapped with concurrent social movements, such as the Civil Rights and Women's Rights Movements.

3 Forms of LGBTQIA Campus Activism

Activism takes many forms, and many different individuals participate in it. Campus activists employ various tactics to agitate for changes, include effecting legislation in campus (and student) governance; educating stakeholders on issues; and direct action such as sit-ins, marches, and other protests. Examples of changes LGBTQIA campus activists seek to include establishing gender-inclusive facilities (e.g., bathrooms, housing), **anti-discrimination policies**, recognition of diverse families and relationships, LGBTQIA affirming healthcare, and the ability of individuals to change gender markers and names in institutional records.

Student organizations oriented toward activism continue to exist to the benefit of students themselves and their campuses (Renn, 2007; Vaccaro & Newman, 2017). Although students are arguably the most visible campus activists, faculty and staff advocate for change through various mechanisms within and outside of campus environments as well. Faculty use tactics such as participation in shared governance and their own teaching and research practices to advocate for change (Messinger, 2011).

Institutional type also affects how LGBTQIA campus activism emerges in different settings. For example, some religiously affiliated higher education institutions have historically forbidden open identification with LGBTQIA communities and refused to extend campus resources to LGBTQIA student organizations (Coley, 2018; Marine, 2011). In these constrained contexts, campus activists may instead take a more underground approach. Activists at

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women's colleges and men's colleges are faced with circumstances distinct from co-ed institutions that have led many to advocate for trans inclusion in admission, housing, and institutional records (see, for example, Johnston & Campbell, 2019; Weber, 2019). The geographical location of a given institution might also affect the kinds of LGBTQIA activism that take place there, including the presence of student organizations (Coley & Das, 2020). Those in local and state contexts that are less LGBTQIA-friendly may focus more attention on laws off-campus, for instance.

Because LGBTQIA campus activists collaborate with other advocates for social change within and beyond campus environments, tactics they use and issues they involve themselves in extend beyond those that are directly relevant to **sexual orientation** and gender. For example, LGBTQIA activists in a campus context might align themselves with other progressive activists against military involvement, such as the presence of ROTC on campus, both because of the military's past and current discrimination against LGBTQIA people and for antiwar purposes (Marine, 2011). Other activist efforts, such as the #MeToo and Black Lives Matter movements, have also carried the banner of LGBTQIA rights and humanity (Stryker, 2017). In short, LGBTQIA campus activists take up diverse causes, and campus activism is not restricted to those organizations and efforts that are LGBTQIA-specific.

4 Risks and Benefits of LGBTQIA Campus Activism

There are real and perceived risks of involvement in campus activism. A risk, especially for faculty and staff, is the possible consequence of being dismissed from the institution for involvement in activism. Faculty may also face other consequences, such as denial of promotion or tenure, or perceive that involvement in activism could lead to such consequences. Activists have also described social isolation for **coming out** and/or involving themselves in advocacy for LGBTQIA people (Messinger, 2011).

Activism presents benefits as well, both socially and for individuals who take part in activist efforts. Socially, the changes activists seek to serve LGBTQIA people in and beyond college campuses. When they result in changes made, activists' efforts enhance the well-being of and resources for LGBTQIA people. LGBTQIA student activists, in time, find connections to other forms of advocacy and social justice (Renn, 2007), so their activism can also benefit other minoritized social groups. Individually, activists can find meaning and camaraderie with other activists in striving for social change (Tillapaugh, 2015). Many individuals find a personal calling in participating in campus activism, thus

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also benefitting from the process of advocating for change (Hill et al., 2021). Campus activist efforts are often collaborative, so LGBTQIA activists also reap the benefits of being in community with like-minded people (Vaccaro & Newman, 2017).

Because of these multiple benefits of activism, many educators encourage individuals, students, in particular, to involve themselves in activist efforts. This dynamic raises ethical questions, however. LGBTQIA activists reap benefits from advocating for social change, but they would also benefit from a just society that does not require change. It has been observed that educators should both encourage activist efforts but also strive for a world that does not demand activist labor.

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CHAPTER 17

Campus Climate (College & University)

Allison BrckaLorenz

Campus climate is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon that scholars have historically studied with a focus on people's race, ethnicity, or sex. Only recently have researchers made strides to understand this diversity-laden concept through a lens of a person's **sexual orientation** or **gender identity** beyond a cisgender binary, but studies holistically incorporating these identities are still largely lacking (Hart & Fellabaum, 2008). Early studies of campus climate for queer individuals found college and university campuses to be hostile or, at best, neutral, but more contemporary work, since the late 1990s and early 2000s, suggests modest positive changes in climate with the continued need for institutions to do more work in this area (Garvey et al., 2017; Rankin et al., 2019). Much of what scholars know about queer issues in higher education has come from knowledge gained through campus climate studies (Renn, 2010). Campus climate is an important concept to study as researchers have shown that affirming climates are linked to positive academic outcomes, student involvement, retention, identity development, and overall well-being of queer people (Garvey et al., 2017; Garvey et al., 2018; Szymanski & Bissonette, 2020; Tetreault et al., 2013). Additionally, studies of campus climate can be used as tools to hold institutions accountable and to signal to queer constituents that their experiences matter (Renn, 2010).

1 A Definition of Campus Climate

Campus climate has been a difficult term to define, and scholars commonly conflate climate with ideas of culture and environment (Rankin & Reason, 2008). Whereas culture centers on a holistic view of the deeply embedded values of an organization, climate focuses more specifically on affective measures and interpersonal interactions that can impact culture over time (Cress, 2002). Often climate assessments happen locally, so peoples' understanding of climate issues is specific to an individual campus, further complicating efforts to have a common understanding of climate issues (Hart & Fellabaum, 2008; Renn, 2010). However, various definitions of campus climate share common characteristics that, when taken together, create a multifaceted, universal

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conceptual meaning. Scholars engaged in understanding climate typically consider some or most of the following:

- Experiences: lived occurrences and behaviors of students and employees on campus, including both in academic and non-academic contexts (e.g., Hart & Fellabaum, 2008; Hurtado et al., 1998; Rankin, 2005; Woodard & Sims, 2000)
- Perceptions: psychological, emotional, and attitudinal impressions of students and employees (e.g., Hart & Fellabaum, 2008; Hurtado et al., 1998; Rankin, 2005)
- Representation: the social structural, and demographic diversity of the campus (e.g., Hart & Fellabaum, 2008; Hurtado et al., 1998; Rankin, 2005)
- Institutional value: the extent to which the institution demonstrates diversity as an essential value through its messaging, support structures, and policies, including support for scholarship about and from diverse voices and institutional response to diversity issues (e.g., Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Renn, 2010; Szymanski & Bissonette, 2020; Woodford et al., 2018)
- Sociohistorical factors: the campus' historical legacy of diversity and social justice issues, treatment of minoritized persons, and influences from external sources both past and current (e.g., Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hart & Fellabaum, 2008; Hurtado et al., 1998; Rankin & Reason, 2008)

2 A Framework for Understanding Campus Climate

Intended to understand the climate of all subgroups on campus, the Transformational Tapestry Model (Rankin, 2003; Rankin & Reason, 2008) focuses on power differentials as being central to the interactions that lead to perceptions of campus climate. I adapt their six dimensions of climate, which have significant overlap with the definition presented here, for queer populations: access and retention of queer students and employees; research and scholarship that includes queer perspectives; inter- and intragroup relations within and between queer and non-queer persons; curriculum and pedagogy that educates students on queer issues; demonstrated commitment to supporting the queer community; and external contexts such as local, state, and national forces. The model itself follows a series of stages designed to help campus leaders understand and then transform their campus climate. Through varied phases of assessment and interventions, this model has guided numerous colleges and universities towards positive changes in campus climate (Rankin & Reason, 2008).

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3 Influences on Campus Climate

One of the main findings from research on campus climate is that perceptions of climate are varied both between and within groups of students, faculty, administrators, and staff. However, research highlights various influences that shape campus climate for queer individuals overall.

3.1 *Positive Influences on Campus Climate*

Researchers have found a variety of influences that have positive relationships with campus climate that tend to fall within the dimensions of perceptions, representation, and institutional value. For example, a perceived willingness of other students and faculty to confront anti-queer statements and behaviors, equitable and fair treatment by faculty, feeling open to disclosing a queer identity with others and having a sense of physical and emotional safety are all related to a more positive campus climate for queer individuals (Blumenfeld et al., 2016; Tetreault et al., 2013). Even just knowing other queer individuals on campus can lead to more positive perceptions of climate (Garvey et al., 2017). General perceptions of institutional commitment to queer persons, institutional use of inclusive language and symbols, adherence to community standards and nondiscrimination policies, and creation of gender-neutral facilities are all ways that institutions can show their value for queer students and employees (Garvey et al., 2017; Katz et al., 2016; Rankin et al., 2019; Renn, 2010).

3.2 *Negative Influences on Campus Climate*

Many of the negative influences on campus climate focus on the dimensions of experiences, perceptions, institutional value, and sociohistorical factors. Although some negative influences on climate include a general sense of homophobia or transphobia, other experiences are overt, such as physical assault, threats of physical violence, having personal property destroyed, anti-queer graffiti, and receiving verbal insults (Blumenfeld et al., 2016; Brown et al., 2004; Rankin, 2005). Additional experiences such as faculty who silence queer voices or tokenize queer students, misgendering or using incorrect pronouns, and unfair treatment by faculty are other examples (Garvey et al., 2017; Goldberg et al., 2019; Rankin et al., 2019). Often, for students, the negative experiences are a consequence of interactions with other students both inside and outside the queer community (Evans et al., 2017; Rankin, 2005). Feeling a sense of fear for physical safety and concealing one's identity to avoid intimidation are examples of perceptions that can contribute to a negative sense of climate (Rankin, 2005). Institutions can fail to show their value for queer persons in such ways as not

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ensuring that faculty represent queer issues and queer voices in the curriculum, creating gendered contexts in housing and other facilities, not responding to issues related to sexual orientation and gender identity, having inequitable benefits available for queer persons and families, and having inflexible systems for changing names and pronouns (Blumenfeld et al., 2016; Garvey et al., 2017; Goldberg et al., 2019; Rankin et al., 2019). Perhaps most difficult to understand due to the longitudinal or retrospective nature of examining sociohistorical influences, largely what we know about these negative influences, such as the Matthew Shepherd tragedy or Don't Ask, Don't Tell at military colleges, are from reflections on incidents in the past (Garvey et al., 2017; Rankin et al., 2019).

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CHAPTER 18

Chicana Feminism

José Manuel Santillana Blanco

Chicana feminism is a social, political, cultural, and artistic movement seeking to address and highlight the experiences, struggles, and contributions of Chicanas primarily at the intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, indigeneity, dis/ability, immigration, and spirituality. Throughout the years, Chicana feminist artists, activists, and scholars have continually redefined the boundaries of private, public, and collective spaces.

1 Historical Overview

On February 2, 1848, the Mexican Congress brought an end to the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that resulted in the annexation of over 500,000 square miles of Mexican territory extending westward from the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean (Acuña, 2011). The consequences of both the war and treaty went far beyond immediate losses, impacting the livelihoods of Mexican, Indigenous, and other people in the region. For example, anthropologist Martha Menchaca (2001) notes that the United States' violation of the treaty further racialized the status of *mestizos*, Christianized Indians, and *Afromestizos* as inferior (p. 215). While anti-Mexican violence along what is now known as the Southwest borderlands predated the mid-1800s, a legacy of discrimination against Mexican and Mexican-American peoples followed, including the loss of land, lynching, and segregation (Acuña, 2011; Carrigan & Webb, 2013; Gonzalez-Day, 2006). Consequently, the newly established United States-Mexico border denotes the birth of Mexican-American and/or Chicana and Chicano people. A history that is integral in the formation of Chicana experiences in the Southwest borderlands.

While the gender-specific term Chicano has historically been used to refer to all people of Mexican-American descent, Chicana Feminists have actively protested male-centered pronouns as well as transformed identity-specific language to more accurately account for everyone across race, ethnicity, indigeneity, gender, and **sexuality**. More specifically, the development and use of both Chicana and Chicano together was the result of early Chicana feminist calls to acknowledge the labor of women in all spaces. The terms Chicana

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and Chicano typically refer to people of Mexican descent born in the United States. Unlike the term Mexican-American, some scholars have explored the ways the etymology of Chicana and Chicano is derivative of ancient indigenous Mesoamerican languages that predate the Spanish conquest (Baca, 2008; Zaragoza, 2017). In the early 1900s, the terms were widely used as classist and racial slurs to refer to working-class Mexican-American people in Spanish-speaking neighborhoods (Pickett, 2005). However, in the 1940s and 1950s, young *pachucas* and *pachucos* reclaimed the term as an expression of defiance against white supremacy (Macías, 2008). It wasn't until the rise of the Chicano Movement of the 1960s that the terms Chicana and Chicano became symbols of pride among Mexican-American activists in places across California, Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, as well as other states in the Southwest (Rosales, 1997). Important to note, the term Chicano Movement denotes the male-centeredness of the movement in the 1960s and 1970s. It was a social, political, and cultural movement that reflected the experiences, struggles, and resistance of Mexican-American people against structural racism in the United States (Rodriguez, 2014). Yet, like the Civil Rights Movement, American Indian Movement, Asian American Movement, and other social movements of the 1960s seeking to address racial discrimination in the country, the leadership of the Chicano Movement remained dominated by men. Chicana Feminism larger developed as a response to sexism in the Chicano Movement.

2 Facing Racism and Sexism

The massive uprisings of liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s set a precedent for women's concerns across race, class, gender, and sexuality in the United States. While the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) of the late 1960s sought to make political alliances across gender, women of Color experienced racism that often silenced, ignored, and left them out of key conversations. For Chicanas, joining the predominantly white women's movement meant confronting racism, while joining the Chicano Movement meant facing sexism from male leadership. Still, Chicana feminists participated in both as they were committed to multiple struggles (García, 1997). Moreover, Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish (2008) point out that Chicana feminists viewed oppression as a product of racism, classism, and sexism intersecting to reinforce and sustain these oppressive systems across movements. However, as a result of their continued frustrations at being excluded within these movements, Chicanas created their own spaces. In 1970, Chicanas at the Mexican-American National Issues Conference in Sacramento formed *La Comisión*

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Femenil Mexicana (Acuña, 2011). Drawing inspiration from their Mexican revolutionary heritage, Chicanas formed various organizations, such as *Hijas de Cuautémoc,* in 1971, which included the publications *Encuentro* F*emenil* and *Regeneracón*. That same year, over 600 Chicanas attended *La Conferencia de Mujeres Por La Raza* in Houston, Texas (Segura & Pesquera, 1988–1990). Within a larger context, Chicana Feminist scholar Dolores Delgado Bernal (1998) has argued for the reconceptualization of women's participation in the Chicano Movement as a necessary move to rethink and identify the vital contributions of Chicanas that have been ignored by Chicano scholars and activists alike.

As the earlier Chicana feminist of the 1960s, Chicana activists, artists, and scholars continued redefining the boundaries of gender-specific language. For example, the changing of the National Association of Chicano Studies (NACS) to a more gender-inclusive National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) in 1995. Internally within NACCS, Chicanas sought more gender and sexuality inclusion in renaming the Lesbian Caucus to the Lesbian, Bisexual Mujeres Transgender (LBMT) Caucus (Revilla, 2014). In more recent decades, queer and Chicana feminists have developed more gender-fluid expressions that include the use of Chicana/o, Chican@, Chicanx, and Xicanx. The most recent being the term Chicanx which accounts for anyone in the community who does not identify with the **gender binary**. Additionally, the early work of queer Chicana feminists of the 1980s and 1990s transformed Chicana feminist scholarship by addressing issues around queerness, homophobia, and the family. In 1981, Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa's trailblazing anthology *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* facilitated space for mostly queer women of Color to speak out against their experiences as multiply oppressed women. The anthology facilitated key conversations that introduced audiences to third world feminism, Moraga's theory in the flesh, and what it meant to do feminist work across difference. By 1983, Cherríe Moraga had published *Loving in the War Years: Lo Que Nunca Pasó Pro Sus Labios*, which used poetry and prose to highlight her experiences as a Chicana lesbian within a racist and sexist country. While in 1987, Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* broke ground theorizing the United States-Mexico borderlands as a physical, imagined, and spiritual space within the social categories of race, indigeneity, gender, sexuality, identity, and **colonialism**. Other notable contributions included Carla Trujillo's (1991) *Chicana Lesbians: The Girls Our Mothers Warned Us About*, Cherríe Moraga's (1993) *The Last Generation: Prose and Poetry*, and Anita Revilla's (2009) "Are All Raza Womyn Queer? An Exploration of Sexual Identities in Chicana/Latina Student Organization."

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3 New Directions

Since its inception, Chicana feminism has gained international recognition for its intellectual, cultural, and artistic contributions to theory, literature, activism, and art. Examples include Chicana scholars such Chela Sandoval, Gloria Anzaldúa, Norma Alarcón, Sandra Cisneros, and Ana Castillo, who have gained wide recognition in philosophy, literature, and postcolonial studies. In 2017, the Las Maestras Center for Xicanx Indigenous Thought, Art, & Social Practice at the University of California, Santa Barbara, was founded by Cherríe Moraga and Celia Herrera Rodriguez. In 2019, French, Mexican, and US-based scholars hosted the first International Gloria Anzaldúa Conference in Paris, France, drawing hundreds of participants from across the globe. In Los Angeles, grassroots activist groups, such as Ovarian Psycos and Mujeres de Maiz, have fostered Chicana and Latina women-led spaces that confront sexual violence and nurture mind, body, spirit, and cultural work. Contemporary work includes Dionne Espinoza et al.'s (2018) *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*, Celcilia Caballero et al.'s (2019) *The Chicanawork Anthology*, Linda Heidenreich's (2020) *Nepantla Squared: Transgender Mestiz@ Histories in Times of Global Shift*, and Frank J. Galarte's (2021) *Brown Trans Figurations" Rethinking Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Chicanx/Latinx Studies*.

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CHAPTER 19

Cisheteropatriarchy

Kody Muncaster

1 Contextualizing Cisheteropatriarchy

The term cisheteropatriarchy describes a system of dominance where cisgender, heterosexual men are subject to numerous forms of privilege that increase the distribution of life chances in their favor at the expense of trans and queer people as well as women. Variations of this term such as patriarchy, **heteropatriarchy**, and imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy are also present in current scholarship (see, for example, Greensmith & Giwa, 2013; hooks, 2004). Cisheteropatriarchy relies on the naturalization of the **gender binary** and the institutionalization of the nuclear family for its hierarchical operations.

The term has evolved from patriarchy and is used to emphasize the mutually reinforcing relationships between patriarchy, heterosexism, and transphobia. Alejandro Bupara (2019) argues that the gender binary and **heteronormativity** are inseparable from patriarchy. Thus, an understanding of cisheteropatriarchy is imperative to make explicit the mutually reinforcing nature of the gender binary, heteronormativity, and patriarchy. Cisheteropatriarchal operations not only naturalize heteronormative gender roles and the socio-political dominance of cisgender men but also reinforce the gender binary and marginalize trans and non-binary people (Alim et al., 2018). What is thematic in many scholarly understandings and iterations of the term is an analysis of multiple systems of dominance that cannot be separated from one another. There is no consensus on when and where cisheteropatriarchy as a system originated. Valdes (1996) argues that the ancient Greek sex/gender system played a critical role in institutionalizing cisheteropatriarchy in the West, though cisheteropatriarchy is not limited to the Western hemisphere.

2 Cisheteropatriarchy in Education

The term 'cisheteropatriarchy' has been taken up in critical education studies to interrogate the role of mechanisms of dominance in pedagogy and education administration. One of many examples of this work is Strunk et al.'s

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(2020) examination of texts related to higher education equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) initiatives. They argue that universities use the language of EDI as a means of reproducing white supremacist cisheteropatriarchy. Their work is part of a larger body of literature examining cisheteropatriarchy in education. There is also work in education studies that examines cisheteropatriarchy without necessarily using the word. For example, Staley and Leonardi (2016) discuss their experiences preparing a group of secondary preservice literacy teachers on gender and sexually diverse pedagogy. They argue that the decision to lean into discomfort is necessary for educators to be receptive to learning more about "heterosexism, homophobia, and broader oppression" (Staley & Leonardi, 2016, p. 209) in other words, cisheteropatriarchy. This burgeoning field in education challenges transphobia, heterosexism, and sexism within pedagogy, educational institutions, and curricula.

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CHAPTER 20

Cisheterosexism

Esteban Francisco López Medina

1 The Term

This word is formed by the combination of the following stems and affixes:

- CIS-: Latin prefix that stands for "on this side of" or "on the same side as." It is used to refer to people whose gender identity—and, presumably, gender expression—coincides with the gender they were assigned at birth.
- HETERO-: Greek root meaning "different." Foucault (1995) described how identities based on sexual orientation were socially constructed in the 19th century, after which the original Greek term came to be used to label persons who are attracted to the opposite sex.
- SEXISM: it refers to "the belief in the inherent superiority of one sex over the other and thereby the right to dominance" (Lorde, 2013, p. 45). Considering the social assumption that sex and gender must align with each other, it describes the secular subordination of women to men based on their gender.

2 Key Ideas and Definition

"Cis-" implies **gender binary** essentialism or biological essentialism, which states the existence of just two sexes and genders, with a clear-cut, one-to-one correspondence between them: male-man and female-woman, thus effectively banning the existence of trans people. According to this logic, the biological given (sex) must agree with the social construct (gender), making any other possible interaction between them abnormal. On top of this distinction, endless social conventions have standardized what it means to be truly feminine and masculine, with no acceptance of other identities, like non-binary individuals.

Adding complexity to the concept, the second main idea is what Rich (1996) named as "**compulsory heterosexuality**": in a world where only two sexes exist, every person must feel attracted to another of the opposite sex. As the author herself puts it, "heterosexuality may not be a 'preference' at all but something that has had to be imposed, managed, organized, propagandized, and maintained by force" (Rich, 1980, p. 648).

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Within the logic explained so far, which reduces endless possible combinations of attractions, physical characteristics, and social conventions into contrasting binaries, the word's ending "sexism" involves the privileges granted to just one hyperlegitimised identity: cisheterosexual men. However, a privilege can only be held at the expense of someone else's loss of rights. The consequence of the combination of gender hierarchy and heteronormativity (Butler, 2007) is then clear: cisheterosexual men are the social norm and measure; anyone who does not comply with what it means to be a cisheterosexual man will suffer. In short, "sexism" reveals the essential punitive aspect of cisheterosexism, whose victims, given the gender binary logic, are women as a whole, non-cisheteronormative men, and non-binary and genderqueer individuals (Serrano, 2007).

In conclusion, as a type of domination by a social group over another (Horvath, 1972), **cisheterosexism** can be considered as one of the many manifestations of colonialism in its broadest sense, as Manning et al. (2020) define it: "an intersectionally constituted colonial structure designed to privilege particular intersectional modes of embodiment, identity, and relationality as it dominates others" (p. 6).

Cisheterosexism is, undoubtedly, a "social organization of sexuality" (Rubin, 1975, p. 168). Kate Millet (2000), defining patriarchy, stated that "sexual dominion obtains nevertheless as perhaps the most pervasive ideology of our culture and provides its most fundamental concept of power" (p. 25). Is (cisheteros) sexism synonym to **(cisheteros)patriarchy**?

Regarding their meaning, it must be admitted the terms describe the same phenomenon. However, they are not easily interchangeable, as (cisheteros) patriarchy implies a political, activist connotation (cisheteros)sexism does not so clearly (López Medina, 2020). In fact, the association of patriarchy with other manifestations of exclusion and dominance like imperialism, white supremacy, or capitalism (hooks, 2004) is not unusual. As a result, in some contexts, the word "cisheterosexism" may be regarded as more appropriate than "cisheteropatriarchy" and vice versa.

3 Cisheterosexism in Education

The effects of cisheterosexism are universal and not restricted to education. In general terms, they can be summarised as violence evidenced by sexism and LGBTQphobia, both understood in their broadest sense so as to include their most varied manifestations, which will vary depending on the context, from the slightest comment to physical attacks among many others.

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Focusing on formal education, no school system will admit to educating in prejudice and privilege. It is a fact they do, though. Cisheterosexist teachings are not part of their official syllabus but of the hidden curriculum (Torres, 1998), conveyed by practices, routines, resources, discourses, representations, exercises, methodologies, and, very often, silences (López Medina, 2020), eventually leading to the uncritical reinforcement and reproduction of hegemonic powers in society.

It is important to reflect on this, as schools are one of the power mechanisms (Foucault, 1992) that shape individuals. They instil binary concepts like normal/abnormal, good/bad, superior/inferior, legal/illegal, central/marginal, sane/insane, and many more, which are implicitly and explicitly applied to people's identity in terms of gender and sexuality, thus creating a hierarchy of privileges and oppressions (Preciado, 2003).

Torres (1998) describes how sexism shapes education in different ways. Among them, the teachers' different expectations for boys and girls or teachers' differentiated reactions to students' behavior must be highlighted. Even more, in some places, it is still socially accepted that girls and boys study separately or divergent contents with different resources, which, to make matters worse, hardly ever offer examples of leading women.

Similarly, homophobia or oppositional sexism (Serrano, 2007), as umbrella terms equivalent to LGBTQphobia, is also pervading in education. It is not uncommon to know about physical and verbal attacks on students and teachers on the grounds of their **gender identity** and/or **sexual orientation**. Again, the hidden curriculum that permeates schools leads to their authorities silencing the victims and minimizing violence, a proven symptom of institutional homophobia (Pichardo et al., 2015).

Although homophobia is a cultural content (Borrillo, 2001) transmitted in very similar ways to that of sexism, it is instilled not only through the hidden curriculum (Torres, 1998), like when all the representations of householders are women, but through utter silence, known as null curriculum (Eisner, 1994). LGBTQ+ people are usually blatantly omitted in school discourses, and their representation is purposefully deleted in most school resources. Another example is the scarce use of inclusive language in formal education, which also erases both women and non-binary persons (López Medina, 2020).

In short, the education system contributes to LGTBQ+ people assuming that the role society expects them to play is secondary, submissive, and hidden. Schools teach them their identity is not meant to be public, but to be kept private and discreet, the social expectation that some authors name as liberal homophobia (Borrillo, 2001). It also often leads to homonormativity (Motschenbacher & Stegu, 2013): their desire to fit into society by appearing

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as heteronormative as possible. By doing so, they are able to retain some privileges cisheterosexism would deny them, should they choose to lead an openly queer identity.

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CHAPTER 21

The Closet

Christian George Gregory

1 The Closet as Metaphor

Historically, the closet, as a figure of speech, has been a site of privacy and secrecy. In Medieval and Renaissance literature, the closet represented the religious heart, a site of both concealed and revealed devotional truth. Later, secular writings in the 19th and 20th centuries example how the closet suggested psychically darker spaces as the site of negative affect, concealment of secrets, and suppressed consciousness.[1] Emerging out of the 1960s, the contemporary use of the closet, coordinated with the relational prepositions 'in' and 'out,' further marked the threshold between concealment and disclosure; in fact, as a figure, the closet, by its concealing nature, houses within itself the potentiality of disclosure. This usage is the collision of two distinct, yet convergent etymological histories (Bobker, 2015). The first was brought into literary fashion in the mid-19th century by William Thackery, writing that the concealed skeletons of the closet would soon-to-be brought to light and public scrutiny.[2] This use continued in the late 19th and early 20th-centuries in the US, when writers offered that hidden threats, such as prohibition or tuberculosis, were 'dragged out of the closet' into public consciousness.[3]

The second thread of closet discourse, one that led to the expression 'coming out of the closet,' was 'coming out in society,' popularized by debutante balls in the 20th century. In a handful of US cities as early as 1931, **Drag** balls, **queer** replications of debutante balls, featured a similar action of **coming out**, indicative of one being brought out into the subculture. Later in the 50s, 'coming out' was a sexual rite of passage and by the 70s, the connotation shifted, framed by **heteronormativity**: 'coming out' was no longer an action within the queer community but exterior to it, as a disclosure of one's sexuality to friends and family (Chauncey, 1994, p. 8).

The convergence of 'coming out' and 'the closet' came into common parlance by writers, as evidenced from short stories, plays, histories (Crowley, 1968; Jones, 1963; Petronius, 1966). Chauncey (1994) noted that 'coming out of the closet' was never used by gay people themselves before the 1960s, as the phrase was absent in the diaries, literatures, or letters of gay men and lesbian women. What became established at this time was a discourse of 'coming out

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of the closet' (Silin, 1999), a legible spatial metaphor that structured both concealment and disclosure of **sexuality** and **gender identity**.

2 The Closet and Activists

The dominant narrative of the closet was a unidirectional migration to leave the closet behind: a charge that began in the 1970s and persisted onward, fomented by the protest rallying cry, "Out of the closet and into the streets," hinging on the idea that to be out and visible was a state of liberation and value (Humphreys, 1972, p. 3; Jay & Young, 1972).[4] Implicit within this activism was that to be 'in' was to embody self-hatred, denial, and abnegation. As a result, the closet was a battleground site of political liberation, troubled by writers and activists, who aimed to disrupt and destroy the closet as a site of secrecy and oppression altogether, most dynamically through the forcible and propulsive action of 'outing' (Gross, 1993; Signorile, 1993, 1995).

3 The Closet and Theorists

The popular use of the closet was quickly theorized and critiqued by writers and queer theorists in the 1990s. Queer theorists pushed back against the limitations inherent within the image and implications of the closet. Sedgwick (1990) decried the static immobility of the trope, an ideological and figurative consequence from the psychiatric categorization of the homosexual as distinct from the presumably 'normal' heterosexual. Fuss (1992) disrupted and questioned the reductive opposition between hetero- and homosexual categorizations. Butler (1991) and Rich (1980) noted the false liberatory promise of coming 'out,'[5] when, in fact, the oppression of heteronormativity persists (Bobker, 2015). Warner (2002) countered the notion that the LGBTQ+ community is responsible for their invisibility, when the closet is publicly constructed and regulated; stated another way, heteronormativity, is a ubiquitous force that sustains the closet as an enclosure. Silin (1999) notably suggested that **queer theory**, as a "form of social critique that must lead to political action" (p. 104), was a potential force to question, penetrate, reconstitute, or even explode the closet itself. Such scholars began to complicate the study of the closet in its features, contradictions, misconceptions, and effect on its subject and others.

3.1 *Features and Misconceptions of the Closet*

As a figurative image, the closet is signifying, simultaneously and contradictorily, the dual states of secrecy and disclosure. Moreover, it is a byproduct of

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heteronormativity, which silences, represses, and disavows **queer** identities (Casarino, 1997, p. 205). A further complication noted by Ross (2005) is that the closet emerges from white European history, tropes, and discourse that marginalize and bracket race by disregarding racial ideology. Ross adds that (white) queer theory is plagued by *claustrophilia*, "a fixation on the closet as the grounding principle for sexual experience, knowledge, and politics" that serves as a distraction from race and class (p. 162).

The closet has been most notably theorized by Eve Sedgwick (1990), who recognized various contradictions. First, the closet is a site that contains the vitality of desire even as it suppresses and silences its expression. Accordingly, the closet is not a static space, but one featuring the active tension of directional "vectors" of secrecy and disclosure pulling simultaneously (p. 70). Another inherent contradiction is that the closet troubles speech acts, wherein non-disclosure or silence is as "pointed and performative as speech…[and] ignorance is potent and multiple a thing *there* as is knowledge" (emphasis added, p. 4).

Sedgwick (1990) and others disrupted the common misconception that the closet is a fixed, singular site. In fact, the closet is neither singular nor localized, but multiple and mobile. With each successive social encounter, new closet walls may be removed or reconstructed (p. 68). Thus, there are multiple sites of enclosure, disclosure, and states in-between, as one may be 'in' to some and 'out' to others, or engage in the shared contract of the "open secret," which sustains secrecy and regulates speech acts (Miller, 1988, pp. 192–220). Such positionalities, sometimes enacted at once by the subject over multiple sites, are responsive to the complex and varied realms of personal, familial, and professional relations. Another misapprehension of the closet is that it may be conceptually ruptured. Coming 'out,' for instance, reconstructs, rather than destroys, the closet, as Butler (1991) contended that being 'out' ironically produces a new opacity of the closet, as when the claim of 'outness' suggests that 'inness' still exists.

3.2 *The Space Inside*

Within the closet the subject exerts a continuous energy to sustain secrecy. Even so, identity within the closet, as mentioned earlier, may remain an "open secret," known by the subject and others (Miller, 1988, pp. 192–220). Another feature of the closet is that it can be a site of loneliness and melancholy. Yet this is not absolute, as the closet can be shared in surprising ways, even as a site of sublime claustrophobia by playing out the pleasures of containment, derived from violating norms or "getting caught" (Casarino, 1997, p. 243).

3.3 *The Closet, Its Subject, and Identity*

Scholars have troubled notions that the closet houses a coherent identity or an "I" that can be identified, fully known, and finalized. 'Leaving' the closet[6] is not

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necessarily a movement within a grand narrative of revelation or consciousness. As questioned by Butler (1991), "[c]onventionally, one comes out of the closet…but into what? What new unbounded spatiality? The room, the den, the attic, the basement, the house, the bar, the university, some new enclosure whose door, like Kafka's door produces the expectation of a fresh air and a light of illumination that never arrives?" (p. 16). In short, the closet is a multiple, self-reconstituting structure in which the subject may be 'in' and 'out' simultaneously. Moreover, the space outside of the closet does not guarantee any fulfillment of identity.

3.4 *The Closet and Others*

The closet is not hermetically sealed; rather, the secrecy that characterizes the closet is a porous, penetrating force to those surrounding it. One's enclosure in the closet propagates a viral-like secrecy, whereby family, friends, and coworkers are resultingly and likewise enfolded into a discourse of concealment (Sedgwick, 1990, p. 80).

'Leaving' the closet does not suggest liberation from heteronormativity nor does it protect those from everyday bias (Rich, 1980). Further, for intersectional identities, 'coming out,' may proffer a liberation that only effaces other minoritized identities, what one scholar deemed a "closed openness" (Asher, 2007, p. 69).

4 The Closet and Education

For students, the closet, a space of concealment historically and unduly characterized as a space of deceit, is also a symbol around which each subject may engage in self-exploration, definition, and agency. The closet has become the site of 'querying' about one's identity, since, for adolescents, identity is ongoing, in-formation, and unfinished (Mayo, 2004a). Conversely, the closet also includes narratives of physical and verbal abuse suffered by students from the hands of peers, the words of teachers, and actions of family members (Bochenek & Brown, 2001; Dykes & Delport, 2018; Epstein, et al., 2000; Ryan & Futterman, 1998). These elements also sustain hierarchies of cisheteronormative power. Further, identity intersections of race, class, ability, or religion, which may suppress queer expression, reinforcing the closet as an enclosure (Epstein et al., 2000, 2003; Kumashiro, 2001).

Scholars have additionally noted the implications of the closet specifically in relation to gender identity and expression. For example, for some transgender students, who choose to and are able to participate in process of transition

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may move both *out of* the closet *during* gender transition and possibly return *into* it *after* in order to partition the present from former 'self.' This back-and-forth phenomena, "a swinging door" of the closet (Kumashiro, 2002, p. 168), reflects how the return to the closet may be, for some, an active, willing form of protection, and a containment of a former 'self' while the present exists outside of the closet.

5 The Closet and the Teacher

For many educators, a decision to come 'out' to one's students, one which may be repeatedly enacted, is multifaceted. To do so can be an empowering example for questioning students and communities often ignorant of such issues (Britzman, 1996; Liddle, 2009). Further, instructors who are able to be 'out' may help to rupture the closet's structure, potentially acting as agents to disrupt homophobia and thus positively shift school culture (Athanases & Larrabee, 2003; Bridgewater, 1997; Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Griffin, 1991; Harbeck, 1992; Liddle, 2009). Demonstrating that the closet is an impermanent structure, educators who are able to live and teach happily outside of the closet's enclosure enable closeted students to imagine the space outside. For many, the ideal would be a school culture that destroys the closet altogether, a culture of "do ask, do tell" (Asher, 2007, p. 71). However, for some educators, the closet can be a safe and necessary enclosure (Athanases & Larrabee, 2003; Bryson & De Castell, 1993; Ferfolja, 2009; Gray, 2013; Hardie, 2012; Khayatt, 1997). The hazards of being out for some are often so great that teachers conclude that the threat of discrimination and emotional burden outweighs the value of potential empowerment (Ferfolja, 2009; Gray, 2013; Rasmussen, 2004). To be 'out' is damaging, professionally and even physically (Bryson & De Castell, 1993; Khayatt, 1997). Anti-queer discrimination further sustains the closet as a site of professional self-protection. Teachers who are queer advocates, for instance, bear the burden of professional recourse, as some have been fired for supporting GSAs (Athanases & Larrabee, 2003). Many teachers, motivated by fear, choose not to self-disclose (Gray, 2013; Hardie, 2012). Ideally, protective legislation and anti-discrimination laws, which might pave the way for the closet's destruction, neither relieve fears nor correspond to a teacher's willingness to come out (Ferfolija, 2009). Thus, even in the face of legal protections, the closet can be reinforced by repressive school cultures.

5.1 *The Door Ajar*

Some teachers opt for an indeterminate relation to the closet, being in to some colleagues, while out to others (Gray, 2013). In a national survey of 34 gay and

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lesbian teachers, 26% had come out to their principals, while 65% had done so to colleagues (Bliss & Harris, 1998). Casual disclosures to colleagues can wrest control of the closet from its subject, since the information can quickly become "public property," shared by word-of-mouth through the community (Gray, 2013, p. 709). Thus, those who rupture, however subtly or informally, the closet's confines relinquish control of the closet as a space of concealment.

6 The Institution of the School and the Closet

Last, the closet frames educational institutions and is, in turn, shaped by them. The school's cultural climate exerts force on a teacher or student's state of being 'in' or 'out' of the closet in educational spaces. Discrimination and exclusionary practices against LGBTQ+ folx harms the entire school community. Significant change must move beyond the 'Band-Aid' policing of offensive language (MacIntosh, 2007) toward systemic shifts in curricula and social practices (Sumara & Davis, 1999; Lugg, 2003; Mayo, 2004b). Measures such as advocacy training, in teacher education and varous educational settings, can potentially change school cultures and challenge damaging heteronormative practices (Dykes & Delport, 2018).

6.1 *Curriculum and the Closet*

The closet contains not only sexual and gender identity but also curriculum. Through institutional suppression, curriculum too can become 'closeted' (Britzman, 1996; Silin, 1995; Sedgwick, 1990). Countering this impulse, Britzman (1996) imagines "curricular endeavors that begin with antiracist, antisexist, and antihomophobic suppositions" (p. 392), even going so far as to imagine how sex and sexuality, released from such a closet containment, can construct a queer curriculum:

> …think of the poetry of Essex Hemphill and Marilyn Hacker; the dances of Bill T. Jones; the essays of Pat Califia and Joan Nestle; the films of Derek Jarmen, Maria Brumberg, and John Greyson; the novels of Toni Morrison, Samuel Delany, David Feinberg, and Henry Roth…. (p. 293)

Scholars like Britzman have argued for shifts from what they identify as the hidden curriculum, one that renders palatable or altogether effaces the lives of LGBTQ+ people. Such omissions are a part of a larger economy of disavowal (Silin, 1995; Sedgewick, 1990), where curriculum is "desexed" (Britzman, 1996). Despite early efforts toward an "ethics of consumption" of inclusive curriculum, the marginalized often stayed marginalized (Bryson & De Castell, 1993).

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Still, scholars aim to bring curriculum itself from its closeted enclosure, noting that queer curriculum is "risky, but necessary" (Bickmore, 1999, p. 7). Troubling the curricular closet, actions such as incorporating literature centering queer characters can combat **cisheteronormativity** in schooling (DePalma & Atkinson, 2009).

Notes

1 This thumbnail tracing of the figurative use of closet, by no means exhaustive, is derived from entries in OED and is intended to give a sketch of common implications and usage. The specific entries referenced are medieval texts, such as, Wynkyn de Worde's *Contemplation of Sinners* (1499): "Of thy herte kepe ay clene the closette Where god delyteth to make his residence"; and John Proctor's *The Fal of Late Arrian* (1549): "Admitteth dailye into the priuey closet of her heart Gabriell, the fortitude and might of God."; Also, the 19th and twentieth-century works, Charles Lamb's play, *The Wife's Tr*ial (1828): "She should entreasure up a secret/In the peculiar closet of her breast"; Edward Eastwick's *Anvár-i Suhailí, or The Lights of Canopus*: "Anger is hidden in the closet of the heart, and resentment is concealed in the cell of the bosom"; and Paul Harcourt Blade's Don Sagasto's Daughter (1911): "She knew that Felicia would decline to admit even her into the innermost closet of her thought and life."

2 Thackeray first uses the term in an essay for the British magazine *Punch* in 1841 and later in two of his novels, *Vanity Fair* and *Newcomers, Memoirs of the Most Respectable Family.*

3 References here prohibition and tuberculosis refer respectively to newspaper articles in the *Galveston Daily News* (March 6, 1892, p. 1) and the *Waukesha Daily Freeman* (March 3, 1954, p. 6).

4 Of interest to researchers was that "out of the closet and into the streets" referenced, among other things, the sequestering of queer life to bars. The idea of protest culture, visible and exterior, simultaneously is a movement "out" of the closet (see Sandy Blixton, "Viewpoint of an Antisexist Marxist" in *Out of the Closet: Voices of Gay Liberation*, Jay and Young).

5 Since theorists question the absolute state of being 'out' or 'in,' I choose to use quotations throughout to draw attention to the non-absolute nature of such states throughout the essay. Thus, even when writing about empirical studies that track the effects of coming 'out,' the quotations indicate that these are singular acts of disclosure, such as to an individual or classroom, and not some absolute.

6 Theorists argue that one can never fully leave the closet behind; thus the single quotations around 'leaving' are a reminder of the questioned, rather than absolute nature of such actions.

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CHAPTER 22

Community Colleges and LGBTQ+ Professionals

Ángel de Jesus Gonzalez

Research on queer and trans people in higher education within the community college sector has remained largely unexamined. The literature pertaining to queer and trans people in community colleges remains sparse. Minimal work focuses on the experiences of queer and trans community college students (Beemyn, 2012; Magallanes, 2012; Moschella et al., 2020; Sanlo & Espinoza, 2012; Zamani-Gallaher & Choudhuri, 2011, 2016), examines community colleges campus climate (Garvey et al., 2015; Taylor, 2015), and explores the services and supports provided for queer and trans students (Gonzalez & Cataño, 2020; Nguyen et al., 2018; Taylor, Dockendorff, & Inselman, 2018). In this realm, much less peer-reviewed literature exists on queer and trans professionals at community colleges.

Baker's (1991) foundational work provided the landscape to "shatter the silence" on heterosexism experienced by lesbians and homosexuals at community colleges for both students and faculty (p. 25). Ottenritter (2012), nearly two decades later, provided a tool for an institutional assessment of LGBTQ+ **inclusion** to craft a welcoming and caring campus environment for students, faculty, and staff. Yet, because of the minute amount of literature and data, research on queer and trans community college people largely remains grouped for students and professionals. To better understand how to support queer and trans professionals at community colleges, upcoming research should focus on each of these categories separately, given that organizational structures and campus **climate** influence and create unique experiences for both students and professionals.

1 Leadership at Community Colleges

Community colleges, like all institutions of higher education, were created for white cisgender heterosexual men (Witt et al., 1994). This leadership still remains today. According to the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC, 2017) president survey, 81% of community college presidents are white. Recently, the Race and Ethnicity in Higher Education Report from the American Council on Education (ACE) pulled data from the College and University

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Professional Association for Human Resources (CUPA-HR), where white people represented the majority of all administrative positions across all sectors of higher education. The report provides disaggregated findings by race and ethnicity, sector, and student level; however, no findings were provided beyond binary gender or other queer and trans identity. This constant barrier in data collection is a thread for research on queer and trans people across higher education, especially community colleges (Garvey, 2017, 2019).

2 Moving Forward

As the community college continues to diversify, leadership trends must catch up to warrant the leadership reflects the students whom they serve. Because cisheterogender practices are embedded across each level of the hiring process, a start to shifting leadership is examining the hiring practices employed at community colleges. From ensuring no binary language is found in job postings to allowing applicants the option via hiring portals to self-identify. Community colleges must re-assess the way in which they recruit, retain, and create pathways for queer and trans professionals. As more students are identifying within the queer and trans spectrum and demanding higher education foster spaces for them, leadership has to understand the complexities and challenges experienced by students. Data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) on the national Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance results for 2019 showed that LGBTQ youth still experience higher health and suicide risks than their cisgender and heterosexual peers (Baiden et al., 2020; Underwood et al., 2020). Unless there are leaders at institutions who are queer and trans, who know how cisheteronormativity is carried out in policy and practice, who recognize how to remove systemic barriers for queer and trans students, we will continue to see such violence through hostile campus environments. To do this, community colleges have to be intentional in their recruitment and the support offered for professionals that are inclusive of queer and trans identities.

Leider's (2012) research serves as a catalyst and call to scholars and partitioners to continue inquiry that centers queer and trans people within community colleges in order to advance equity and social justice efforts. The recommendations remain appropriate to advance efforts that support institutional policy and practice reform that promote queer and trans safety and belongingness at community colleges.

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CHAPTER 23

Community Colleges and LGBTQ Students

Ángel de Jesus Gonzalez

Community colleges continue to enroll the most diverse students across any sector of higher education with students from varying backgrounds: racially, ethnically, in terms of gender, class, and sexualities (Boggs, 2011; O'Connor, 2009). However, retention and completion rates for students from minoritized and underrepresented communities do not mirror their overrepresentation in enrollment (Bragg & Durham, 2012). For an array of reasons, such as access and affordability, community colleges serve as entry points to education for queer and trans students (Ivory, 2012). Community colleges face various organizational challenges such as funding, institutional capacity, and policies that, as a byproduct, result in structural obstacles towards centering queer and trans students' needs. Systemic barriers upheld through outdated homophobic and transphobic policies result in unwelcoming and hostile campus climate and perpetuate equity gaps for their success. Although this might be a concern across all sectors of higher education, community colleges face exacerbated challenges as noted due to their organizational structure and resource allocation, such as not having a PRIDE center or paid full-time professionals to support or initiate this work. Yet, literature around advancing queer and trans student belongingness, safety, and success largely remains within the four-year context. Scholars such as Baker (1991), Ottenritter (1998), Leck (1998), Franklin (2000), Leider (2000), Ivory (2005), Zamani-Gallaher and Choudhuri (2011), Sanlo and Espinoza (2012), and Garvey et al. (2014), over the last three decades made it clear that research must be expanded to understand and advance the conditions, experiences, and outcomes of queer and trans community college students.

1 Cisheterosexist Community Colleges

To explore community colleges' current challenges, structures, and successes, examining the historical roots and beginnings of the community college system is crucial. From the Morrill Act of 1862 to the Truman Commission Report of 1947, community colleges have been in flux in mission, purpose, and the students whom they support (Vaughan, 1985; Witt et al., 1994). Despite claims that community colleges have been designed as access points for all students

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regardless of background, the reality is that students who first attended these institutions were mostly white cisgender men students, faculty, and personnel (Witt et al., 1994). With this in mind, there is no doubt that community colleges largely remain cisheterogender institutions. This historical context is directly related to the current practices, leadership demographics, and systemic inequities that promote the current landscape for queer and trans students at community colleges.

Decades have passed since the initial call to action in examining the conditions for sexually minoritized students through Judith Baker's (1991) work on naming the embedded **heterosexism** at community colleges. This was foundational as it contextualized the environment at play that impacts both queer and trans students at community colleges. Recent work from Preston and Hoffman (2015) has expanded on Butler's work naming the ways in which colleges and universities have been historically created for cisheterosexual individuals who then, through policy and practice, uphold these traditionally cisheterogender institutions (THI). Other scholars such as Garvey et al. (2014) and Ottenritter (2012) examine how campus climate impact queer and trans students at community colleges. Garvey et al. examined in their quantitative study how these THI create unwelcoming campus climate and conditions for queer and trans community college students. They reported that students did not feel welcomed due to the lack of faculty support within the classroom environment. This is fundamental as classroom and faculty attitudes played a role in students' perceptions of the campus as a whole (Garvey et al., 2014).

These classroom spaces and faculty interactions can be seen as a microcosm of institutional policies, practices, and attitudes that promote physical and psychosocial violence towards queer and trans students. Franklin (2000) surveyed 484 cisgender community college students on their attitudes, perceptions, and antigay behaviors. Ten percent of the participants reported physically assaulting people who they believed were 'homosexual,' and 23% of the respondents reported name-calling and verbally assaulting people who they believed were 'homosexual' (Franklin, 2000). Findings revealed that the primary offenders were cisgender men students who upheld toxic masculinity ideologies and that others who enacted verbal violence such as name-calling or physical confrontation with 'homosexual' students did so from a place of defense (Franklin, 2000). It has been 20 years since this study. Sadly, however, the violence, harassment, and hostility towards queer and trans community college students remain. Potter et al. (2020) revisited.

Szymanski and Bissonette (2020) assessed 646 queer and trans students across multiple higher education sector's perceptions of their campus climate. Perceptions of a more negative campus climate have been associated with more victimization experiences and poorer mental health and academic outcomes

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for queer and trans students (Szymanski & Bissonette, 2020). Although this study is not explicitly on community colleges, others have suggested similar if not exacerbated outcomes for queer and trans community college students (Garvey et al., 2014).

It is not by accident that victimization and violence persist for queer and trans students. For example, research has highlighted how transgender and gender nonbinary college students experience violence and discrimination through cissexism and misgendering on campus (Dugan et al., 2012; Goldberg, 2018). Higher education institutions, especially community colleges, can often have outdated information systems and processes that do not allow for data collection beyond binary identities or no LGBTQ+ categories at all that perpetuate homophobia and transphobia and, as a byproduct, create cis-heterogender community colleges (CHCCs). Magallanes (2012) wrote:

> There was simply no visibility of on-campus LGBTQ resources, so I decided to go back into the closet and not disclose my identity as a gay man to anyone at community college. I simply did not feel safe. I had no one with whom to talk to about my identity struggles and issues, and no one bothered to ask me who I really was or what I needed. (p. 524)

Borrowing from Preston and Hoffman's (2015) THI model, I propose that the complex historical context of the community college system, lack of resources due to funding, paired with outdated data collection mechanisms upholds and promotes binary structures, processes, and conditions harming queer and trans students at these CHCCs.

2 Moving Forward

Although efforts are being attempted to support queer and trans students, often they are merged with work towards closing equity gaps for marginalized students broadly. Major structural and policy level changes must occur to ensure queer and trans community college students are explicitly included. The lack of data on queer and trans community college students is one of the continuous barriers in advancing support (Garvey, 2017; Leider, 2000; Sanlo & Espinoza, 2012). In 2013, the State of Washington implementation of the LGBTQ Student Success Initiative in the community and technical colleges system became the first in the country to collect **gender** and **sexual identity** data from all students (Trimble, 2019). A few years later, the California Community College System followed when in the summer of 2019, they added to their application the opportunity for students to identify as non-binary. Although

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these are small wins, so much work remains to be done. Sanlo and Espinoza (2012) shared that what is known about queer and trans students' experiences is mostly through anecdotal stories instead of empirical research. The call for empirical research is key in continuing advocacy efforts, resistance, and existence for queer and trans community college students.

Furthermore, studies on queer and trans community college students should examine the role racial and ethnic identity plays in their experiences. Having an intersectional approach provides a thicker analysis of what conditions impact queer and trans students of color success. Recently, Gonzalez and Cataño (2020) explored a region of Southern California Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) Community Colleges to identify how Queer Latinx community college students were being served through the HSI designation. Their study revealed that by a breakdown of student and academic support services, only one out of the 14 HSI designated community colleges had a queer resource center (Gonzalez & Cataño, 2020). Such studies allow for the examination of how funding and structures influence support services for queer and trans community college students. The urgency remains for research on queer and trans community college students, a call made decades ago for us to take charge in, move forward, and advance queer studies beyond the confines of certain academic disciplines and towards education.

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CHAPTER 24

Compulsory Heterogenderism

Quortne R. Hutchings and Arli Mohamed

1 Introduction

The community and culture of LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) individuals have been discussed in the education realm for decades. As various LGBTQ+ social movements aim to make radical and significant changes within society, it is important to discuss the pervasiveness of **heteronormativity** (compulsory heterogenderism). Scholars, researchers, and educators have researched the norms of heterosexuality construction (Rich, 1980). This concept is essential in learning challenging heteronormative notions and expectations of **sexuality.** Education must continue to reckon with the dangers of **heterogenderism** and its consequences of conflating gender and sexuality within education and society.

2 Origins of Compulsory Heterogenderism

Nicolazzo (2017) describes compulsory heterogenderism as a "cultural condition by which diverse gender identities are positioned as abject or culturally unintelligible" (p. 247). Compulsory heterogenderism work is grounded from Rich's (1980) and Butler's (2006) work in which Nicolazzo scholarship centers on how this concept focuses on transgender college students. Nicolazzo (2017) posits that "sexualities are used to inhibit one's ability to identify openly as trans" (p. 247). Compulsory heterogenderism analysis and salience of identity are formed within the context of gender identity rather than **sexual identity** (Nicolazzo, 2017). As cultural and social norms are grounded in the roots of heteronormativity and **heteropatriarchy** (Nicolazzo, 2016, 2017), this has a direct effect on LGBTQ+ individuals. Compulsory heterogenderism explores the importance of **intersectionality** within the context of race, gender, and sexuality. Thus, compulsory heterogenderism acknowledges the complexities and nuances of intersectional identities.

Nicolazzo's collective case study approach centers on the experiences that participants endure at the erasure of their trans identity. As gender and sexuality are often conflated, especially by cisgender heterosexual individuals, this

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work presents the attention to focus on the ways in which **gender identity** is assumed from trans participants' lesbian sexuality (Nicolazzo, 2017). Additionally, trans college students are often immersed in a **gender binary** that limits their identity and expression to exist fully in their trans identity. Trans college students experience being subscribed to stereotypical lesbian identity roles by others who do not understand the complexities and openness of trans identity and expression (Nicolazzo, 2017). For Black trans college students, they negotiate their race, gender, and sexuality differently as many experience exclusions from various Black and LGBTQ collegiate spaces (Nicolazzo, 2017). Ultimately, these experiences continue to explore the ways in which gender and sexuality are conflated and reinforced by compulsory heterogenderism.

3 Compulsory Heterogenderism in Education

Compulsory heterogenderism manifests in various forms within the realm of higher education. One of these aspects is the academic inquiry into the development of sexual identity, which Konik and Stewart note (2004) has been removed from the literature of identity development. For most students, college serves as a time of learning about one's multiple identities. In many cases, this experience leads to an identity exploration that Konik and Stewart (2004) described as a "necessary turning point, a crucial moment, when development must move one way or another, marshaling resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation" (p. 816). If this is the case in which an individual must experience a point during the college endeavor which forces them to explore their identities in order to fully learn and understand themselves, then their sexual identity is as powerful in enhancing their growth and differentiation than any other parts of their identities.

In navigating their college experience and lives as a historically excluded group in higher education, Nicolazzo (2017) comments that the gender identities of most trans college students are recognized through the ways in which they choose to externally express themselves, including attraction to sexual partners in romantic relationships. However, during this process of navigating their identities, trans college students feel pressure to assimilate within compulsory heterogenderism, feeling they must adhere to roles and norms bestowed upon them by cisgender, heterosexual individuals. This act continues to erase the gender identities of trans individuals as an enforcement of compulsory heterogenderism.

Heterogenderism masquerades itself as a nonidentity and as the natural order of things in society. As a dominant sexual identity in other forms of

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socially constructed hegemonic practices, heterogenderism does not believe in the need to demand its legitimacy or naturality for being acknowledged, allowing it to permeate throughout society as a universal form of love and intimacy as well as the correct way to express sexual and gender identities. Because these socially constructed, patriarchal ideologies such as heterogenderism, take up so much space, they are unconsciously dependent on each other's support without acknowledgment, expecting the rest of the world to conform to heterogender rules without retaliation. In reflecting on Nicolazzo (2017), heterosexuality dominates as the natural order of gender expression through compulsory heterogenderism and other forms of oppression, exhausting nonbinary and gender-non-conforming individuals. Thus, forcing them to unconsciously or consciously condone the unrecognition and erasure of trans and nonbinary gender identities.

Consequently, the evolved work on compulsory heterogenderism is essential to how we understand the evolution of gender identity and sexuality. As education and society continue to disrupt normative ideologies and practices, compulsory heterogenderism is omnipresent. As scholars, researchers, and educators of all disciplines learn about this term, the work to dismantle heteronormative structures is imperative to cultivating where LGBTQ+ individuals no longer conform to heteronormative structures.

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CHAPTER 25

Compulsory Heterosexuality

Robert Bittner

1 Origins

The concept of compulsory heterosexuality was made prominent through the efforts of lesbian and feminist movements in the late 1960s and 1970s but was popularized by American poet Adrienne Rich (1980) in her essay, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" (1980). In this essay, Rich examines the history and normalization of heterosexuality and looks to break down the idea that heterosexuality is natural. Instead, Rich defines heterosexuality as a socially constructed institution that is used to reinforce a patriarchal structure that ensures 'male' dominance, the subordination of 'female' **sexuality**, and the erasure of lesbian identity.

Heterosexuality is framed as neither natural nor as an entirely individual identity or set of behaviors, but a combination of social structures and expectations defined by patriarchal hierarchies which, Rich argues, are responsible for violence against women, economic structures that require women to develop connections with men, and the marginalization of 'non-heterosexual' women and those who do not conform. Compulsory heterosexuality, as a framework, can be used to analyze and understand what is considered socially acceptable when it comes to physical intimacy and romantic attraction between genders.

Since Rich's essay was first published, there have been numerous critiques, as well as responses that expand on the original focus, using the conceptualization of compulsory heterosexuality to explore queer existence and impacts on genders across the spectrum. Other scholars, as discussed below, have begun to examine the impacts of compulsory heterosexuality on classroom spaces, gender and sexual identity formation, and the concept of **homonormativity**.

2 Contemporary Usage

According to Rachel Elizabeth Fraser (2018) in "The Epistemology of (Compulsory) Heterosexuality,"

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> Compulsory heterosexuality is a social system which regulates sexual desire and romantic attachment: it mandates heterosexuality and punishes, penalizes, or renders invisible those who violate its norms. The social system constituting compulsory heterosexuality will typically be a cluster of related and interlocking social institutions, cultural assumptions, and ideologies which, to varying degrees, presuppose and mandate heterosexuality. (p. 329)

Within a number of disciplines, compulsory heterosexuality is being used to confront and better understand systems of patriarchy and the ways in which society creates incentives for conforming to particular forms of femininity, masculinity, and (hetero)sexuality.

Julie Konik and Abigail Stewart (2004), for instance, explore sexual identity development in youth when institutions are built on a foundation of compulsory heterosexuality:

> [A]ny challenges women make to 'compulsory heterosexuality' may be viewed as threats against the entire system of patriarchy, which undergirds our political, economic, religious, and other macrolevel social structures.... (p. 819)

Additionally, in relation to education and school settings, scholars such as Dennis A. Francis (2016) look at how curriculum policies, teaching, and learning materials tend to normalize heterosexuality and privilege information related to heterosexual futures over the possibilities of queer futures that problematize the notion of contemporary heterosexuality.

In their work on queer education, Robert Heasley and Betsy Crane (2011) examine **hegemonic masculinity**, queerness, and the need for educators to dismantle the hierarchies inherent within compulsory heterosexuality. Looking toward queering hegemonic masculinity, Heasley and Crane (2011) write,

> Such queering summons new ways of being 'boy,' including ways of being often associated with the feminine. It allows for affection and tenderness and can reduce the negative effects of homophobia and sexism for all males. Queering invites a greater appreciation for a range of diversities. (p. 102)

This dismantling of hierarchical views of difference associated with compulsory heterosexuality (Wittig, 1992) allows for a more expansive examination of gender and sexuality beyond Rich's original focus.

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3 Contemporary Critiques

After two decades of critique, and with many disciplines and scholars taking on the concept outside of her original focus on women and women's experiences, Rich (2003) wrote a Foreword to her original essay in which she attempts to clarify her initial arguments:

> The institutions by which women have traditionally been controlled—patriarchal motherhood, economic exploitation, the nuclear family, compulsory heterosexuality—are being strengthened by legislation, religious fiat, media imagery, and efforts at censorship. (p. 11)

This concept understands heterosexuality as a way of enforcing social order, which is often supported by various forms of legislation, and a mix of formal and informal institutional controls. However, the foundation of Rich's argument still relies on conforming to a non-existent gender binary.

In his critique of Rich's work, Steven Seidman (2009) notes that while compulsory heterosexuality is linked to a binary gender order, he questions some of the assumptions on which Rich relies.

> According to lesbian feminists and gay liberationists, a social order based on compulsory heterosexuality produces two genders—distinct, oppositional, and hierarchical. I take this claim to be noncontroversial. However, these critics of compulsory heterosexuality also assume a robust notion of gender structuralism that is controversial. Under conditions of compulsory heterosexuality, gender regulation is said to extend across social roles and social spheres, producing a dichotomous gender social order. (Seidman, 2009, p. 21)

Seidman sees Rich's assumptions as overly simplistic when compared to lived experiences, particularly where self-formation and self-identification over time are concerned.

Heterosexuality relies on a non-existent gender binary and produces specific ways in which these genders should be expressed in order to conform to a heteronormative model, which informs how people grow and develop as individuals from very early on in life.

Seidman further discusses the introduction of postmodern gender theorists, such as Judith Butler, who complicate the gender binary that is part of a conceptualization of compulsory heterosexuality.

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Even as they continue to use the term compulsory heterosexuality, theorists such as Butler and Seidman argue that gender, as a component of self-formation, defies the binary construction noted in Rich's work due to a combination of agency and gender performativity:

> because gender coherence depends on social behavior, there is a presumption of agency that allows individuals to negotiate their gender practices. It follows that, notwithstanding the structural constraints of compulsory heterosexuality, individuals may act in ways that challenge gender norms. (Seidman, 2009, p. 22)

Both of these approaches to gender within the framework of compulsory heterosexuality allow for an understanding of **heteronormativity** which reinforces certain normative expectations around gender identity and sexuality, and these expectations are often reflected within classroom spaces in ways that are restrictive to students who are in the process of self-formation.

4 Conclusion

Compulsory heterosexuality is an important concept to understand in order to fully comprehend the systems of oppression and normalization that privilege heterosexuality and function to impede agency and freedom of young people to make decisions about their own identities in relation to gender and sexuality. Rich's focus on lesbian existence is integral to understanding female oppression and the ways in which certain forms of gender and sexuality are made invisible. However, expanding on this understanding through additional theoretical lenses also allows for greater enlightenment with regard to how compulsory heterosexuality also impacts other intersectional identities such as race, class, and disability (Collins, 1990).

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CHAPTER 26

Confession

Kevin J. Burke

In order to write of the phenomenon of Confession, it is critical first to acknowledge, if briefly, its role in the development of the notion of discourse, as taken up broadly in queer studies. Butler (1990) writes, for instance, of "*identity* as an effect of discursive practices" subject to regulatory regimes (p. 24). The idea that "discursive relations…are…at the limit of discourse: they offer it objects of which it can speak" and "they determine the group of relations that discourse must establish in order to speak of this or that object" proves important for our developing sense of what it means to account for the role of confession in the construction of queer studies (Foucault, 2010, p. 46). Put more simply: discourse makes some things legible and others illegible, if not wholly invisible. Confession, in education, then, is about the process by which things become seeable (or not) just as it is about producing certain kinds of (un)acceptable ways of being in and around schooling.

In Foucault's (1990) Introduction to his four-volume *History of Sexuality*, the turn to genealogy—to explore, trouble, and in some ways subvert—the very structuring of knowledge in the contemporary West, meant in relation to sexuality, a need to deal with Christian discursive practices carried into the modern world. Indeed, the assertion that "the confession became one of the West's most highly valued techniques for producing truth" is perhaps one of the French author's most famous lines (p. 59). The origins of the assertion emerge from a desire to account for the ways in which sex came to be "constituted as a problem of truth" through a discourse tied, originally, to a practice of penance in the early Christian Church (p. 56). Which is to say: The Confessional, made ubiquitous in popular culture through reality television, was a long time coming.

1 Parrhēsia

Vital to the understanding of the demand for confession in Western discourse are Foucault's final lectures, published posthumously, from the Collège de France as well as the Catholic University of Louvain. These focus in particular on providing a fuller genealogy of the move to confession, as read through a deep treatment of the notion of truth and truth-telling. These lectures focused,

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initially, on the concept of parrhēsia which Foucault (2014) suggests is "a stance" rooted in the Cynic tradition (p. 14). The parrhēsiast, and here Diogenes is held as emblematic, "is the unlimited, permanent, unbearable questioner" (p. 18). The parrhēsiast cannot not seek the truth, even to the point of putting the individual, the truth-seeker, in danger of reprisal from the power of the state. One might think, in the modern context, of a whistle-blower who, though theoretically protected by legal means, in fact, risks a great deal in the pursuit of the *whole* truth in a given situation.

Later linked to the care of the self, a recurrent theme in the work of Foucault, parrhēsia is the "courageous frankness of truth-telling" connected to "exetasis" or "the practice of the examination and test of the soul" (p. 122). It was this concern for the soul, and the compulsion towards truth-telling that emerged as a mode of veridiction in the apotheosis of the two, through Christian development of first penance, and then later, confession.

2 Verediction

Central to the process of confessing is the necessity of avowal. In this case, Foucault is focused on the act of truth-telling which is demanded of an individual. This is a shift from the Parrhēsiast, who, though compelled to tell the whole truth, does not require an audience to validate the assertion. As Christian penitential practices changed over the centuries from a public pronunciation of sinfulness, which was theatrical and often annual, to a more privatized practice requiring a specific confessor, examination of the self required not only the ability to tell the truth about one's sins but also an audience to validate that the truth had been heard and thus, absolution might be granted. Veridiction is, then, that "verbal act through which the subject affirms who [they are], binds [the self] to this truth" and thus "places the self in a relationship of dependence with regard to another" (p. 17). Veridiction, in other words, becomes a confession of the limitations of the self to another through the reinforcement of "a power relation that exerts itself on the one who avows. This is why all avowals are 'costly'" (p. 17). The compulsion to confess requires an audience in the Christian construction, most particularly to pass judgment and also create the terms for re-entry into society. James Alison (2003) sees this move toward a need for forgiveness as a signal in creating queer subjects as constantly set in relation to a "clever form of vengeance," which constructs the individual as always only in need of validation from the very structures that enshrine its truth-as-fallen (p. 33). This extraction of the truth, its verbal avowal emerges through particular rituals for which we ought best to account.

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From an educational standpoint, it's maybe easiest to think about how processes of discipline in schooling very often require an (a) admission of guilt, (b) to a party with asymmetric power (often a teacher or administrator), (c) triggering a process of punishment which, when undertaken, cleanses the student soul, making them fit, again, for the 'normal' experience of schooling.

3 Alethurgy

Once the public avowal of an internal truth was made necessary in order to solidify the examination of the self and to verify its fallenness, a particular kind of ritualization emerged in order to extract confessions for the purpose of making forgiveness available. Foucault uses the term alethurgy to describe the "ritual procedure for bringing forth alēthes: that which is true" (p. 39). It's important to note the transition from the need to tell the truth, which a Cynic couldn't help but produce, to the ritualization of producing truths about the self and then codifying their verbalization, through the threat of social sanction, to a representative of power. This emerges in Christian circles perhaps most saliently in modern religious practice, not only in the sacrament of Confession for Catholics (where the penitent admits sins in private to a priest) but also in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola, which are most closely associated with the daily examination of conscience: examining the self in order to produce a truth about the individual. The ritual, the alethurgy of self-examination in order to produce truths both to be internalized and verbalized, remains particularly present in, for instance, disciplinary practices in educational settings. This will look, for educators, like detention or in-school suspension most obviously, but it's also helpful to think about all the ways in which, for instance, much of educational practice is linked with the necessity of reflection, which, in many ways, requires avowals of failure as a primary instrument of growth in the profession.

4 Anagnōrisis, Exagoreusis, Exomologēsia

Three final terms merit attending as we build toward a modern understanding of the discourse of confession. The first, Anagnōrisis, which Foucault narrates out of the story of *Oedipus Rex*, is a recognition of the truth in oneself, but also the recognition of truth about the self on the part of others. This recognition becomes necessary as a part of the penitential ritual, the larger

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exomologēsia, the process by which, through discursive demands, the individual is made to avow truths about the self in order first to fix the self as indeed an individual who has sinned, but who is also seeking, through the recognition of that sin, forgiveness, and reconciliation. These, in sum, then, compose the exagoreusis, which is the permanent avowal of the self: the requirement that one consistently, through verbal veridiction, instantiate the truth of the self through the course of the lifetime. And so, we move from individual penitential rites, through individual, finite veredictions, to the permanent need to account for, and admit to, the limitations and sins of the individual publicly over time. Where once, in other words, the compulsion to confess was tied to individual moments of submission to power through the humility of privately or semi-publicly confessing the sins of the self, now, through exagoreusis, the constant avowal of the shortcomings of the self becomes discursively necessary through a regime of truth that demands the verbalizing of sin.

5 Contemporary Concerns

It's vital to consider, in closing, the relation of Christian practices in the contemporary West to the discursive function of confession. One argument contra Foucault is that, in a rapidly secularizing society, the significance of religious stances on penance and sacred rituals as they exist in a larger society lose significance. This is certainly true if we are to consider something as anodyne as church affiliation and attendance as the ultimate arbiter of religious significance in a culture. A more complex attending, however, must take account of the ways in which secularisms and religions are co-constitutive: that is, "the choice between secularism and religion represents a false dichotomy…because religious and secular formations are profoundly intertwined with each other" (Jakobsen & Pellegrini, 2008, p. 11). A particular secular discourse emerges in relation to, and even out of it should be said, religious discourses. And so, rather than losing significance, ritual stances mostly change form: people no longer confess to priests so frequently but are compelled to confess in other spaces, most prominently in media and in schools. And so, though we might consider the kinds of confessional practices demanded of students in schools (to seek forgiveness from punishment and that they might emerge cleansed from an in-school suspension, for instance) or individuals in public spaces (I avow that I, indeed, do not have symptoms of a particular illness, that I might get dispensation to enter my campus office), the demand for confession, emerges from and ultimately returns to historical, Christian and even pre-Christian practices.

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CHAPTER 27

Conversion Therapy

Chris Babits

Historically, conversion therapy has been the practice of trying to "change" an individual's **sexual orientation** from lesbian, gay, or bisexual to heterosexual by using psychological, religious, or spiritual interventions. Modern sexual conversion efforts date to the late-nineteenth century (Terry, 1999). The most outspoken advocates of conversion therapy today are fundamentalist Christian groups and other organizations that have socially conservative understandings of sex, gender, and sexuality. Since the late 1970s, though, conversion therapists have increasingly focused on what they perceive as the relationship between **gender identity**, **gender expression**, and **sexual desires** (Nicolosi, 1991). These therapists believe that a supposedly insufficient gender identity (i.e., boys not feeling masculine, girls not feeling feminine) can result in same-gender sexual desires. Because of this belief, conversion therapists have, in recent decades, targeted trans youth for sexual orientation and gender identity change efforts.

There have been many therapeutic techniques used in the sexual conversion process. These have included: ice-pick lobotomies, aversion therapies (such as electroshock therapy), hormone treatments, psychoanalytic talk therapy, and religious counseling (Terry, 1999; Erzen, 2006; Gerber, 2011; Gerber, 2014; Babits 2019; Streed et al., 2019). Recent forms of conversion therapy, such as gender reparative therapy, stress that therapists can eliminate a client's same-gender desires by aligning their gender identity with their birth sex. In May 2000, the American Psychiatric Association (APA) (2000) stated its opposition to conversion therapy. Other medical, scientific, and governmental organizations in the United States and parts of Europe have also expressed concern over conversion therapy's harmful effects, especially on children and adolescents. Today, no mainstream—or credible—medical organization contends that conversion therapy "works." Additionally, there have been intense efforts by nonprofit organizations, such as the Trevor Project, to educate the public against needing to "fix" LGBTQ+ youth.

Diagnostic politics have played a commanding role in the decline of conversion therapy as a sanctioned medical practice. In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association removed "homosexuality" from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*, and in 1987, the APA erased "ego-dystonic homosexuality" from the *DSM* (Bayer, 1981/1987). This latter designation had justified the treatment of

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men and women who felt that their same-gender desires were at odds with their ideal self-image as heterosexuals. Over the next decade, professional medical organizations issued statements against conversion (or reparative) therapy, arguing that treatments to reorient sexual desires and gender identity and expression were, on the whole, damaging to patients. In 2001, the U.S. Surgeon General issued a statement proclaiming that there was no credible evidence that sexual orientation could be changed (Streed et al., 2019).

Over the past thirty years, though, there has been an increasing focus on conversion therapy with children and adolescents. Far-right Christian groups, such as James Dobson's Focus on the Family, have published a host of books aimed at purportedly preventing homosexuality and raising heterosexual children (Løvdal Stephens, 2019). Gender identification has been prominent in these books. In *Raising a Modern-Day Knight*, for example, Robert Lewis (1997/2007) charged that American society was experiencing an acute masculinity crisis, one that had prevented so-called proper masculine identification from taking place among the nation's boys. This was a problem, according to Lewis, because a supposedly insufficient gender identification was purportedly the main cause of homosexuality. To foster traditional gender identification and prevent same-gender desires, Lewis argued, it was necessary to celebrate the masculine accomplished of boys, largely as a way to ward off the supposed immoralities of homosexuality. Similarly, Dobson's *Bringing Up Boys* (2001) and *Bringing Up Girls* (2010) represented evangelical attempts to fight what the far-right calls "gender confusion," which is often blamed for not only trangenderism but also same-gender desires. The idea of preventing same-gender desires and nonnormative gender identities and expressions, then, relies on the concept of gender complementarianism, with an emphasis on traditional gender roles for men and women. Conversion therapists believe that straying away from what they identify as God-given gender roles leads to homosexuality (Erzen, 2006; Robinson & Spivey, 2007; Gerber, 2011, 2014; Babits, 2019).

Conversion therapy remains an issue in the U.S.'s ongoing culture wars. LGBTQ+ rights activists have pushed for conversion therapy on minors to be banned. In the United States, twenty states, the District of Columbia, and over eighty municipalities have banned conversion therapy on minors as of May 20, 2021. Proponents of conversion therapy, however, are challenging these laws, contending that these legislative initiatives violate freedom of speech, religious freedom, and parental rights. Some conversion therapists believe that the conservative U.S. Supreme Court will overturn these bans in the near future. But LGBTQ+ activists hope that the threat these therapeutic and counseling practices pose to children will convince judges to leave the bans in place.

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CHAPTER 28

Corporeality

A. Longoria

Corporeality considers how bodies manifest or exist in the material, or physical world. Building on initial understandings from Foucault (1990) and Butler (1990), bodies in this sense are not tethered to fixed parameters; rather they are changing and changeable based on one's own identities, circumstances, and contexts. This is central to queering applications of corporeality. A related concept is embodiment, and recent shifts in queer studies have explored its applications in disability studies and queer of Color scholarship. While corporeality and embodiment are sometimes used interchangeably, embodiment may refer to intentional, physical manifestations of identities. Corporeality, in turn, is more concerned with the ways bodies are and exist within the world, including changes to bodies over time, or physical differences among bodies within a space (Tolman et al., 2014). This may include a focus on attitudes or perceptions of bodies. An example may help illustrate these differences. A **genderqueer** person may embody their identity through clothing and, in doing so, may transcend or speak back to gender norms in different spaces: among chosen family, in a crowded public space, or in a university seminar. Regardless of sartorial choices, their physical body remains constant. Considering research or practitioner questions concerned with the ways the body remains constant in these examples constitute a question of corporeality.

Perceptions of corporeality are sometimes restricted by normative dominant culture paradigms about what constitutes a "normal" body, including those used in medicine (Malatino, 2019) and on people with disabilities (Davis, 1995; McRuer, 2006; Sandahl, 2003). Perceived racial differences and attitudes for bodies are an important context, too. It may be helpful to understand these constraints in order to more fully get at questions of corporeality for queer studies in education. This entry examines corporeality's relationships to pedagogy and potential applications.

1 Queer of Color Critique

Queer of Color critiques (Muñoz, 1999; Ferguson, 2004) point to unique perspectives in queer studies concerned with racial differences and experiences.

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These perspectives are important for understanding how corporeality is necessarily informed by racial attitudes. Some scholars interrogate ways whiteness restricts and defines Queer bodies (Ahmed, 2006), especially through intersectionality, or the ways multiple cultural and social identities affect and inform racial identities, power differentials, and privileges (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 2019). Queer of Color critiques expand on corporeality by attending to an intersectional context; for example, Ferguson (2004) posits that whiteness historically racialized African American corporeal differences and that these have been used as ways to entrench oppressive attitudes about both racial differences and heteronormativity. Other scholars who have taken up intersectional racial analyses include Anzaldúa (2012) who affirms how Chicanx identity is corporeally realized through multiple border identities, including intersectional transnational, queer, gender, and cultural contexts. Alvarez (2016) articulates a queer resistance to and survival from cisgender, heteronormative, and white dominance that is embodied through aesthetic choices—including fashion--valued among queer and trans Latinx people in Los Angeles.

2 Corporeality and Pedagogy

Examining corporeality through the lens of pedagogy might help researchers focus on its body-informed contexts in education. Ghaziani and Brim (2019) lamented the overwhelming theorizing that saturates queer studies scholarship and suggest that advancing the field must include an agenda that examines how queer theory is enacted through pedagogical applications. Brim (2020) proposes that class contexts for queer studies reveal divides between often underfunded non-flagship state universities and so-called elite universities—the latter of which are often most visibly seen as producers of queer studies academic knowledge. He argues that queer studies is enacted and embodied differently at less known universities that often serve students seeking to access social and economic mobility. More importantly, queer studies educators at such institutions, he reasons, embody a unique kind of pedagogical praxis that is part mentorship, part vocational guidance, and facilitates a kind of queer anti-elitist worldmaking.

Keenan (2017) detailed his practice as an elementary teacher and teacher educator informed by his trans body; he argues that a critical trans pedagogy is necessarily informed by embodied experiences. Key to this vision is to listen to trans experiences; however, it is essential to do so critically and to not allow singular embodied experiences to erroneously speak to all identities or a fixed and universal corporeality.

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Kumashiro (2002) posits that anti-oppressive education is a queer activist-focused approach that seeks to confront multiple oppressive forces within schooling and education. To enact this, he argues that one's own body affects how we read and consider other bodies different from our own. Rodriguez (2012) suggests that Queer bodies enact a kind of pedagogy that serve as a way of inspiring Queer students to imagine their own embodiments. He also frames these embodied pedagogies as a practice of generosity.

Culturally and identity sustaining pedagogies, related and auxiliary to corporeality, seek to provide frameworks for students, their communities, and teachers of color to intentionally maintain and actively use their cultural identities in learning and instruction (Paris, 2012; Rios & Longoria, 2021). Such identities are informed, in part, by cultural, social, and linguistic attitudes and beliefs about bodies.

3 Potential Applications

Corporeality poses problems for quantitative research and highlights tensions between humanities and social science methodologies (Ghaziani & Brim, 2019). Bodies do not remain fixed; bodies age, are modified, and change for myriad reasons. Accounting for such body-focused dynamism poses problems for determining demographic variables in research design, for example. While the concept of corporeality has been taken up more robustly in humanities research, quantitative social science research, by contrast, has not yet adequately considered corporeality. In schooling, K-12 systems persistently lack demographic data collection on queer bodies. However, some school systems have begun to allow for self-reported "gender x" in school registration forms. Nevertheless, the lack of consistent data collection poses challenges especially given that official state-collected demographic data often informs key policy decisions and scholarship.

Education researchers might be cautious about generalizing the ways—especially intersectionally—that queer people enact their identities through their very bodies. This has potential bearing on complicating the ways to collect demographic data and quantitively study queer populations. How does one consider queer bodies in the aggregate when so many identities encompass the term itself? How does one quantitatively account for corporeal subjectivities, or ways a person perceives their own and other bodies, especially through the lens of their own lived experiences?

Education scholars might continue to interrogate the ways queer educators enact corporeal pedagogies in teaching. Scholarship in culturally and identity

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sustaining pedagogies (Paris, 2012; Rios & Longoria, 2021) might be strengthened by future research, especially as they relate to supporting Queer teachers and students of color. What might be the corporeal realities, especially pedagogies, that queer people enact in schooling? In what ways do queer educators teach others through their very bodies and existences within educational spaces?

Mayo (2014) offers that online communities and virtual spaces provide important venues for learning about queer identities and building community among Queer youth. The ways that Queer children and youth sustain their identities corporeally through such virtual spaces have yet to be fully understood. In the context of the global COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent and rapid remaking of schooling to incorporate virtual and distance learning, these challenges will likely push on new ways to consider how queer bodies exist within such spaces.

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CHAPTER 29

Critical Content Analysis

S. Adam Crawley

1 Introduction

Before describing critical content analysis, it is helpful to consider the methodology on which it builds: content analysis. Content analysis involves the study of texts—words and/or images—as data for the meanings they produce. Krippendorff (2004) stated,

> The content analyst views data as representations not of physical events but of texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on for their meanings, and must therefore be analyzed with such uses in mind. Analyzing texts in the contexts of their uses distinguishes content analysis from other methods of inquiry. (p. xiii)

Content analysis can involve inquiry of previously produced texts or data that are newly generated for the study. In other words, while some researchers analyze extant books, films, podcasts, newspaper articles, social media posts, photographs, policies, and archival data (e.g., medical records, meeting minutes), other researchers generate and analyze the content in newly produced data such as interview transcripts (Demant et al., 2018). Further, content analysis can focus on a single text (Beach et al., 2009) or a set of texts compiled based on inclusion and exclusion criteria (Krippendorff, 2004).

Unlike literary analysis that focuses on authors' actions within a text (e.g., character development, symbolism, etc.), content analysis focuses on what the text is about and considers "content from a particular theoretical perspective, such as sociohistorical, gender, cultural, or thematic studies" (Beach et al., 2009, p. 130). In short, literary analysis explores what the author does (e.g., literary devices), while content analysis explores what the text is about and the larger meanings it produces (Galda et al., 2000). Specific to education, Short (2017) asserted, "We [e.g., educational researchers, teacher educators] learned a great deal from literary critics but our intentions as researchers differ in significant ways because of our commitment to, and knowledge of, children, adolescents, teachers, and classrooms" (p. 2). Thus, content analysis—unlike literary analysis—involves considering how texts exist and impact in contexts beyond the text itself.

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In addition, content analysis can involve quantitative or qualitative approaches (Krippendorff, 2004; see entries in this volume on both **Queer Qualitative** and **Quantitative Research**). While some researchers determine the frequency of items such as particular words appearing in texts and using computerized automated searches (Dicle & Dicle, 2018; Grimmer & Stewart, 2013), other content analysis projects involve researchers conducting repeated close readings to identify patterns and interpret meanings. For example, Crisp et al. (2016) read and analyzed books (n=1,169) existing in classroom libraries across 21 public pre-kindergarten and Head Start classrooms in a metropolitan city. To identify the prevalence and absence of various representations (e.g., race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, **sexual identity**, **gender identity**, religion), the research team read and coded each book to find percentages of representation within each identity category. The researchers' process involved attending to multiple aspects of the text for their analysis along with acknowledging their own potential stereotypes and biases that might problematize their inferences:

> We relied exclusively on what was stated explicitly in the book itself. We examined both the primary text and the peritextual content, such as information included on dust jackets, in Library of Congress information, and in author's notes. We divorced ourselves, as much as possible, from interpretations that were based on our own assumptions when determining representations of identity categories. For example, we did not assume that a character depicted wearing a headdress of feathers was supposed to represent an American Indian person. To the contrary, in fact, we know that Native appropriation and 'playing Indian' are ongoing issues in children's literature and popular culture. (p. 32)

The researchers further described that they did *not* analyze for "quality of representation (e.g., accuracy of depiction, authenticity)" and found that "many of these depictions [in the corpus] would be deemed problematic when examined with evaluative criteria for diverse representations" (p. 33). As the researchers' descriptions demonstrated, their analysis carefully attended both to words and images when identifying representations and determining their quantitative results.

Beach et al. (2009) asserted that *critical* content analysis occurs when the theoretical framework informing the study and analysis uses a critical approach "such as critical discourse, postcolonialism, women's studies, queer studies, and childhood studies" (p. 130). Echoing the importance of selecting and reading deeply within a critical theoretical frame, Short (2017) added the

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need for researchers to increasingly explore the historical and sociocultural aspects of texts' production (i.e., when, where, and how texts are created by authors and mediated through the publishing process) along with examining "devices of focalization, power, agency, and closure" (p. 7) within the text itself. Critical content analysis involves, for example, the researcher exploring which representations of people are present and which are absent; how dominant mainstream narratives are perpetuated or refuted; how stereotypes are reinforced or disrupted; and how texts work to marginalize or uplift particular identities and groups of people. Although these approaches largely involve the critical analyses of media content (e.g., books, film), scholars demonstrate similar use of critical theoretical perspectives and attention to context, authorship, and representation in their analysis of other forms of content such as mission statements (Barniskis, 2016), online discussion forums (Milne et al., 2017), and state statutes (Branscum et al., 2019).

2 Queer-Specific Examples

Within the field of queer studies in education, a review of scholarship reveals that few researchers explicitly name *critical* content analysis as their approach, and the majority of those studies focus on representations within children's and young adult texts. For example, Schall (2017) used theories of intersectionality and privilege to analyze representations of same sex marriage in picturebooks. Crawley (2017) used queer theory to explore the depictions of transgender children in picturebooks, and Crisp et al. (2018) explored how people's LGBTQ+ identities were excluded in nonfiction award-winning texts. Most recently, Wargo and Coleman (2021) used **queer theory**, critical multicultural education, and other critical theories to examine (in)human characters (e.g., animals, magical creatures) in LGBTQ+-inclusive children's literature. Attending to how whiteness and homonormativity permeate most queer-inclusive texts for youth, the researchers' analysis revealed that the (in)human representations also often "reified **homonormative** depictions of queer life but also, reparatively, reconfigured them" (p. 93). In their discussion, the authors asserted the importance of queer (in)human representations in "detail[ing] what can or could be in the social world" and "spotlight[ing] homonormativity's increasing malleability" (p. 93). In other words, the researchers argued how (in)human representations can create possibilities for a more promising, fulfilling, and just world for all queer individuals— "a world not restricted by our contemporary racist, sexist, ableist, homophobic, and classist realities" (Schalk in Wargo & Coleman, p. 93). This study exemplifies how researchers using critical

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content analysis were informed by one or more critical theories and compiled a corpus of texts that they then deeply read, interrogated the representations within, and considered the potential effects of those representations.

In addition to exploring narratives written for youth, researchers have also named critical content analysis as their approach to explore other texts relative to education. For example, Temko (2019) selected a specific bullying prevention program, read the program's materials (e.g., training manuals), and used a deductive thematic approach to record and classify particular passages by "relevant foci" (p. 4). Temko's analysis problematized how the program framed bullying as individual events and overlooked the systemic, sociostructural environments that create and maintain bullying—especially in ways that privilege and oppress particular sexualities, genders, and other ways of being.

Each of the queer-specific examples described above reflect Short's (2017) and Beach et al.'s (2009) emphasis on the "critical" in critical content analysis.

> Some researchers who engage in content analyses use a critical theory to comment on their findings, while in critical content analysis, the researcher uses a specific critical lens as the frame from which to develop the research questions and to select and analyze the texts. A critical approach is based in the intentions of the researcher to transform conditions of inequity and so this stance pervades all aspects of the research process. (Short, 2017, p. 5)

Conducting critical content analysis relative to queer studies in education entails identifying and interrogating representations of sexuality and/or gender in texts. Ideally, the analyses should attend to the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, dis/ability, and other ways of being along with how those representations privilege or marginalize individuals and communities in schools, as well as lives writ large.

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CHAPTER 30

Curriculum Inclusive of Sexual and Gender Diversity

Ryan Schey

Focusing on U.S. elementary and secondary schools, this entry provides an overview of different ways, some complementary and others not, scholars have discussed curriculum inclusive of sexual and gender diversity.

1 (A Lack of) Curricular Inclusion

GLSEN's biannual National School Climate Surveys provide insight into broad statistical trends with respect to the curriculum in U.S. schools. In the most recent report, Kosciw et al. (2020) state that the majority of students (66.8%) had not "been exposed to representations of LGBTQ people, history, or events in lessons at school" (p. 58), with 16.2% of students reporting access to curriculum with positive representations, 13.8% to negative, and 3.2% to both positive and negative. While these statistics indicate a need for increased positive representations in curriculum, scholars have documented examples of inclusive curriculum in a wide range of contexts, which illustrates possibilities for addressing curricular exclusion. Such examples include elementary (e.g., DePalma & Atkinson, 2008) and secondary (e.g., García, 2015) schools, in areas such as arts-based (e.g., Cruz, 2013), bilingual (Brochin, 2019), health (e.g., Quinlivan, 2012), interdisciplinary (e.g., Pennell, 2019), literature and English language arts (e.g., Vanderhule, 2019), mathematics (e.g., Rands, 2016), social studies (e.g., Moorhead & Jimenez, in press), and science (e.g., Gunckel, 2019) education.

2 Rationales for Inclusion

While many U.S. schools have been hostile to **queer** and trans people (James et al., 2016; Kosciw et al., 2020), research has suggested that more welcoming schools are associated with the presence of school-based supports, such as curricula inclusive of sexual and gender diversity (Kosciw et al., 2020; Snapp et al., 2015). However, the relationship between curriculum and climate is

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correlational and not causal, and it's unclear if and whether inclusive curricula foster welcoming climates or welcoming climates foster curricular inclusion, a point made by Blackburn and Pascoe (2015).

Nonetheless, scholars have frequently advocated for inclusive curriculum on the basis of its potential, alongside other school-based supports, to contribute to improving school climates. Most commonly, the suggestion is that inclusive curricula can provide students with understandings of and empathy for people different from them, thus functioning as a curricular *window* (Bishop, 1990; Botelho & Rudman, 2009). Beyond the nebulous relationship between curriculum and climate, scholars have critiqued and troubled such a rationale. Still, it has had influence and continues to circulate, perhaps because of its strategic appeal to straight, cis teachers who, as documented (e.g., Thein, 2013), are often resistant to teaching curriculum inclusive of sexual and gender diversity.

As argued by Clark and Blackburn (2009) and Blackburn and Schey (2017) in their reviews of research, the framing of curricular windows has had shortcomings. Through it, students are positioned as exclusively straight, cis, and ignorant if not hostile, with curriculum serving as a didactic solution. Thus, the framing eliminated the possibility of students being queer or trans themselves, thus reifying **cisheterosexism**. In other words, curriculum could not be a *mirror*, meaning a way for queer and trans students "to see themselves reflected so as to affirm who they and their communities are" (Botelho & Rudman, 2009, p. 1). A further tension in past studies using the curricular window framing is that students only engaged with curriculum didactically. Alternatives were excluded, for instance, the possibility that students might have experienced pleasure in learning about queer and trans topics and that students might have constructed political alliances across difference. Finally, McCready (2004) has shown that school-based supports that do not attend to race and queerness can exclude Black queer students, a caution that emphasizes the importance of attending to the interrelations among multiple identities, and not only **sexuality** and gender, with respect to inclusive curriculum.

3 Models of Inclusion

Scholars have described models for curriculum inclusive of sexual and gender diversity, models which have alternatively focused on curricular representations' qualities, visibility, and context, with the scope of these three foci becoming gradually wider.

Many researchers take a fine-grained view in which they discuss the qualities of exemplar curricular text(s), especially children's and young adult

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literature, and outline approaches for using the text(s) (e.g., Linville & Carlson, 2016). For example, scholars have considered interrelated identities such as gender, sexuality, and race (e.g., Jiménez, 2018;), text modality (e.g., Kedley & Spiering, 2017), and place (e.g., Coleman, 2018).

Another group of curricular inclusion models focus on the visibility of sexual and gender diversity. Scholars discuss visibility with respect to frequency of inclusion (e.g., single text in one lesson; multiple texts in one unit; multiple texts throughout the year) and student access (e.g., students' individual choice; small groups; whole class) (Blackburn et al., 2018; Page, 2016). While different forms of visibility offer affordances and constraints, curricula that consistently offer few, if any, inclusive texts to only a few students communicate the message that learning about queer and trans people is an exception, positioning queer and trans people as marginal if not aberrant.

Other models embed curricular inclusion in broader contexts of classroom practices. Generally, these practices amplify the significance of representations of sexual and gender diversity and provide students with avenues for engaging with representations across different disciplines and topics such as mathematical inqueery in geometry (Rands, 2016), inclusion of gender diversity in biology (Long, 2019), and Two-Spirit knowledges and a traditional Native worldview in social studies (Mayo & Sheppard, 2012).

4 Troubling Inclusion

Scholars have troubled inclusion with respect to additive representations and the underlying practices and politics of knowledge production.

Inclusion as an additive approach implies assimilation to a normative center that is white and cishet, in other words, that normative definitions of curriculum, knowledge, and personhood remain intact, and representations of sexual and gender diversity are shaped to fit within pre-existing definitions and thus are distorted. Assimilationist approaches have been critiqued as constituting a new form of normativity, which Duggan (2003) calls homonormativity, which promotes neoliberalism and is racialized as white (Ferguson, 2005). Furthermore, as Kumashiro (2015) argues more generally about anti-oppressive education, inclusion will always be incomplete because it will always be partial, and it is important to teach students about such partialness in explicit ways so that they can challenge it.

Tensions with inclusion also stem from queer theories' post-structural connections. Many queer theorists have argued that "queer" cannot be defined, or that "queer" is no longer queer once defined (Jagose, 1996). Instead, queerness,

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among other qualities, entails multiplicity, variability, fluidity, and movement not only among but also beyond categories (Britzman, 1997). Such queer tendencies produce tensions with practices of inclusion because inclusion often relies on stable, fixed representations. Furthermore, queer theorists frequently advocate for interrogating and disrupting normative practices and power relations that naturalize identities and binaries (Eng et al., 2005). In this view, the project of inclusive curriculum is troubled/ing from the start, with queer and trans liberation entailing sociocultural transformation, such as reshaping schools to make space for queerness (Airton, 2013), rather than mere additions.

These critiques point to the politics of knowledge production (Brockenbrough, 2017) that are part of all curricula. McCready (2013) explains that the radical and ruptural alterity of queer of Color knowledges exists in tension with state-sanctioned curriculum and even other queer knowledges grounded in whiteness, resulting in challenges for incorporating these knowledges into schools.

In closing, the continued curricular erasure of queerness and transness is a problematic instantiation of symbolic violence that cannot continue. It compels educators to act, include, and affirm. Yet, they must approach curricular design with respect to sexuality and gender with care, caution, compassion, nuance, and an informed stance.

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CHAPTER 31

Decolonizing Approaches

Roland Sintos Coloma

Decolonizing approaches challenge eurocentric knowledges, histories, cultures, beliefs, behaviors, and practices that are **hegemonically** imposed, become normalized, and govern individuals, institutions, and societies (Smith, 2012). Eurocentric imposition, normalization, and governance were borne out of and continue with imperialist designs, colonial occupations, and neocolonial dominance. They are enacted through the coercive hard power of military, economic, and political control and through the influential soft power of education, culture, values, and networks (Nye, 2011). For instance, although what we now call as the United States of America was initially formed as British colonies, its development grew out of European imperialism, **settler colonialism**, colonialism abroad, and ongoing neocolonialism. Examples of the eurocentric power and consequences of the United States as an empire (Coloma, 2013, 2017) include: the genocide of Indigenous people and usurpation of their lands; the enslavement of African people; the invasion and occupation of other countries (e.g., the Philippines); the exertion of military might on other sovereign nations (e.g., Vietnam, Afghanistan); the creation of dependency through economic and political subordination (e.g., several countries in Africa and Latin America); and the influence of Hollywood films and media within and beyond its geopolitical borders.

Eurocentric discourse has also shaped the heteronormative grammar of gender and **sexuality** dominating the United States and many countries around the world (Dellamora, 1999; Thatcher, 2014). This discourse is intimately tied to Christian and Victorian conceptualizations of morality, body, family, procreation, and salvation. For instance, formal and popular education campaigns were mobilized by white educators and colonial officials to train Indigenous and racially minoritized children and adolescents about "proper" attitudes and behaviors conforming to their gendered and **heteronormative** roles (McClintock, 1995). Individually and collectively, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) activists, researchers, educators, and allies contest heteronormative impositions in a variety of ways (Stulberg, 2018). From coming out and marching in **Pride Parades**, to establishing and joining LGBTQ+ organizations and protesting against discriminatory laws and regulations, these acts celebrate LGBTQ+ lives and communities, create new spaces of affirmation

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and liberation, and resist through social, cultural, and political movements. Consequently, decolonizing approaches take on two fronts: they dispute not only the eurocentrism and overwhelming whiteness of ***heteronormativity***, but also the eurocentrism and overwhelming whiteness of ***homonormativity*** and LGBTQ+ movements that seek to assert that all LGBTQ+ lives, rights, histories, and cultures matter.

Decolonizing approaches to queer studies in education examine, interrogate, and contest the **hegemonic** whiteness and eurocentrism that dominate research and teaching on sexual orientation, **gender identity**, and **gender expression**. They challenge dominant ontological, epistemological, methodological, and pedagogical frameworks that render the worldviews, conditions, and subjectivities of white LGBTQ+ individuals in the Global North as universal, common, and representative (Bakshi et al., 2016). They call into question the dissemination and proliferation of "whitestream" queer studies in the Global North and the Global South that is not reflexive of its complicity to white supremacy, knowledge imperialism, and settler colonialism (Barker, 2017; Massad, 2008). They resist the erasure and dismissal of Indigenous and other non-white LGBTQ+ experiences and identities that are subsumed under white or eurocentric ones deemed putatively generalizable and applicable to all LGBTQ+ people in various temporal and geographical contexts. Strongly informed by Indigenous, critical race, queer and feminist of Color, Marxist, diasporic, and postcolonial frameworks, decolonizing approaches utilize intersectional, comparative, and transnational viewpoints to reimagine a more **critical queer studies** in education that considers its complicities, limitations, and radical possibilities (Alexander, 2006; Anzaldúa, 2009).

Decolonizing approaches foreground the historical and contemporary experiences and perspectives of LGBTQ+ individuals from Indigenous communities, from racially minoritized and diasporic groups, from the Global South, and from those considered "other's other" due to their minoritized position within a group that is already marginalized (Driskill et al., 2019; Hong & Ferguson, 2011). They draw from Indigenous and Global South genealogies and practices that honor and celebrate distinct histories and traditions relevant to LGBTQ+S who are Indigenous and racially minoritized (Alexander, 2006; Anzaldúa, 2009; Driskill et al., 2019). For example, scholars, educators, and activists highlight how **Two-Spirit** people in North America, *muxe* in Mexico, *hijra* in the Indian subcontinent, *waria* in Indonesia, and *bakla* in the Philippines defy modern eurocentric terminologies and taxonomies of gender and sexuality. They also reveal fluidity in gender identity and expression as well as in same-sex experiences and relations, for instance, among the *sangoma* healers in South Africa. Historians, anthropologists, and other researchers and

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educators maintain that gender and sexual norms and subjectivities in Indigenous, racially minoritized, and Global South communities were relatively more open and fluid prior to European imperialist conquest, colonial governmentality, and the resulting imposition of rigid binaries regulating gender and sexuality in the name of Christianity, civilization, and modernity.

As an intellectual, political, and educational intervention, decolonizing approaches draw from Indigenous, racially minoritized, and Global South genealogies to claim an important history and legacy of LGBTQ+ existence, belonging, and resistance (Ekine & Abbas, 2013; Luther & Loh, 2019; Pereira, 2019). They refute allegations of absence or eurocentric singularity in questions, such as "are there gay people in Africa, Asia, or Latin America?" or "is homosexuality a western concept or invention?" Admittedly, terms for sexual and gender identities and practices in Indigenous, racialized, diasporic, and Global South contexts cannot be easily translated or have facile counterparts in English or other European languages. However, it cannot be denied that same-sex relations and gender nonconformity existed elsewhere outside of the Global North and were accepted in the past. In struggles against homophobic and transphobic violence, assertions of LGBTQ+ existence and belonging could function as a necessary reminder and desired promise of more equitable and just societies.

It is important to narrate Indigenous, racially minoritized, and Global South histories that affirm LGBTQ+ lives, presence, and belonging, in spite of the limitations of archives and other historical records (Arondekar, 2009; Massad, 2008; Shah, 2012). Yet it is crucial to not relegate LGBTQ+ Indigenous, racially minoritized, and Global South experiences as solely in the past. Documenting and analyzing contemporary queer realities and imagining queer futurities are similarly pivotal to decolonizing approaches to queer studies in education. Research and teaching of the current and future state of queer studies in education need to include the following inquiries and curriculum: lived realities, cultural productions, and civic engagements of LGBTQ+ individuals and communities from diverse racial/ethnic, cultural, and national backgrounds; differential experiences and impact of sexual and gender discrimination on LGBTQ+ Indigenous and racially minoritized communities in the Global North and LGBTQ+s in the Global South; and varying strategies and outcomes of resistance, advocacy, and resilience by LGBTQ+s in the Global North and South. These inquiries and curriculum need to be pursued within spatial and temporal contexts where formal education (such as in schools, colleges, and universities) and informal education (such as in media and popular culture) take place. Ultimately, decolonizing approaches should not be considered as merely adding to or contributing to the broadening of normative theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical frameworks and corpus, largely

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underpinned by hegemonic whiteness and eurocentrism. Rather, its aim is to disrupt, reimagine, and ignite the radical potential of a critical queer studies in education.

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CHAPTER 32

Disidentification

Addie Shrodes

1 Disidentifications

Queer theorist and performance studies scholar José Esteban Muñoz (1999) theorized *disidentification* as modes of cultural production and performance to survive, resist, and transform dominant culture as a site of interlocking structures of power. Disidentifications recycle and revise dominant cultural forms to represent marginalized positionalities and politics. Muñoz, a foundational theorist in **queer of Color critique**, developed disidentification with a focus on Black and Latinx queer artists who redeploy tools of dominant culture such as media genres to contest interlocking whiteness and **heteronormativity**. He argued that disidentificatory practices offer the multiply marginalized subject "a space to situate itself in history and thus seize social agency" (1999, p. 1).

In contrast to identification that participates in dominant ideologies and counteridentification that strictly opposes them, disidentification works on, with, and against dominant cultural forms. Though powerfully grounded in political traditions of anti-assimilation, counteridentification can reinforce the dominance of **hegemonic** ideologies through opposition (Muñoz, 1999). Disidentification works within and against dominant culture to modify oppressive logics, valuing the potential of everyday contestations for broader forms of social transformation. Despite this potential, disidentification also presents a risk in that it requires subjects to negotiate dominant ideologies and engage with tools of the dominant culture, even as they enact intellectual and artistic production (Brockenbrough, 2015).

In Muñoz's theorization, disidentification as a form of practice commonly involves reworking a dominant cultural form or representation to revise its meanings. He analyzes Puerto Rican and Cuban American lesbian performance artist Marga Gomez's comedic performance *Marga Gomez Is Pretty, Witty, and Gay*, arguing that she recycles the normative media form of a daytime talk show for a queer revisionary reading. Through such a reading, Gomez uses the tools of white **heteronormative** culture to represent the complexity of "queer lives, politics, and possibilities" (Muñoz, 1999, p. 1). A central thread of disidentification is the role of humor as a "pedagogical and political project"

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that guides marginalized subjects to resist erasure and one-dimensional representations in the dominant culture (Muñoz, 1999, p. xi). Queer and queer of Color comedic forms of satire and parody such as camp and *choteo* have rich potential for practices of disidentification, as they use humor to rewrite stereotypes, subvert dominant logics, and enact **queer worldmaking** (Muñoz, 1995, 1999).

2 Disidentificatory Practices in Queer Studies

Since its theorization in the late 1990s, the concept of disidentification has meaningfully shaped queer of Color critique and **Quare theory** (Ferguson, 2004; Johnson, 2001; Zepeda, 2014). Conceptualizing Quare theory, Black queer performance studies scholar E. Patrick Johnson (2001) built on disidentification to consider the vernacular traditions through which Black queer communities survive white supremacy and **cisheteropatriarchy**. Johnson argued that Black queer people could redeploy discourses inherited from dominant culture to resist oppression. For instance, performances in Black queer and trans **ballroom culture** such as snapping and vogueing rework and resist dominant culture, asserting agency, and developing new forms of social relations and representation (Bailey, 2011; Johnson, 2001; see also the entry on **Ballroom Culture** in this book). Ferguson (2004) developed queer of Color critique, building on Muñoz, as that which works from within fields of thought—including **queer theory**, **women of color feminism**, and historical materialism—to "account for the queer of Color subject's historicity" (p. 4).

As queer critique took shape as a disciplinary formation, scholars have also used the concept of disidentification to rework and revise discourses within queer studies. Because queer of Color critique as a body of thought can render Indigenous communities invisible or reduce Indigeneity to race, Cherokee scholar Qwo-Li Driskill (2010) took up disidentification to weave queer and Native studies together in **Two-Spirit critique**, arguing, "Native people must disidentify with the very critiques that claim to be decolonial and counterhegemonic interventions for queer people of color in order to make them viable for our communities" (p. 79). Similarly, scholars have employed disidentification to put disability studies, race and ethnic studies, and queer studies in critical dialogue, revising theories where they occlude attention to race, disability, gender, and **sexuality** (McRuer, 2006; Schaulk, 2013). Here, disidentification involves taking up and redeploying disciplinary discourses to disrupt settled assumptions and attend to intersections of power and identity.

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3 Disidentification in Queer Studies in Education

Within queer studies in education, scholars have employed disidentification to consider the range of ways that queer and trans youth and communities take up and redeploy dominant cultural forms to resist oppressive ideologies and norms (Wargo, 2017). A number of scholars use the concept to consider how queer people of Color in school, higher education, and social movement contexts rework dominant culture shaped by interlocking hegemonic norms, including white normativity, **cisnormativity**, and **heteronormativity** (Boatwright, 2016; Duran et al., 2019; Longoria, 2018). For instance, Duran et al. (2019) constructed stories of five gay Latino men enrolled in a four-year university to consider how they disidentified with, and thereby resisted, heteronormative frames of romantic love. A growing area of **Jotería** studies in education takes disidentification as a foundational analytic to consider how queer people of Color "engage in subversive acts that challenge systems of heterosexism, trans oppression, and racism" (Orozco et al., 2021).

Trans studies in education scholars have employed the concept of disidentification to consider the experience of trans youth and communities moving within and against cisnormative contexts (Jourian, 2016; Nicolazzo, 2021; Stachowiak, 2017). Jourian (2016) used disidentification alongside other critical frames to consider how trans* masculine college students construct masculinity and survive normative contexts, with a focus on trans* masculine people of Color. Stachowiak (2017) similarly employed disidentification to consider how **genderqueer** individuals queer gender and social relations with tools available from the **gender binary**, thereby troubling the binary itself. Nicolazzo (2021) built with and departed from disidentification in articulating a trans* epistemology that "resists and reworks the trans* oppression throughout (urban) educational contexts, while also recognizing the work that has already been—and continues to be—done in urban contexts, most often by trans* and gender nonconforming people of Color" (p. 517).

Within educational research, the concept of disidentification has also attuned scholars to the role of humor, play, and imagination in queer resistance and worldmaking (Gutiérrez et al., 2017; Keenan & Hot Mess, 2021; Schey, 2020; Shrodes, 2020). Gutiérrez et al. (2017) draw on Muñoz to attend to the creative, ideational resources developed by non-dominant youth who cross and contest "the borders and boundaries set forth by coloniality's normalizing White and heteronormative impulse" (p. 22). Keenan and Hot Mess (2021) similarly draw on the concept of disidentification to understand drag practices and pedagogy as creative, playful modes to work within and against the dominant culture and assert agency. Shrodes (2020) and Schey (2020) both

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turn to disidentification to consider how forms of humor such as satire and signification disrupt dominant ideologies and norms, even as this potential is fraught by the ways in which disidentificatory practices redeploy tools of the dominant culture in resistance.

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CHAPTER 33

Drag and Drag Studies

Christopher (Doza) Mendoza

Drag Studies encompasses the analysis of a range of aesthetic and **performative** practices that subvert notions of binary gender through the presentation of clothing, makeup, prosthetics, and wigs to create exaggerated personae in entertainment and political spaces. While difficult to pinpoint the historical origin of drag, drag in its current form, especially in the United States, is often attributed to drag balls in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century New York (Chauncey, 2008). Drag is performed by cisgender, gender non-conforming, and transgender individuals, but may also serve to reinforce stereotypes of what femininity and masculinity are through exaggerated representations of gendered embodiment (Hobson, 2013). Theoretical arguments about the purpose of drag include an array of descriptions ranging from performance to parody and are necessary to contextualize the large breadth of the art genre and how it has been interpreted in different scenes and disciplines. Turning to the educational capacity of the art form, drag has the faculty to demonstrate in public space how gendered expectations imposed on bodies can be shattered and transformed (Greaf, 2016) through the empowerment of student agency to engage in aesthetic choices that allow them to feel comfortable in their outward expressions of their **gender identities**. Drag, as a cornerstone of a queer curriculum model, in both informal and formal educational spaces, recognizes and encourages students and curious purveyors of gender to embrace the multiplicity and possibility of identity (Edward, 2020).

1 Drag Styles and Representation: *Fishiness*, *Butchness,* & Beyond

The two most common types of drag performers are drag queens and drag kings. In understanding the range of possibilities for what can be drag, it is important to recognize how the complicated interactions of gender, sex, and **sexuality** all play a role in shaping the persona of a performer (Rupp et al., 2010).

While drag queens often identify as gay cismen and drag kings often identify as lesbian ciswomen, drag also involves folks who identify as fluid and non-binary, establishing the counter-**hegemonic** and counter-**heteronormative** in

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performance by exploiting the social norms of their community audience rather than directly via "opposite" gendered appearances (Egner & Maloney 2016). In the U.S. South, this may involve a white gay cisman performing in drag as a woman that uses white women's linguistic style, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Southern American English, a blonde wig, and Dolly Parton songs to blend, blur, and help to negotiate the gendered and racialized boundaries present in their community (Mann, 2011). Styleshifting then becomes the linguistic manifestation of how drag performers participate in audience design (Bell 1984), accommodating their speech and communicative practices to situate themselves within a particular space.

Popular representations of drag such as RuPaul's Drag Race (Bailey et al., 2009-present) often do not celebrate the inherent genderqueer and gender-expansive dimensions of real-world drag. While the show is made by and for drag performers, it often relies on celebrating "fishiness," a term in drag spheres that relates to a successful physiological portrayal of femininity. At the same time, the show denigrates "butchness," referring to more normative displays of masculinity, criticizing queens who refuse to conform to the hyper-femme ideas that further perpetuate problematic ideologies of gendered dichotomy (González & Cavazos, 2016).

2 Competing Theories of Drag

Clashes in determining the meaning of drag from feminist to queer theorists have resulted in interpretations that position drag as inherently misogynistic or inherently subversive when juxtaposed with society's overarching dominant gender norms. Ethnographic accounts ground us in a more complex understanding of drag that cautions theorizing it from a binarist perspective.

Scholars in feminist theory have argued that drag, especially when performed by drag queens, relies on stereotypical representations of femininity both in aesthetic choices and in interactional elements of performance. Gay cismen who perform drag and feed off of – often internalized – femi-negativity (Bishop et al., 2014) can also reify normative and misogynistic gender ideals (Hodes & Sandoval, 2018). **Queer theory** has challenged the claim that drag is inherently misogynistic (Butler, 1990), positioning drag as a subversive act that deconstructs and shifts what phenotypical and physiological characteristics are correlated to anatomical sex and questions the prescription of gender roles to particular bodies. Butler (1993) later clarified that drag has the capacity to elicit diverse reactions. It can be used as a weapon to further misogynistic and

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homophobic ideologies but also can question the rigidity of gender categorization and serve as a liberatory mechanism (Barrett, 2017).

Sociocultural linguistic and ethnographic work on the study of African American drag queens in performance illuminates drag as a space to simultaneously negotiate the complex indexical markers of gender, class, race, and ethnicity that are intertwined, co-constructed, and mediate the hegemonic systems that queer folks must navigate to carve out social legibility and legitimacy (Barrett, 2017). Drag performers, whether queens, kings, or beyond, resist hegemonic classification as inherently feminine or masculine. For example, San Francisco's drag scene is differentiated by performers in the Castro District who valorize a glamorous aesthetic, in stark contrast with SoMa where performers often will show body hair, adorn themselves with politically charged pieces, and employ pop rock aesthetics (Calder, 2019). Recent work on language and drag in interaction has borrowed from queer of color critique to explore drag as a discursive space and semiotic landscape where performers navigate and take stances against the ways in which society prescribes visual styles, sounds, and other multimodal communicative forms as inherently gendered and racialized (Mendoza, 2021).

3 Drag as Transformative Education

Hinging on the idea that drag is a cultural performance phenomenon that includes a range of gender identities and choices in artistic expression, education scholars have started to explore the potential for drag to be an opportunity to build **inclusive** community and support networks. Educators in campus activities programming departments have highlighted the role that local drag performers can have in filling multiple roles that are key to LGBTQ+ student success, including "consultant, advising students and programming boards on finding local shows, talent, and networking opportunities" (Fowler & Potter, 2018, p. 13). While drag has become an increasingly visible artform, especially with the rise of popularity of RuPaul's Drag Race, drag shows may also present challenges in more conservative educational spheres where LGBTQ+ rights are a contested issue. Ultimately though, drag itself provides a safe and empowering space for students to explore not only social connections but also to develop resiliency and visibility that has shown to increase well-being among LGBTQ+ students (Avery et al., 2016).

Building off of the idea of queerness as potentiality rather than fixed identity (Muñoz, 2009), drag in educational spaces allows for students, educators, and community members alike to challenge how the connection between

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particular bodies and gender is socially conditioned, constructed, and policed rather than rooted in biological reality. Keenan and Hot Mess's (2020) work on drag as pedagogy demonstrates a focus on strategic defiance and resistance, inspiring youth to see beyond regulations, politics of respectability, and behavioral norms, which can temporarily disrupt the oppressive structures of schooling. Drag shows, drag queen story hours, drag balls as hosted and supported by universities, community colleges, schools, and other educational venues encourage the celebration of gender non-conforming identities, increasing the support systems in place and resources available to LGBTQ+ community members (Atilano et al., 2020).

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CHAPTER 34

Educational Research and Queer Issues in K-12 Schools

Mollie V. Blackburn and Joselyn L. Parker

Educational research about queer issues in K-12 schools has been evolving for decades. The 1990s marked a significant surge for this research, most notably with the Gay, Lesbian, Straight, Education Network (GLSEN) conducting its first national school climate survey. This was a large-scale quantitative study of queer-identifying students and their experiences in schools; it has been conducted every other year since then, with the most recent report having just come out representing the 2019 survey (Kosciw et al., 2020). Both before and since GLSEN's initial study, qualitative studies have complemented the GLSEN findings, as well as other findings from large-scale quantitative studies. These offer more complexity and nuance but are, of course, not generalizable. Moreover, they represent regions including but not limited to the United States (U.S.). Here, we draw on a wide range of research to talk about queer issues in K-12 schools. We first focus on schools and students, particularly schools' locales and students across secondary, middle, and elementary levels. We then turn our attention to teachers, curriculum, pedagogy, and administrators.

1 Schools and Students

Schools can support queer students with Gender and Sexuality Alliances/Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs), inclusive and positive curricular resources, supportive educators, and inclusive and supportive school policies (Kosciw et al., 2020) for LGBTQ+ students in the United States. Such resources and supports, according to this most recent GLSEN report, correlate with LGBTQ+ students hearing less homophobic and transphobic language, seeing more staff interrupt homophobia and **transphobia**, and feeling safer and more like they belonged (Kosciw et al., 2020). Not surprisingly, these resources and supports are not present uniformly across U.S. students or schools. GLSEN found that pansexual students experienced more hostility than lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, and questioning students; transgender students experienced more hostility than nonbinary students who experienced more than cisgender students;

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and students of Color experienced more hostility than white students (Kosciw et al., 2020).

1.1 *Locales*

Such distinctions are not limited to personal characteristics. For example, students in rural schools, as well as southern schools, experienced more hostility than those in urban and suburban schools and schools in every other region of the country (Kosciw et al., 2020). Many rural schools in the U.S. uphold conservative and traditional beliefs, which include cisheteronormative ideologies (Sandman et al., 2014). When students deviate from **cisheteronormativity** in rural schools, they can become the subjects of judgment, harassment, and isolation from peers and even school staff members (Blackburn & Thomas, 2019). The most consistent issues for LGBTQ+ youth in rural schools is the lack of in-school resources and limited opportunities for youth to be involved in social activities that support queer concerns (DePedro et al., 2016). Educators in rural schools, like any other school, have a responsibility to their students to create safe spaces for all identities to be affirmed; however, some teachers in rural communities are too afraid of the backlash they may face personally by supporting LGBTQ+ students and others simply have not been prepared to do that work (Blackburn & Thomas, 2019). There are typically more supports and resources for queer urban youth. However, cisheteronormative value systems often prevent students of Color who claim queer identities from accessing these resources in cities (McCready 2007). As a result, most queer-inclusive school programs benefit middle-class white youth. Whereas many urban students of Color have identified feelings of isolation, exclusion, and fear of being "outed" when participating in such programs (Blackburn & McCready, 2009). Whether rural, urban, or suburban, U.S. or otherwise, schools reflect the larger social dynamics of the communities they serve. They are a reflection of the social, cultural, and economic environments in which they are situated. This can come with both advantages and disadvantages for queer students in K-12 schools.

1.2 *Students across Levels*

Secondary schools present unique challenges for queer youth. It is within secondary years that many students discover and accept their **sexual** and **gender identities**, while also working to maintain status among their peer groups (Johnson, 2017). Issues around harassment, violence, and feelings of isolation can be exacerbated for secondary students who identify as queer. Subtle messages of gender and sexual "norms" are seen within curricula, sports teams, gender-defined clubs, and in daily adolescent and even adult conversations (McCready, 2004). For students who attend secondary schools that maintain

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a culture of cisheteronormativity, there is an increase in academic underachievement for LGBTQ+ youth; many eventually leaving to attend alternative programs or completely dropping out (McCready, 2004).

However, secondary schools also present a unique set of opportunities for queer students. Most research about queer-inclusive curricula, for example, took place in secondary schools (e.g., Snapp et al., 2015). While most of this scholarship has focused on English Language Arts lessons and units (for a review, see Blackburn & Schey, 2017), there have also been studies focused on social studies (e.g., Mayo, 2016), science (e.g., Hoelscher, 2018; Lundin, 2015), as well as mathematics (Pennell, 2019). Moreover, there have been some studies conducted over the course of a year or more focused on semester-long courses that foreground queer issues (e.g., Helmer, 2015). In other words, research is being done that would at least allow for the possibility of queer-inclusive content being woven across secondary curricula.

Middle school students, according to GLSEN, experience more hostility and have access to fewer resources than high school students (Kosciw et al., 2020). This is, of course, alarming since negative school experiences as a result of homophobia, transphobia, and cisheteronormativity can lead to poor academic performances and frequent school absences. There are, however, efforts being made by policymakers and school leadership to increase safety for LGBTQ+ middle schoolers (Boyland et al., 2018). Moreover, calls have been made for more scholarly attention to be paid to queer students in middle schools (Bailey, 2005; Bailey & Phariss, 1996).

Elementary schools, too, present unique challenges for queer youth. Most significantly, there is a common misconception that elementary students are too young to learn about queer people. Queer issues, however, can be taught in age-appropriate ways to all students, including the very youngest. Consider the children of LGBTQ+ parents, who have been learning about queer topics their entire lives, as well as children who experience same-gender desire and/or gender in non-dichotomous ways from very early ages. Further, the fact that queer issues can be taught in age-appropriate ways to even the youngest of students is well documented in scholarship. DePalma and Atkinson (2010), for example, worked with teachers to study ways to disrupt cisheteronormativity in primary schools in the U.K. Similarly, scholars Hermann-Wilmarth and Ryan (Hermann-Wilmarth et al., 2017; Ryan, 2016; Ryan et al., 2013) have worked with teachers to explore queer issues with their elementary students. These studies, as well as their work with pre-service teachers, culminated in their recent book *Reading the Rainbow: LGBTQ-Inclusive Literacy Instruction in the Elementary Classroom* (2018). Including a queer-inclusive curriculum in elementary school can help to minimize the impact of cisheteronormative ideologies that saturate K-12 education and maximize their understanding of the diversity

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of humans. The long-term effects could result in school climates being more accepting of queer students.

2 Teachers and Administrators

Regardless of the grade band, school communities are shaped in large part by the teachers and administrators who work within them. Although, as previously mentioned, school communities are largely reflective of broader communities where they are located, Blackburn et al. (2018) outline ways that teachers and administrators can create safe and inclusive school communities for all of their students.

2.1 *Teachers, Curriculum, and Pedagogy*

Despite the expectation for teachers to create a safe learning environment for all of their students, many teachers who identify as queer do not experience educational spaces as "safe" for them. Queer educators, particularly queer educators of Color, have reported being subjected to homophobia within the institutional and cultural contexts of school (Brockenbrough, 2012). Such subjectivity can create feelings of isolation and vulnerability for queer educators who believe their queer identities can have negative effects on their teaching careers (Endo, Reece-Miller, & Santavicaa, 2010). In contrast, teachers who are secure in their school communities are more available for their students. They can share healthy relationships with their students, which can greatly impact students' academic achievement (Lomotey, 2019). Moreover, teachers who have their queer identities affirmed in their schools are more likely to act as advocates for the liberation of their queer students and the inclusion of queer-inclusive curricula (Graves, 2015).

Historically, school curricula in the U.S. have reproduced cisheteronormative discourses that have erased queer people and silenced queer voices (Lett & Sears, 1999). More recent and abundant educational scholarship supports curricula that are inclusive of queer people, their history, and pertinent social and political events (e.g., Blackburn et al., 2018; Blackburn et al., 2010; Russell et al., 2006). Indeed, GLSEN's National School Climate Survey has repeatedly found that schools with queer-inclusive curricula are less likely to be unfriendly or hostile toward queer students (Kosciw et al., 2020). In other words, queer-inclusive curricula can improve school climate.

Curricula, alone, though, are not enough. Pedagogies that recognize and respect queer people are a necessary complement. This, of course, is the work of teachers. Curricula might include queer topics and texts or not. Teachers determine what gets done with them. They might gloss over queer-inclusive

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curricula, or, ideally, they might take it up with openness and respect. They might allow curricula that do not include queer topics and texts to stand as is, or they might supplement the curricula or challenge students to see the possibility of queer, even where it is not clearly articulated (Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018). Teachers who take up curricula and pedagogy in ways that recognize and value queer people are the ones who make schools safe learning environments for all students.

2.2 *Administrators*

Of course, administrators guide teachers' efforts. Historically, the role of administrators in public primary and secondary schools has been dominated by cisheteronormative white men and women in the U.S. In fact, almost 80% of principals in the U.S. are white, with white men being the majority of those (Barshay, 2020). As a result, administrators have historically upheld cisheteronormative ideals embedded throughout educational systems. Research indicates that administrators in K12 educational settings oppose or avoid communication around sexual and gender identity (DePalma & Atkinson, 2010). Some school administrators avoid sexual and gender inclusion because of their own personal beliefs (Blackburn & McCready, 2009). That is to say, they do not believe that sexual and gender identity inclusion is appropriate for school (Payne & Smith, 2018). Other administrators report feelings of being inadequately knowledgeable about queer identities and inclusion while simultaneously being resistant to training (Payne & Smith, 2018).

In recent years, however, there have been significant federal changes around the legalization of same-sex marriage (2015) and the U.S. Supreme Court ruling prohibiting a person from employment termination based on sexual orientation and gender identity (2020). The earlier change has put pressure on school administrators to recognize families with same-sex parents. The latter will likely challenge administrators to acknowledge staff and faculty who embody identities other than cisheteronormative ones. Together, such federal changes, and other local ones that are aligned, may provoke administrators to engage queer issues at a school-wide level.

Due to their power and influence, administrative personnel, who are sufficiently trained around the issues of queer inclusion, are able to improve their school's climate in substantial ways. The positive effects of school administration supporting queer inclusion are evident in states like Massachusetts, where long-standing initiatives like the Safe School Program for Gay and Lesbian youth provides consultation services and program development resources to schools as they take steps to become safer places for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender students. According to school personnel who were directly

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involved in safe school efforts, the active support of key administrators was crucial to the success and sustained presence of safe school initiatives (Griffin & Ouellett, 2002).

While power and influence are present for many school principals, it seems to be reserved for White principals. In the latest study by the National Center for Education Statistics, Black men and women only make up 11% combined of public-school principals in the United States, with the majority (7%) being Black women. Despite limited research specifically around Black women principals and queer inclusion, Bloom and Erlandson (2003) describe how the intersection of race and gender, under the structure of White supremacy, cause many Black principals to feel silenced, isolated, and afraid to speak out about controversial issues for fear of losing their jobs, being shut out among their peers, and ultimately not moving up in positions within educational systems. This makes clear the impact of racism on educational leadership in terms of many issues in K-12 schools, including queer issues. Since most non-white administrators are Black women, these issues of educational racism most often affect them.

Educational research has increased its attention to queer issues in K-12 schools in the past few decades. In doing so, research has revealed that school communities are largely reflective of broader communities where they are located. Further, how queer people, including but not limited to students, experience their communities is impacted by much more than their sexual and gender identities and expressions. Their race, class, gender, religion, among many other identities contribute to their experiences in and beyond school. Across urban, rural, and suburban schools and across secondary, middle, and elementary schools, diverse queer students continue to experience homophobia, transphobia, and cisheteronormativity, although students of color experience such oppressions more intensely. There are teachers and administrators who work on queer students' behalf to make schools better for them. Of course, there are also those who do not, but it is those who *do* who lead the way in educational research and queer issues in K-12 schools. It is in the more recent research that we see a call not just for protecting LGBTQ+ people in schools but for interrogating that which makes them (and us) vulnerable: cisheteronormativity.

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CHAPTER 35

Equity vs. Equality

Andrés Castro Samayoa

1 Equality as Access

Activism mobilizing for gay and lesbian people's full participation in U.S. society relies on an equal rights framework. An equal rights framework conceives a just society as one where equality is defined as people's unfettered access to opportunities and resources (Espinoza, 2007). A framework of equality strives to ensure that neither **sexual orientation** nor **gender identity** precludes one's access. With the backdrop of the HIV/AIDS epidemic that disproportionately affected queer individuals in the 1980s, federal policies exacerbated gays and lesbians' exclusion from civic society (Padamsee, 2020). The Clinton administration's passage of both "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) in 1993 and the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in 1996 curtailed gays and lesbians' access from two state-sanctioned institutions: the military and marriage (Adam, 2003; Britton & Williams, 2003).

Both DOMA and DADT galvanized a cadre of gay and lesbian activists to organize efforts demanding equal participation in the latter part of the twentieth century (Weber, 2015). Campaigns coalesced under calls for 'marriage equality' and freedom to participate in the military. Decades of organized activism succeeded in advancing an equal rights framework for gay and lesbian people's access to the military and marriage. In 2011, President Barack H. Obama certified the DADT Repeal Act of 2010, ensuring that military personnel could not be subjected to a discharge for explicitly discussing their sexual orientation (Alford & Lee, 2016). Four years later, the Supreme Court's 5-4 vote in *Obergefell v. Hodges* ruled that same-sex couples were afforded equal rights and responsibilities through marriage, effectively overriding DOMA (Kazyak & Stange, 2018).

1.1 *The Limits of Equality*

Construing equal access for gays and lesbians through their assimilation into marriage and military participation results in the exclusion of more capacious conceptions of queer equality (Weiss, 2012). For one, the movement of marriage equality has undermined alternative queer social configurations, including critiques of the state's regulation of marriage through dyadic partnership configurations. Similarly, gay and lesbian activists' pursuit of sexual orientation

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as a protected identity category has neither recognized the foundational role of nonbinary and trans participation within these movements nor engaged critiques denouncing participation in normative institutions like marriage and the military (Devor & Matte, 2004; Stein, 2012; Stone, 2009).

1.2 *Equality in Education*

The pursuit of educational equality has also followed the logic of equal access as its defining feature, wherein equality "usually connotes sameness in treatment by asserting the fundamental or natural equality of all persons" (Espinoza, 2007, p. 345). Landmark civil rights cases, such as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), and laws, like Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, offered a legal framework justifying equal access to education. Asserting that *de jure* racial segregation, in the case of *Brown v. Board*, and sex-based discrimination, under Title IX, undermined the presumption of sameness, these precedents normalized an understanding of equal education as one achieved through equal participation. Yet, such conceptions have obscured how efforts for equal access have, in fact, maintained or exacerbated inequitable outcomes (Dickens, 1995).

Equal access is insufficient for queer equality in educational contexts. Historians of gay and lesbian educators have argued that queer educators have consistently faced environments of constrained choices where their pursuit of access and security within the educational profession required concealing one's identities (Blount, 2005; Graves, 2009). Conceiving of queer educators as a "disesteemed minority," to use Joshua Dressler's (1978) moniker, demonstrates how access to education as a profession is incommensurate with substantive equality of experience. Indeed, although the National Education Association (NEA) included sexual orientation as a protected category from discrimination in its 1989 code of ethics, scholars continue to highlight the hostility of educational spaces towards queer educators to the present day (Meyer, 2015).

More recent efforts for equal access to opportunity include reinterpretations of legal precedents to include minoritized sexual and gender identities. In 2016, the U.S. Department of Justice and Department of Education released a "Dear Colleague" stating that Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972's prohibition of discrimination on the basis of sex "encompasse[d] discrimination based on a student's gender identity," and thus also afforded protections to transgender students irrespective of their legal sex (Lhamon & Gupta, 2016, p. 1). These efforts for a more expansive understanding of existing legal guidelines have been critiqued by others as administrative "leapfrogging" (Melnick, 2018) by federal agencies. Less than a year after the issuance of the "Dear Colleague" letter, then-President Donald J. Trump rescinded these guidelines (Eckes, 2017). Despite these revisions, the federal courts have favored the argument that

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barring trans students' use of bathrooms matching their gender identity violates Title IX provisions, as affirmed by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals' ruling in favor of Gavin Grimm, a transgender man, suing his former high school in Virginia (Grimm v. Gloucester County School Board, 2015).

In sum, access to opportunity or absence from discrimination as markers of equality offers little guarantee of equal educational outcomes and experiences. Analogously to the empirical evidence showing how ending *de jure* segregation mutated into *de facto* segregation through redlining and gerrymandering of district lines (Frey & Wilson, 2009), the absence of purposeful efforts castigating the acceptability of transphobia and homophobia in educational contexts undermine the particular needs of distinct learners. In response, efforts have shifted beyond the equality paradigm towards considering the needs of particular groups.

2 Equity: Justifying Unequal Approaches

Enduring unequal outcomes in education, health, and safety for queer individuals, especially queer Black, Indigenous, and others of minoritized ethnoracial identities, underscore the need to move beyond conceptions of equality as a goal achieved through access alone. As an alternative, champions of equity advocate for an approach that "takes individual circumstances into consideration" (Espinoza, 2007, p. 345). Under an equity framework, unequal distribution of resources is justified as "a subjective moral or ethical judgment that might bypass the letter of the law in the interest of the spirit of the law" (Espinoza, 2007, p. 346). Under this consideration, both the rise of GSAs in K-12 schools and the advent of **LGBTQ+ Resource Centers** on college campuses demonstrate deliberate provisions of additional resources in support of queer youth (Fine, 2012; Mayo, 2017). Beyond these resources, an equity-based framework has leveraged legislative efforts to minimize the incidence of harm against LGBTQ+ people. The signing of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act in 2009 was the culmination of nearly a decade of efforts for a hate-crimes federal law inclusive of crimes against people based on their actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability (Boram, 2015).

3 Beyond Equity: Queer Liberation?

Aspiring for equitable educational experiences for queer, trans, and nonbinary youth has advanced institutional practices allocating additional resources for

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LGBTQ+ individuals' and bolstered a state-sanctioned legal framework that both explicitly protects LGBTQ+ individuals and criminalizes those who perpetuate homophobic and transphobic violence. An additive approach that conceives of designated spaces for LGBTQ+ learners as sufficient fails to reckon with the entrenched misogyny, **anti-Blackness**, homophobia, and **transphobia** that undergirds contemporary schooling. Such critiques are not new. In a 1987 article, Dolores Grayson, founder of the National Coalition for Sex Equity in Education, asserted that "schools have depended on rigid sex role definitions to control their students. Homophobia helps keep boys and girls 'in their place' better than any written rule" (p. 135). These perspectives invite a different conceptualization of equity, one that envisions anti-oppressive liberation from sexed and gender policing at institutions' behest (Kumashiro, 2002). Such critics note that contemporary rights-based frameworks lack a "commitment to radical political change that challenges, rather than accommodates, the perpetuation of inequality" (Spade & Willse, 2004, p. 311). Queer collectives, such as *Against Equality* (Conrad, 2014), contend that the pursuit of queer inclusion within the legal state stales the "queer political imagination." These arguments demand an ongoing interrogation of the goals of queer equity by cautioning how the gains of rights for those with minoritized identities should not be achieved through the extension of state-sanctioned punitive violence. Doing so would fundamentally misunderstand how power operates by situating the onus on individuals' actions alone rather than institutionalized socio-legal processes (Spade, 2015).

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CHAPTER 36

Exclusion and Removal in School Discipline

Hannah Carson Baggett and Carey E. Andrzejewski

Exclusionary discipline practices occur in public and private schools and are characterized by the removal of students from the instructional and social aspects of schooling. Public schools, which are the focus here, engage in exclusionary discipline when students are suspended from their regular classrooms, either in separate school settings or outside of school (known as ISS and OSS); when they are expelled from school for a semester or longer; when they are referred from their home school to 'alternative' schools where the quality of instruction is often poor; and when they are referred to law enforcement officials, including those that may be stationed in their schools (known as SROs, or School Resource Officers, and Sworn Law Enforcement Officers or SLEOs), for things that happen at school (see Baggett & Andrzejewski, 2021). Exclusionary discipline is commonly viewed as a risk factor for negative trajectories and outcomes in the lives of youth (Skiba et al., 2014).

Exclusion and removal happen because of incidents in schools that range from the presence of weapons and drugs, to students who are subjectively labeled 'defiant,' 'disobedient,' or 'disorderly' in their interactions with teachers and/or peers (Irby, 2018; Theriot & Dupper, 2010). In many schools across the country, 'zero tolerance' policies are in place for incidents like weapons, drugs, cigarettes, and alcohol (Browne-Dianis, 2011). Despite there being no evidence to suggest that zero tolerance policies promote safer schools (i.e., Skiba & Nesting, 2002), many schools still have them. Zero tolerance policies commonly direct school administrators to remove students from school for ten days or more, meaning students routinely miss two or more weeks of instruction and access to extracurricular activities. Evidence also suggests that the consequences students face via school discipline have become more punitive over time—longer suspensions and alternative school placements, a 'net-deepening' of school discipline (Irby, 2013) that has far-ranging consequences for students and families. Some schools now also outsource disciplinary events to SROs such that students may face arrest and criminal charges for incidents like fighting, cursing, or even using cell phones in schools (Gray, 2016; Hines & Wilmot, 2018). These and other student behaviors that may have once been discussed and resolved among students, teachers, and school administrators

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are now routinely referred to SROs (Fisher & Hennessy, 2016; Kupchik, 2010; Na & Gottfredson, 2013; Theriot, 2009).

Decades of research point to the ways that school discipline policies and practices, including exclusionary consequences, are enacted with disparate impacts across student groups (U.S. Department of Education, 2018). Namely, exclusionary discipline disproportionately affects students of Color, students who are differently-abled, LGBTQ+ students, and students who embody identities at the intersections of these groups. Extensive scholarship describes the "school-to-prison pipeline," also referred to as the "school/prison nexus" (Meiners, 2007; Stovall, 2016), that exists for youth of Color, and Black youth in particular (Fenning & Rose, 2007; Heitzeg, 2009; Meiners, 2007; Morris, 2016; Skiba et al. 2003; Skiba, Arrandondo, & Williams, 2014; USGAO, 2018; Wald & Losen 2003). Data regarding the removal of queer, trans, and non-binary students, especially as those identities intersect with Blackness and Brownness, is, however, not systematically collected or reported by state or federal offices such as the Office of Civil Rights. Instead, what is known about the patterns of disciplinary removal of queer, trans, and non-binary students from schools and classrooms comes about as a result of the investment of individual advocacy groups and researchers. Thus, not only are queer, trans, and non-binary students removed from educative spaces via disciplinary policies and practices, they are also systemically excluded from the data collection and reporting processes conducted and supported by agencies that govern educational policy and practice. We also note here, in particular, the ways that data reporting exists within a gendered binary, further erasing genderqueer and non-binary students from data that are collected.

Despite this erasure, research suggests that LGBTQ+ youth experience higher rates of disciplinary consequences at school, including exclusionary consequences like suspensions and expulsions (Bellinger et al., 2016; Himmelstein & Brückner, 2010; Irvine, 2010; Lambda Legal, 2012; Palmer & Greytak, 2017; Poteat & Russell, 2013; Skiba et al., 2014, Snapp et al., 2015). LGBTQ+ students who experience victimization and bullying at school may also be placed in alternative settings, ostensibly for their own protection, to avoid harassment (Bellinger et al., 2016), thereby punishing the student with isolation and removal, rather than transforming schools into more just spaces. That is, LGBTQ+ students are excluded in lieu of efforts to examine how school policies and practices preserve cisheteronormative (as well as racial) hierarchies.

Although queer theorists often argue that categories like gender, race, and **sexuality** are socially constructed, (mis)perceptions and stereotypes about identities linked to oppressive structures and ideologies operate with very real, material consequences to lived experiences. Furgeson (2004) explains, "As

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its embodiment in whiteness attests, heteronormativity is not simply articulated through intergender relations, but also through the racialized body" (pp. 20–21). In schools, discipline policies and practices provide mechanisms by which students' raced, gendered, and sexualized beings and bodies are surveilled, policed, and sorted to uphold hierarchies and power structures via the denial of education and resources (Irby, 2014; Lewis-McCoy, 2014), necessary to the project of white supremacist cisheteropatriarchy and racial capitalism (Fasching-Varner et al., 2014). Exclusionary practices, then, become primary modes by which the sorting of students and the allocation of educational resources can take place, as they function to remove students from traditional learning structures (Baggett & Andrzejewski, 2021).

This sorting of students via removal is often predicated on social constructions and stereotypes, which, in turn, drive surveillance, policing, and disciplining of identities in schools. For example, social constructions about queer and trans bodies classify them as 'deviant,' 'abnormal,' and 'disordered.' Similarly, social constructions about Blackness, masculinity, and sexuality lead to stereotypes wherein Black boys are labeled as 'defiant,' 'disobedient,' 'disorderly,' and 'disruptive,' and often consequenced with exclusion, even though there is no evidence to suggest that Black students 'misbehave' at rates different to that of their white peers. Instead, these stereotypes are rooted in constructions of Black masculinity as criminal and deserving of punishment (Muhammad, 2010) and bound up with adultifying assumptions about their sexual identities and activities. Scholars have argued, for example, that school policies and practices aimed at disciplining Black boys in predominantly white schools serve to segregate white and Black students. This segregation is rooted in a fear of "Black-white intimacy." Thus, the exclusion and removal of Black students work to preserve the 'purity' of both heteronormativity and whiteness (e.g., Irby, 2014). Likewise, Black girls are criminalized and pushed out of schools (Morris, 2016) due to social constructions at the intersection of Blackness, femininity, and sexuality, such as tropes about Black girls as sapphires and jezebels. School-based practitioners label Black girls as "loud," "ghetto," "ratchet," "unladylike," "aggressive," "sexually available," "promiscuous," and "disruptive" (George, 2015, pp. 101, 107–108), serving to position them as deserving of punishment, exclusion, and removal. Trans, genderqueer, and non-binary youth in schools face overt discrimination along with more subtle forms of policing around gender norms and stereotypes about clothing and appearance, and these norms are also bound up with racial identities (Bellinger et al., 2016; Chmielewski et al., 2016; Snapp et al., 2015).

Removal of students from school via exclusionary discipline lays bare how surveillance and stereotyping of raced, gendered, and sexualized bodies work

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in tandem to construct, uphold, mimic, and extend unjust and inhumane treatment outside of school. Just as scholars have long been interested in the resilience of oppressed people beyond schools, there is a growing interest and attention to student perseverance and resistance to justice despite hostile school disciplinary contexts (Coles & Powell, 2020; Hillier et al., 2020; Hines & Wilmont, 2018; Meiners, 2007, 2011, 2016; Morris, 2016).

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CHAPTER 37

Gender Binary

Kate E. Kedley

The gender binary is the social construction of **gender** into a classification of two categories, man and woman, as distinct, non-overlapping, and opposite from each other if placed on either end of a spectrum (Gender, n.d.; Papisova, 2016).

Within the gender binary, these two constructed yet supposedly distinct **gender identities** (man and woman) are assumed to be linked naturally and normally to a binary of **gender expression** (masculine and feminine, respectively). Thus, the social construction of "normal" in the gender binary would be a man who is masculine and a woman who is feminine. Within the gender binary, there is no overlapping or shifting of these facets of one's identity or expression. Within this construct, one could not be a man one day and a woman the next, for example, nor could one be both or neither at the same time. If a person does deviate from this binary, they are often seen as invalid, attention-seeking, or simply wrong.

The gender binary is closely linked to **sex assigned at birth** and **sexuality**, as man and masculine are considered naturally linked to both having a penis and heterosexuality, and woman and feminine are considered naturally linked to having a vagina and heterosexuality.

Because the gender binary is so pervasive and considered to be a natural classification of humans, falling outside the binary has historically been pathologized, criminalized, or medicalized (Feliciano, 2015; Office, n.d.; Pascoe, 2007). However, since the gender binary is a social construction and not a natural predictor of one's inner identity, living beyond or outside the binary can be difficult or deadly. On the other hand, living outside the gender binary can work to undermine the limitations of the gender binary itself.

Finally, the gender binary prescribes gender roles based on sex assigned at birth and then the corresponding masculine or feminine characteristics. This leads to men who are expected to be masculine and expected to wear certain types of clothing (suits, ties, dress shirts, work shirts, boots), have certain types of haircuts (close-cropped, short), and enter certain career fields (construction, medical). Women are expected to be feminine, and wear certain types of clothing (skirts, slacks, blouses), take care of their hair and body in a specific

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way (using makeup, wearing a bra), and enter certain types of careers (nursing, teaching).

Of course, there are many exceptions to the gender binary (a woman doctor, a man nurse, a man with long hair, etc.). When individuals do resist the binary through actions or expressions, these shifts are frequently absorbed into the gender binary rather than undermining it completely. For example, men may have long hair, but it is often styled and framed in an accepted masculine way (i.e., a "man bun"). Girl athletes have a plethora of clothing and sporting options, but these options are feminine in order to not cross the binary. For example, women's athletic clothing is frequently form-fitting and uses feminine colors. However, because of the gender binary's rigidity, those who are exceptions in varying ways may feel policing and punishment from society for being an exception, just as those who fit within the gender binary may be rewarded (INCITE!, n.d.). The girl athlete who crosses too far into the masculine by using men's clothes, playing with boys, or having a men's cut may be called a "lesbian" or teased for being too masculine. The woman who tends to her hair long is considered beautiful and correct.

The gender binary controls people and dictates what they do, where they go, what they wear, whom they speak to, etc., based on assumptions about genitals and gender roles.

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CHAPTER 38

Gender/Gender Identity/Gender Expression

Adam W.J. Davies and Rhea Ashley Hoskin

1 Gender

Gender is an important component of queer theoretical frameworks, with most understandings in the field drawing from a complex and often contrasting foundation in developmental psychology, French poststructural feminism, and psychoanalytic writings of the 20th century. This entry draws important distinctions between "gender," "gender identity," and "gender expression." Examining each in turn, this entry provides an overview of contemporary debates and describes how genders beyond the **binary** have gained increased recognition.

Gender is commonly defined as the social construction of appropriate gendered roles, norms, and forms of self-expression (Davies, 2020b). For many, the socially constructed nature of gender stands in opposition to assigned sex at birth. However, work by feminist scientists like Anne Fausto-Sterling (1992, 2012) has shown that the biological can be equally socially constructed and is in no way itself a neat division. In other words, like gender, sex is a continuum that is malleable to social and cultural practices, as well as environmental experiences (Fausto-Sterling, 1992, 2012; see the entries on **Biological Essentialism** and **Sex Assigned at Birth** in this volume for more of this discussion). Butler (1990) has also problematized the simplistic distinction between sex as biological and gender as a social construction, arguing that biological sex is constituted through power dynamics related to heterosexual **hegemony**. In this sense, the divide between gender and sex is challenged by Butler (1993) by calling attention to how the biological classifications for sex constrain bodily possibilities into a rigid binary.

While contemporary debates contest and highlight the risk of oversimplification, this important and groundbreaking distinction between gender as social and sex as biological emerged through the feminist writings of Simone de Beauvoir (1952), who famously wrote that "one is not born, but rather, becomes a woman" (p. 267). The "becoming" to which de Beauvoir refers might otherwise be known as gender socialization; or, the process of being assigned a sex and the social process through which individuals are gendered on that basis. In de Beauvoir's writings, she further argues that binary frameworks

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ensure that to be a woman is to be the 'Other' to men (see Niedda, 2020). This distinction between sex as biology and gender as socially constructed became important for twentieth-century sociological writings around gender, as well as later post-structural and psychoanalytic writings. Dualistic frameworks, such as the **gender binary**, emerging from Enlightenment philosophers such as Kant, shape much of the world around us—i.e., the dualism of the mind and body where the mind represents reason and masculinity, and the body is constructed as feminine and irrational. Frameworks such as these bear implications in terms of the kinds of knowledge that are seen as valuable (usually masculinized, "rational" scientific approaches; Schwartz, 2018).

Psychologists and psychoanalysts, such as Sigmund Freud, as well as sexologists of the early to mid-twentieth century, viewed gender diversity as being of psychiatric concern. Through its enforcement, gender becomes a disciplinary mechanism to regulate the behaviors of individuals (Butler, 1990, 1993; Hoskin, 2020; Lugones, 2016). By pathologizing the genders of those who exist outside of the gender binary or who do not adhere to the scripts of their sex assigned at birth, heterosexuality is simultaneously reinforced as an unmarked norm (Butler, 1990). For instance, Butler (1990) theorizes that heteronormativity is maintained through a matrix whereby individuals become intelligible. This "Heterosexual Matrix" naturalizes the relationship between assigned sex and its normatively corresponding gender identity, gender expression, and sexual orientation. In turn, Butler (1990) theorizes that the "Heterosexual Matrix" functions to regulate gender and sexual norms, subsequently delegitimatizing gender identities and expressions that are outside of heterosexuality and/or the gender binary (see the entry on the **Heterosexual Matrix** in this volume for more discussion).

Decolonial theorists note how Western constructs of gender are constituted within matrices of power that specifically marginalize women and men of Color through modern Eurocentric frameworks (Lugones, 2008, 2016; Walsh, 2016). Lugones (2008, 2016) noted how Eurocentric frameworks for gender only make space for white subjecthood whereas people of Color are constructed as animalistic and without a gendered subjectivity. In other words, Western concepts of "gender" equate whiteness with humanness and people of Color as animalistic or subhuman (Bordo, 1993). As a result, people of Color are subjugated within modern hierarchies of class, gender, sexuality, and race that white feminist theory fails to account for (Lugones, 2016; Walsh, 2016). For example, Lugones (2008) combined women of Color feminism, particularly Black feminist work on **intersectionality**, with Anibal Quijano's (2000) work on the "colonial matrix of power" to describe how modern Western notions of gender are regulatory on the global level of non-Western and racialized bodies

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and knowledges. Through these links, Lugones (2008) noted how "the colonial/modern gender system" has been imposed through modern Eurocentric global capitalism. Through these processes, Lugones described how biological sex has become imposed on Global South regions as binarized. As well, white womanhood became universalized as representative of all women's marginalization and subordination in feminist causes of the twentieth century (Walsh, 2016). In this sense, Lugones (2008) described how white womanhood became emblematic of *all* women's struggles through the colonial/modern gender system, while women outside this group were not considered fully human. Lugones' (2008, 2016) critique is important for gender studies scholars who have not made links between gender, Eurocentric/Enlightenment modernist thinking, capitalism, and matrices of power.

2 Gender Identity

Gender identity refers to one's internal gendered sense of self (Bialystok, 2020; Davies, 2020a, 2020b). Gender identity crosses a range of embodied (Serano, 2007), metaphysical (Bialystok, 2020; Davies, 2020a), and discursive elements (Butler, 1990), with debates emerging regarding how gender identity is commonly conceptualized through medicalized and psychiatric norms (Pyne, 2015). For example, Kuhl's (2019) work critiques the pathologization of transgender children within the psychiatric disciplines from a trans-informed perspective (see Kuhl, 2019 for criticisms of the Gender Identity Clinic at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health). This medicalization of gender identity, as well as transgender individuals' experiences with gender identity, have been critiqued by trans activists (Vipond, 2015). Medical perspectives on transgender children and youth often try to delegitimatize self-understandings of gender and rely on "expert" knowledges to diagnose trans and nonbinary individuals with "gender dysphoria" (Davies, 2020b; Farley & Kennedy, 2020; Kuhl, 2019). Such medical and psychiatric understandings of gender position medical procedures as the only avenue for transgender and nonbinary individuals and place transgender and nonbinary children and youth under the gaze of psychiatric medicine. Without adequate training, clinicians who adopt such an approach may reinforce **cisnormative** and binary ideas of gender (Ehrensaft, 2016; Riggs, 2019).

Understandings of gender identity that draw on developmental psychology and clinical psychology have relied heavily on cisnormative frameworks that pathologize transgender people as "unknowing" or in need of clinical intervention (Riggs, 2019; Tosh, 2016). As well, much clinical and psychological research

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of the 19th and 20th centuries articulated gender essentialist assumptions that reinforced the gender binary (Riggs, 2019). An important critique of developmental psychological understandings of gender is how these approaches commonly associate gender with assigned sex at birth and treat transgender and nonbinary people as "abnormal" and outside of "normative" development (Riggs, 2019; Tosh, 2016).

Indeed, many individuals experience gender in ways that do not align with a binary, including those who use they/them pronouns to identify themselves as outside of cisgender norms (Airton, 2018b). Airton's (2018b) work describes how transgender and nonbinary individuals' pronouns are commonly constructed as requiring extra effort to remember or implement, with anxieties potentially emerging regarding making mistakes or misgendering someone. Further research has explored gender diversity in children through the lenses of "gender independent kids" (Pyne, 2014) and "gender creative children" (Ehrensaft, 2016). Queer and trans communities have a long history of embodying various gender identities beyond the binary, including femme identities.

3 Femme Identity

As an example of gender identity, femme identity emerged from 1940s lesbian bar culture, wherein a feminine cisgender lesbian (femme) was coupled with a more masculine lesbian (butch) (Levitt et al., 2003). Though some consider femme to be a binary gender identity, many argue femme has never abided by the gender binary (for an overview, see Brightwell & Taylor, 2019; Hoskin, 2017). Expanding on the latter, contemporary femme identities have grown to include myriad queer and marginalized feminine identities that cannot be encapsulated within a singular binary framework (Blair & Hoskin, 2015, 2016; Davies, 2020a). Contemporary invocations of femme include, but are by no means limited to, femme lesbians, nonbinary femmes, trans femmes, and femme men (Blair & Hoskin, 2015, 2016; Davies, 2020a). In line with previous theorizations of gender policing, femme scholars argue that the bounds of patriarchal femininity (i.e., what constitutes "acceptable" femininity) are policed by femmephobia (Hoskin, 2017, 2020). Femmephobia refers to the systemic devaluation and regulation of femininity (Davies & Hoskin, 2021; Hoskin, 2017, 2019, 2020). Importantly, Femme Theory challenges the idea that femme, as well as butch/femme dyads, reinforce the gender binary or heteronormality (Hoskin & Taylor, 2019). While femme is often termed a gender identity, it is also used as a noun, an adjective, a theoretical framework, or a gender expression, challenging

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binary notions of gender identification as well as essentialist conceptions of femininity (Hoskin & Taylor, 2019).

4 Gender Expression

Gender expression can be defined as how an individual's external sense of gender—through clothing, emotionality/**affect**, behavior, and speech—is conveyed, read, and interpreted by other individuals (Airton, 2018a). Gender expression is often conflated with gender identity, despite many important distinctions. How one is read externally by others may not align with their internal and intrinsic sense of gender identity. For example, a woman (gender identity) may be masculine (gender expression), without said masculinity intended to signal identifying as a man. However, it is important to note that gender expression is commonly misinterpreted through socio-cultural norms; that is, how one is read is based on societally preconceived notions associated with sex assigned at birth. Catalano (2017) articulates how gender expression is within a socially constructed and maintained spectrum of a masculine to feminine binary, with traits, manners of self-expression, and physical characteristics, such as facial hair and nails, being associated with either end of the binary. As noted by Catalano (2017), Western societies commonly conflate gender identity, gender expression, and sex assigned at birth, meaning that individuals who express themselves in a manner that is outside of the norms for their assigned sex at birth are violently punished for breaking societal norms (Airton, 2018a; Blair & Hoskin, 2015, 2016; Davies, 2020a, 2020b). Airton et al. (2019) describe how human rights legislation meant to protect individuals from discrimination based on gender expression is often unclear, with a lack of clear distinction between gender identity and gender expression. Such forms of unclear policies lead to policies that do not protect all students—cisgender and transgender—from protection from discrimination based on gender expression (Airton et al., 2019).

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CHAPTER 39

Gender-Affirming Care

Tae Min Suh

1 Introduction

Gender-affirming care refers to a cluster of medical, surgical, social, and legal interventions often sought by transgender and gender-nonconforming people to affirm their **gender presentation** and/or **identity**. Gender-affirming care has historically included hormone therapies, surgeries, and various behavioral changes that have been deemed medically necessary by WPATH, the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (Deutsch, 2016; WPATH Standards of Care for the Health of Transsexual, Transgender, and Gender-Nonconforming People, 2012), including non-medical chest binding or padding; genital tucking or packing (Tran Ngoc, 2020); changes to clothing, names, pronouns, and speech; and therapeutic supports including psychotherapy (Romito & Husney, 2020). In addition, not all transgender people will pursue the same course of care.

Though there is a wide range of terminologies that characterize various gender identities under the transgender umbrella, the term *transgender and gender nonconforming* (TGNC) is used here and is inclusive of identities and experiences that live outside of legal and binary characterizations of gender.

2 Gender Affirmation as a Framework of Care

Gender affirmation is a framework of care for working with and providing services to TGNC individuals. The dominant narrative around TGNC people has historically been highly medicalized and pathologized, although the perception of gender variance and related care has shifted in recent years, including the removal of "gender identity disorder" from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th edition, or DSM-5 (Lewis, 2019); the use of *gender affirmation* rather than *gender reassignment* or *confirmation*; and fewer mandated psychological assessments in order to access gender-affirming care (Chang et al., 2018; Davy & Toze, 2018; LGBTQIA Glossary of Terms for Health Care Teams, 2020).

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There are four primary dimensions of gender-affirming care: psychological developments, including self-actualization; social recognition and acknowledgment of gender identity and expression; gender-affirming medical interventions; and legal components, including gender marker and name changes (Cicero et al., 2019). As noted above, there are several non-clinical aspects of gender affirmation. Many TGNC people choose to navigate social and behavioral changes such as the use of different clothing, hairstyle, name, and gender **pronouns** (Chen et al., 2016). In contrast, legal changes to legal names and gender markers often require psychiatric or medical letters of support, time, and money. The nuances of these processes vary by state and jurisdiction, however (Changing Birth Certificate Sex Designations: State-By-State Guidelines. Lambda Legal, n.d.).

Gender affirmation as a framework was developed to understand and address the disproportionate experiences of discrimination, extreme health disparities, and high rates of sexual risk and substance use within TGNC communities (Sevelius, 2013). These disparities are particularly salient among transgender women of Color, who experience intensified violence at the intersection of racism, sexism, and **transphobia** (Sevelius, 2013), including persistently unmet healthcare needs; racial and gender-based discrimination/violence, both within society at large and within TGNC communities themselves; and exclusion from health equity movements (Smart et al., 2020). The "Stigma-sickness slope" model states that the stigmatization of marginalized identities is associated with poor health outcomes and that these outcomes occur on a gradient (Winter et al., 2016). This model highlights how global public health trends, such as the prevalence of HIV/AIDS or poverty, quality and access to social health services, exposure to high-risk jobs such as sex work, and varying forms of marginalization (social, economic, and legal) can impact discrimination.

Other health providers and researchers have highlighted additional dimensions of power and privilege along other axes of class, age, sexual identity, ability, and immigration status—all of which impact TGNC people's access to resources, including healthcare, their vulnerability to violence, and unique challenges that may arise in accessing gender-affirming interventions (Chang et al., 2018).

3 Clinical Care and Informed Consent

Two potential aspects of clinical care for TGNC individuals are hormone therapy and gender-affirming surgeries. Hormone therapy can be utilized to

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suppress endogenous hormones and develop other secondary sex characteristics (Chang et al., 2018). Estrogen, sometimes used in conjunction with progesterone and anti-androgens, has feminizing effects such as breast growth, reduction of muscle mass, and reduction in facial and body hair growth (WPATH Standards of Care for the Health of Transsexual, Transgender, and Gender-Nonconforming People, 2012). Testosterone causes masculinizing effects such as the development of facial and body hair, frontal and temporal hairline recession, and cessation of menses (Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research, 2021). Hormone therapy can also cause changes in odor, redistribution of facial and body subcutaneous fat, and sexual/gonadal effects (Deutsch, 2016). Some TGNC people desire continued treatment and monitoring across their lifetime, while others choose to stop treatment for a variety of reasons. Some changes caused by hormones are permanent, while others are reversible upon cessation of therapy. Some, but not all, TGNC people elect for gender-affirming surgeries as well. Common surgeries include vaginoplasty, phalloplasty, metoidioplasty, mastectomy, reduction thyrochondroplasty, augmentation mammoplasty, facial feminization procedures, and hysterectomy/oophorectomy (Deutsch, 2016; El-Hadi et al., 2018; WPATH Standards of Care for the Health of Transsexual, Transgender, and Gender-Nonconforming People, 2012).

An increasing number of providers practice informed-consent models that prioritize patient autonomy and self-determination without the need for external psychiatric evaluation or "real life tests" wherein patients must live full-time "as their self-identified gender" (Cavanaugh et al., 2016; Chang et al., 2018; Reisner et al., 2016; Szydlowski, 2016), which uphold seemingly binary ideas of gender and deny fluidity. Historically, trans, gender-nonconforming, and **intersex** people have needed to demonstrate gender dysphoria, or distress due to incongruence with their assigned gender at birth, in order to access medical and social care, though the DSM-5 states explicitly that "not all individuals will experience distress as a result of [...] incongruence" (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Davy & Toze, 2018). There has been an increased sensitivity around care for TGNC patients, leading to more individualized discussions about a patient's goals for transition-related care (Chen et al., 2016; Reisner et al., 2016).

Access to gender-affirming care has proven to ameliorate several psychosocial risk factors and leads to an improved quality of life, greater relationship satisfaction, higher self-esteem, and confidence, as well as reductions in anxiety, depression, suicidality, and substance use (Cornell University Public Policy Research Portal, 2018; Puckett et al., 2017). Particularly for TGNC youth, access to clinical care, if desired and without undue barriers—and from an

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interdisciplinary team—can drastically improve mental well-being and quality of life (Chen et al., 2016).

Clinical care for TGNC communities also involves primary and preventative care, including but not limited to screenings and treatment for HIV and sexually transmitted infections; cancer screenings; bone health; fertility; and mental health treatment. Even amongst the insured, both perceived fear of rejection or stigma and negative experiences with transphobic discrimination can cause hypervigilance and healthcare avoidance (Hughto et al., 2016). Oftentimes, providers and health insurance companies contribute to negative experiences either through ignorance and lack of competency or discriminatory beliefs (Clark et al., 2017). Forty-two percent of female-to-male (FTM) transgender people have experienced care postponement due to discrimination by providers. This discrimination impacts preventive care, too; nearly one in two FTM individuals postponed primary care for similar reasons. In addition, insurance coverage exclusions are common for medical transition-related care and routine preventative services (prostate screenings for transgender women, for example) that are deemed "medically unnecessary" based on legal classifications of gender (Hughto et al., 2016). Gender-affirming procedures and policies can be implemented within physicians' offices to improve experiences for TGNC patients (Puckett, 2017).

4 Barriers to Care and Other Factors of Well-Being

There are many highly prohibitive barriers to gender-affirming care, such as high costs; limited availability of knowledgeable providers; extensive mental health care prerequisites to receiving care, such as letters of support from several therapists; interpersonal barriers such as lack of support from social circles or family; and health complications that may interact with gender-affirming treatment (Cicero et al., 2019; Hughto, 2016; McCauley et al., 2018; Puckett et al., 2017). On a structural level, many TGNC people lack access to health insurance, though perceived fear of rejection or stigma & prior negative experiences with transphobic discrimination can cause hypervigilance and healthcare avoidance/underutilization in TGNC communities regardless of insurance status (Hughto et al., 2016).

In addition, gender-affirming care is inextricably tied to other dimensions of health and well-being for TGNC people. TGNC communities experience over-policing, increased interaction with the criminal justice system, surveillance, workplace, and school discrimination, overt violence and discrimination, limited access to affordable housing, and a poverty rate of 29.4%—twice

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the rate of the general public—and double that for transgender women of Color (Grant et al., 2011; Jones, 2000). Addressing such barriers to care must be tackled individually, organizationally, and structurally.

5 Advocacy and Expansion of Gender-Affirming Care

As many transgender rights advocates have stated, the categorization of gender dysphoria as a psychiatric disorder has caused undue abuse and discrimination within and outside of the medical field. Claims of mental illness have been grounds for discrimination in hiring/workplace practices, child custody cases, and healthcare administration (Whalen, 2012). Efforts from TGNC and intersex communities, civil rights groups, and community-based organizations to de-pathologize TGNC identities and to defend rights for TGNC communities have shifted public opinion, led to **anti-discriminatory** legal protections, and more.

In recent years, the public rights of TGNC people have been very publicly under attack, showing how social discrimination permeates doctors' offices, the workforce, schools, public restrooms, and interpersonal relationships. In 2017, North Carolina passed — and has since repealed — legislation targeting transgender people's use of sex-segregated facilities such as public restrooms. Sixteen other states considered similar legislation that year (Kralik, 2019). Only nineteen states and DC ban insurance exclusions for transgender individuals and/or provide transgender-inclusive health benefits (Human Rights Campaign, 2019). Policy trickles down to the social environment, as anti-discriminatory and inclusive policies have been linked to increased mental health outcomes and less alcohol use in transgender individuals, as well as increased utilization of healthcare (Du Bois et al., 2018).

In November of 2019, South Carolina legislators proposed a bill called the Youth Gender Reassignment Prevention Act, which would prohibit doctors from performing gender reassignment or giving other medical treatment, including hormone replacement therapy and puberty blockers, on minors under the age of 18. In 2021, Arkansas' state legislature passed H.B. 1570, the first law to ban gender-affirming care for TGNC minors. At least 18 states have passed or proposed similar bans (Thompson, 2021). Discrimination at all levels has several deleterious impacts on the health of transgender individuals and is often layered with categories of race, sex, age, immigration status, class, and experiences of homelessness or unemployment. In addition to legislative responses, improving competency among providers may reduce negative experiences and hypervigilance that TGNC people often experience (Hughto

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et al., 2016). Within doctor's offices, developing competency training for providers can help eliminate bias and expand available care for TGNC patients (Clark et al., 2017). Partnerships between health care delivery systems and state/local community-based organizations could intervene at the community-level to rebuild wrap-around, trans-competent healthcare in states that already exhibit gender-affirming attitudes and/or protections (Hughto et al., 2016), as well as referrals to housing and other social services aimed to care holistically for TGNC communities. Education and community outreach are important interventions as well (Chen et al., 2016).

6 Conclusion

Gender-affirming care is a holistic approach to working with transgender and gender-nonconforming people that includes medical, surgical, legal, and social interventions. Although care for TGNC individuals has historically existed within a medical and pathological framework, gender-affirming care via informed consent provides an alternate standard of care for healthcare providers, educators, and community members alike.

In recent years, advocates from the TGNC community and beyond have pushed public opinion towards acceptance, fought for legal protections, added to the growing field of research on TGNC health and gender-affirming care, and developed/refined "best practices" at health clinics across the nation that serve TGNC patients. Examining—and intervening—at structural, organizational, and individual levels could be efficacious in improving the overall health and well-being of TGNC communities.

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CHAPTER 40

Gender-Based Microaggressions

Bri Sérráno, Romeo Jackson and Kari J. Dockendorff

Microaggressions are forms of oppression that occur daily through language, behavior, and environmental interactions. Microaggressions can contribute to negative mental health outcomes, negative **campus climate** for educational institutions, and create institutional inequities (Rankin et al., 2010; Seelman, 2014; Woodford et al., 2017). Microaggression is a term that was first used to describe everyday, covert experiences of bias based on race and racism, and the term has evolved to include other covert experiences of bias such as discrimination based on homophobia and **transphobia** (Chang & Chung, 2015; Nadal et al., 2010). Gender-based microaggressions can be experienced by people of all **gender identities**, but those who identify as **queer** or trans, as well as those with gender expressions which do not fit society's expectations of gender, experience higher rates of gender-based microaggressions.

This entry on gender-based microaggressions outlines key areas where gender-based microaggressions commonly occur, including through the use of gendered language such as pronouns, data systems, and gendered programs. We will then conclude this entry by describing some of the effects of the experiences of gender-based microaggressions.

1 Pronouns, Names, and Gendered Language

Perhaps the most common form of gender-based microaggressions is through the mis\use of names and **pronouns**. Similarly, the use of gendered language such as 'Ladies and Gentlemen,' 'Boys and Girls,' further reinforces which genders are seen and welcome within these spaces. Referring to people as only 'boys and girls' limits the gendered possibilities of those who exist outside of the binary of man and women. Misgendering through the use of incorrect names or pronouns is furthered by data systems that fail to reflect changes in how people identify in terms of gender. To be clear, however, repeated or intentional mis\use of names or pronouns are macroaggressions and should not be misinterpreted as microaggressions.

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2 Data Systems

Within what is currently called the United States, many data information systems are organized by binary sex options of 'male' or 'female' in ways that inform higher education, starting from the way the federal Department of Education requires binary sex/gender markers to be reported and captured. Also important to note here, we are focusing on the U.S.; however, these issues within data systems are not unique to the U.S. Organizing sex/gender data information in a sex/gender binary produces a gender microaggression for transgender, non-binary, and gender non-conforming people within higher education as it offers little to no space for non-binary sexes (e.g., **intersex**) and genders (e.g., **agender**) to exist. Moreover, some universities have started to implement strategies for students to reflect their names beyond definitions of legality or representation on legal documents. These data fields are at times accompanied by the language of "preferred" (e.g., preferred name and preferred pronouns). While an important step, the language of "preferred" suggests that who transgender, gender non-conforming, and non-binary people are is just a preference versus who they actually are and know themselves to be. As such, even when data information systems are tweaked for supposed trans progressive and trans-inclusive moves, they still may reproduce microaggressions that suggest that trans people are illegitimate.

3 Gendered Programs

3.1 *Fraternities and Sororities*

The inception of fraternities in the United States in the late 1700s began the tradition of fraternities and sororities (Syrett, 2009). Fraternities (or also known as *secret societies*) provided an outlet for young cisgender men to engage in activities to get a break from college, created a network, and provided independence that was used to demonstrate their manliness through brotherhood (Syrett, 2009). These exclusionary organizations have historically included membership of white cisgender men and white cisgender women. Due to the exclusivity of these organizations, historically, Black Fraternities and Sororities were founded starting in 1906 (Chambers, 2017). Some fraternal organizations have amended national policies to include people that *identify* as men or *identify* as women to join the organizations, although the number of organizations that allow non-cisgender members are limited. These organizations have not widely addressed the inequities potentially experienced by non-binary or agender students. Title IX laws (Office for Civil Rights, 2021) that

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include protection of discrimination based on sex and gender do not apply to fraternities and sororities when determining qualifications for membership. These organizations have not widely addressed the inequities potentially experienced by non-binary or agender students.

While fraternities and sororities themselves can be viewed as a microaggression, there are components of ***compulsory heterogenderism*** coined by Z Nicolazzo (2017) that focus on the conflation of gender and **sexuality**. *Compulsory heterogenderism* can perpetuate unhealthy expectations in fraternities and sororities through activities that perpetuate stereotypical gendered microaggressions such as requirements in wearing specific clothing, initiation ceremonies, socials with partner fraternities or sororities (formals), gendered language, and expectations in the gender expression of members.

3.2 *Male Success Initiatives*

Male Success Initiatives (Brooms, 2018) have become a focus nationally to address the gaps in opportunities for Black and Latino college males. These are important programs that seek to support students experiencing achievement gaps, low levels of participation in programs on campus, and may have higher rates of attrition compared to other demographics of students.

The use of language when supporting a community of scholars such as Black, Indigenous, and other men of Color is important to understand *who* is being served with these types of programs. The use of the term *male* alone can establish the idea that *men* are reduced to their **sex-assigned-at-birth**, based on genitalia, which can exclude other men that are not cisgender. Male success initiative programs also do not take into consideration the experiences of non-binary, trans masculine scholars and/or transgender men that experience higher rates of discrimination compared to their cisgender peers (James et al., 2016). Transgender men, gender non-conforming assigned-female-at-birth, and assigned-female non-binary transmasculine students can be perceived as cisgender men by others which can impact their lived experience socially, emotionally, and mentally in a comparable way as cisgender men (Barbee & Schrock, 2019).

3.3 *Women's Resource Centers*

Women's resource centers opened on college campuses in the 1970s to provide support for women (Saucier, 2019). The ideology of modern feminism has evolved to attempt more inclusivity for Black, Indigenous, and other women of Color. More recently, there have been attempts to include transgender women and feminine people assigned male at birth.

Women's resource centers have held traditional programs that have been perceived to be specifically catering to the experience of cisgender women

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(Kupo & Castellon, 2018). Popular programs that have traditionally been included in programming at Women's Centers include, but are not limited to discussions on abortion, suffrage movement celebrations (which may be limited to white cisgender women), *The Vagina Monologues*, Walk a Mile in Her Shoes, and *women's* rights. While these discussions and programs highlight the experiences of cisgender women, it is important to include transgender women, non-binary feminine people, and people that are impacted by femme-shaming and toxic masculinity. Transgender women and non-binary people are at higher risk for sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and discrimination from police compared to their cisgender peers (James et al., 2016). There is an attempt for inclusion with the re-naming of Women's Centers to Womxn Center or Gender Equity Centers. While the added "x" is a progressive move forward, intentional outreach, programs, and services explicitly for trans women or assigned-male femmes need to be an active practice (López, 2021).

4 Health Impact

Far from being abstract, the research on microaggressions makes clear the material cost to the mental and emotional health of marginalized races and genders. Such impacts include, but are not limited to, suicidal thoughts (O'Keefe et al., 2015), low self-esteem and more anxiety (Sittner et al., 2018), negative eating habits (Le et al., 2020), and unhealthy sleeping schedules (Ong et al., 2017). Taken together, a pattern of the damaging impacts of microaggressions is clear. Therefore, gendered microaggressions should not be taken lightly, and institutions should actively engage against cisgenderism.

5 Conclusion

Gender-based microaggressions serve to reinforce dominant gender norms. Those who identify as trans and non-binary, as well as those who express their gender in non-normative ways, experience microaggression, which serve to enforce only normative conceptualizations of gender based on sex. These common, everyday experiences, as we have illustrated above, show up in the use of names and pronouns, data systems that store demographic data, and campus programming based on gender. We highlighted some of the more common forms of gender-based microaggressions. However, these experiences are felt anytime someone is told through covert or overt messaging that their gender expression or identity is wrong. Microaggressions based on gender affect

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individuals' health, as these experiences impact feelings of safety, health, and well-being.

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CHAPTER 41

Gender-Complex Education

Dana M. Stachowiak

1 Introduction

Classroom and **campus climates** in K-12 and college/university settings are consistently hostile towards lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) students. According to GLSEN's 2019 National Climate Survey for K-12 schools, 59.1% of LGBTQ+ students felt unsafe because of their **sexual orientation**, 42.5% because of their **gender expression**, and 37.4% because of their gender (p. 5). These hostile environments negatively affect academic success and mental well-being and lead to increased levels of victimization at levels from K-12 to college (Garvey & Rankin, 2015; GLSEN, 2019; Rands, 2009; Vaccaro, 2012).

It is important to note that, while this information on climate is thorough, the inclusion of gender non-conforming individuals is habitually misleading because it often does not adequately represent their experiences as separate from the experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual students. In other words, these data often conflate **gender identity** (represented by the T) and sexual orientation (represented by the LGB) to be the same. Gender non-conforming students are also often not accurately represented because they may not disclose their gender identity, and as such, their experiences may not be included altogether (Garvey & Rankin, 2015; Stachowiak, 2018; Stachowiak & Gano, 2019). For this reason, it is likely that the level of hostility and unsafety that gender non-conforming individuals experience is much higher than reported.

Part of the reason that gender non-conforming individuals are under-/mis-represented is that the ways in which they are integrated into discussions of education are traditionally *exclusive* of the myriad of ways gender identity is expressed and defined. Gender-complex education "recognizes multiple forms of gender identities and challenges traditional thinking around gender" (Stachowiak, 2018, para. 4) and, as such, offers a framework for inclusivity and representation of gender non-conforming voices and experiences.

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2 Gender Oppression Matrix

Practicing gender-complex education requires an understanding of how systems of privilege, power, and oppression operate to create inequitable and hostile environments for gender non-conforming individuals. Rands (2009) presents the gender oppression matrix as means to recognize the ways in which privilege and oppression take on very exclusive and interconnected forms. They name these as "gender category oppression" and "gender transgression oppression."

In gender category oppression, the experiences of oppression occur based on the gender category that one is perceived to be. For example, if someone is perceived to be a woman, they may receive unfair treatment based on this gender category. Similar to sexism (but different because it is based on gender rather than sex), gender category oppression promotes the privilege of those categorized as men (Rands, 2019). The focus on the **gender binary** creates exclusionary and limiting environments for gender non-conforming individuals.

In gender transgression oppression, on the other hand, those who fall outside of binary notions of gender experience oppression based on their failure to conform to gender norms. This form of gender oppression forces gendered behaviors on individuals assigned female at birth, thus limiting choice and voice of expression.

The matrix, then, "allows people to see the effects of these two conceptually distinct forms of sexism" and "provides a more powerful framework for explaining the complex sets of gender privilege and oppression that people experience" (Rands, 2009, p. 422). The complexity lies in the reality that a person can face gender category oppression but still have gender category privilege, while another person can face both privilege and/or oppression simultaneously in each form.

3 Forms of Gender Education

The gender oppression matrix presents a strong argument for gender-complex education because it exposes the destructive fallacies of traditional forms of gender education. Rands (2009) identifies four distinct forms of gender education: (1) gender-stereotyped, (2) gender-free/gender evasive, (3) gender-sensitive, and (4) gender-complex. Each of these carry limitations and implications that uphold or contest the gender oppression matrix.

Gender stereotyped education is the most traditional way of thinking about gender education, and this is what is most representative of K-12 and college/

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university classrooms and campuses (Stachowiak, 2018; Rands, 2009). In this form, all people are labeled as either male or female only, which perpetuates the falsehood that sex and gender are the same. This is the most limiting type of gender education because it reifies gender norms and stereotypes, it privileges individuals assigned male at birth over individuals assigned female at birth, and gender non-conforming individuals are completely excluded (Stachowiak, 2018).

Gender-free/gender evasive education is a way of thinking about gender education that is most silencing. In this form, gender is seen as best left ignored or is seen as unconnected to education (Rands, 2009; Stachowiak, 2018). Gender-free/gender evasive education reproduces gender oppression because it ignores the realities of systemic cissexism and the experiences of gender non-conforming individuals; thus, it prevents the equity and inclusion of gender non-conforming individuals. In addition, this form of gender education completely ignores issues of gender that happen outside of classroom walls, which results in all gender identities being excluded.

Gender-sensitive education asserts that "teachers should pay attention to how gender operates and reflect on the consequences" of this way of thinking (Stachowiak, 2018). This is a more progressive, more inclusive approach to gender education. Educators are encouraged to continuously question how gender operates in society (Rands, 2009). Given the systemic nature of binary thinking around gender, however, gender-sensitive education is limited in that it often excludes gender non-conforming, transgender, and genderqueer individuals from the conversation.

Gender-complex education is the most inclusive form of gender education. Within this form, gender is seen as fluid and something that should be challenged and reconstructed (Rands, 2009; Stachowiak, 2018). One of the limitations of this form is that it is difficult to navigate without education or training on gender identity or the gender oppression matrix.

4 Gender-Complex Education

Gender-complex education calls educators to break with traditional and binary notions of thinking about gender and question traditional notions of gender and the implications of such thinking (Rands, 2009). As such, a gender-complex education demands that educators have a deep understanding of multiplicitous gender identities and the complexities of gender category oppression and the gender oppression matrix.

There are four necessary and ongoing actions of educators who honor and practice gender complex education. They must:

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– Acknowledge gender as fluid;
– Identify gender category oppression, where individuals assigned male at birth are privileged over individuals assigned female at birth;
– Recognize transgender category oppression, where the same woman oppressed by men is privileged over a transgender woman because she conforms to gender category norms; and
– Challenge gender and transgender category oppression.

Educators must also continuously question how gender is operating and what the related consequences are, including reflecting on how gender is socially constructed on a micro level and analyzing what influences these social constructions have on a macro level.

In gender-complex education, it is imperative that educators are not only reflective but also actively working to reconstruct gender in ways that are equitable (Rands, 2009). This can include naming and interrogating their own biases and gaps in understanding gender and imagining and creating ways to apply gender-complex education in their classrooms.

Applying gender-complex education in classrooms requires ongoing personal effort on the part of the educator, as well as ongoing teaching of gender complexity with students. An example of personal effort would be an educator who, after learning and understanding more about gender identity and gender expression, spends time observing how gender is enacted in their classroom, analyzing their reaction to what they observed, engaging in related critical discussions with others. An example of teaching gender-complex education with students can be as simple as challenging students to "take reflective action to reconstruct [binary notions of] gender in traditional fairy tales (Rands, 2009, p. 426). Gender-complex education is both a process and a goal that requires personal action and collaborative action with students to create more equitable classrooms.

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CHAPTER 42

Genderbashing

Kit Emslie

Coined in 1996 by Canadian feminist scholar Viviane K. Namaste, the term "genderbashing" refers to a variant of queerphobic discrimination—and most notably, physical violence—which strikes at the intersection of **gender** and **sexuality** in public life. Namaste (1996) argued that aggression against **queer** individuals, ostensibly a reaction to their departure from culturally mandated **heteronormativity**, is motivated and exacerbated by their perceived transgressions of gendered social and behavioral norms. Put simply, genderbashing describes a range of discriminatory and even violent behaviors in response to individuals whose **gender identity** and/or expression falls outside established social norms.

1 Origin and Usage

Genderbashing as a concept is derived from "gay bashing," which generally encapsulated acts of violence and persecution perpetrated against LGBTQIA+ populations in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. However, the words "gay bashing" themselves are limited in that they do not explicitly include discrimination rooted in normative perspectives of *gender.* Genderbashing as an idea calls attention to traditional gender norms as the basis for various forms of queerphobic violence. Namaste (1996) examined gender norming as a means of regulating public spaces and policing the self-expressions of queer individuals within that space. Namaste's theoretical perspective frames genderbashing as the violent repression of gender identities and expressions which pose an imagined threat to the heterosexual, cisgender social order.

2 Public and Counterpublic Spaces

By locating the phenomenon of genderbashing squarely in public spaces (e.g., street-level harassment, attacks conducted outside queer bars, etc.), Namaste (1996) and others have attested to its pervasiveness across a range of contexts. In much the same way that discrimination and violence against LGBTQ+

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individuals can be discerned in any number of social, professional, and educational settings, the specter of genderbashing haunts a wide array of public sectors and institutions.

As the lived experiences of transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals have been rendered more visible in mainstream cultural discourse, the question of these individuals' safety in public spaces has met with closer scrutiny by scholars and educators (Klemmer et al., 2021; Lombardi et al., 2002; March, 2021). The prevalence of gender-based queerphobic violence is underscored by its co-occurrence with institutionalized racism and racialized violence; transgender people of Color experience harassment at a higher rate than other LGBTQ+ populations, with Black trans women being the most likely to face racialized and/or gender-based discrimination, violence, and even murder (Fitzgerald, 2017). It is important to note that genderbashing does not simply constitute random attacks by queerphobic bystanders. Gendered and racialized acts of violence against LGBTQ+ people are institutionalized into public spaces by state structures such as law enforcement. As Perry and Dyck (2014) have observed, "officers quite literally 'police' the boundaries of gender and sexuality" (p. 57).

In her introduction to genderbashing, Namaste (1996) noted a gendering of public space itself, illustrated by the frequency of attacks on queer and trans women and femmes in locations less readily identified as 'queer' (i.e., domestic and educational settings). LGBTQ+ people who 'passed' according to the conventions of cisgender masculinity, meanwhile, were more likely to be attacked at the sites of queer 'counterpublics'[1] (e.g., parking lots of queer bars or public parks where gay men were known to cruise for sex).

Namaste (1996) attributed these trends to the implicit assumption that most public spaces are designed to privilege the comfort of cisgender, heterosexual men. In other words, because queerness, and queer femininity especially, pose a threat to the dominance of hegemonic masculinity, intrusion by femme-presenting "gender outlaws" is met with violent retribution more swiftly than the presence of "masculine" queers who are perceived as adhering to cisgender norms.

3 Implications for Education

As an explicitly gendered reframing of queerphobic violence, genderbashing prompts educators to be attentive to the ways that individuals' identities and expressions collide with these systemic norms related to gender and sexuality, which are often shaped by peer socialization—particularly in educational settings. Research has demonstrated that gender-nonconforming young people

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are more likely to report bullying by their peers or to miss school for fear of suffering interpersonal violence (Klemmer et al., 2021; Toomey et al., 2012). Treating educational contexts as public spaces highlights the regulatory forces that influence students, educators, and administrators alike and foregrounds queerness as a potential interloper within a given institutional culture. Genderbashing as a concept also warns against conceptualizing gender-based violence from the dominant vantage point of **hegemonic masculinity**, as this risks obscuring the hierarchical structures of gender and sexuality, which manifests in aggression and violence towards LGBTQIA+ individuals (Hutchinson, 2018).

Further, to her observations on queerphobic aggression, Namaste (1996) offered the concept of genderbashing as a means to create educational programs that transcend queer studies and activism. She posited that violence perpetrated on the basis of perceived gender transgressions affects individuals regardless of self-identification: "A stress on the intersection of gender and violence demonstrates that the issue of bashing profoundly affects heterosexual [and cisgender people], insofar as the threat of violence polices one's gender presentation and behavior" (Namaste, 1996, p. 227). In other words, combating gender-based violence in public spaces—including educational contexts—is not simply a question of protecting self-identified LGBTQ+ students but also of creating safe and supportive learning and working environments for entire student bodies, faculty, and staff alike.

Note

1 Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner (1998) conceptualized queer counterpublics as an assemblage of geographical and psychic spaces where queer intimacies could manifest in direct defiance of heteronormative regulatory practices. While these spaces were neither always physical nor always inviolable, the notion of geographical counterpublics (e.g., queer bars, LGBTQIA+ resource centers, etc.) complicates queerphobic violence by delineating spaces apart from the 'straight' world, the (relative) safety of which underscores the gendered nature of public aggression toward queer individuals.

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CHAPTER 43

Genderism

Eli Kean

1 Overview of Genderism

Genderism is an ideology and a system of oppression rooted in the notion of the **gender binary**, where gender is classified into two distinct and dichotomous possibilities that are aligned with one's sex assigned at birth. Biological essentialism is one of the primary beliefs upon which genderism is upheld. Trans, non-binary, **genderqueer**, gender fluid, and gender non-conforming individuals are pathologized and invalidated within genderist systems, while gender-conforming individuals are normalized and perceived as authentic, with greater access to social privilege and institutional protections.

Genderism has also been referred to as cisgenderism (Lennon & Mistler, 2014), **cisnormativity** (Ansara, 2010; Collier & Daniel, 2019; Enke, 2012), or cissexism (Radi, 2019; Serano, 2007). Hill and Willoughby (2005) conceptualize genderism as "both a source of social oppression and psychological shame, such that it can be imposed on a person, but also that a person may internalize these beliefs" (p. 534). Historically and presently, genderism operates interdependently with other systems of oppression such as racism, classism, and ableism through seemingly neutral programs and institutions such as homeless shelters, government benefits, identification documents, health insurance, prisons, schools, and public facilities. Throughout daily interactions with various social institutions, **gender identity** and expression are policed, surveilled, restricted, and criminalized, especially for BIPOC, disabled, and immigrant communities (Puar, 2015; Ritchie, 2017; Smith, 2006; Snorton, 2017; Spade, 2020). Through time, assumptions about the fixed and normative nature of the gender binary have been integrated into educational texts, media advertisements, government policies, and institutional practices. It is so intertwined with every aspect of society that it becomes difficult to conceptualize gender in any other way.

2 Characteristics of Genderism

Bilodeau (2007) identified four major characteristics of genderism. First, genderism conflates sex and gender to such a degree that all individuals are forced

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into a categorization as male or female at an institutional level, regardless of whether their gender aligns with socially constructed expectations of biological sex. Due to this, there are distinctive institutional challenges that trans people often face, including access to trans-inclusive mental and physical healthcare (Carmel et al., 2014), accurate representation within demographic data (Doan, 2016; Renn, 2010), admission to sex-separated structures such as locker rooms and restrooms (Erni, 2013), and issues of social transition such as name and pronoun changes (Burnes et al., 2010; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009).

The second characteristic of genderism is that conforming to binary gender norms is socially policed, with punishments for those who fail to conform (Bilodeau, 2007). Within this, the interplay of normative systems based on race, ability, class, and citizenship cause greater rates of violence, victimization, and exclusion for trans and non-binary individuals who are multiply marginalized (Bey, 2017; Brennan et al., 2017; Nicolazzo, 2016; Ritchie, 2017). Statistics show that trans and nonbinary people of color are more likely to be profiled and targeted by the police, and trans migrants face reduced pathways to citizenship and are more likely to face detention and deportation (NCTE 2015; Spade, 2020). In jails and prisons, trans people are targeted for violence and are more likely to be kept in solitary confinement (Gossett, 2014; Spade, 2020).

The third characteristic of genderism is seen through the overt and covert privileging of gender conformity and the simultaneous marginalization of transgender and nonbinary people. Undeniably, public facilities are a prime example of how binary systems have been built into social structures to the detriment of the health and safety of trans and non-binary individuals (Plaskow, 2008). Additionally, the privileging of binary systems is apparent throughout social institutions, such as government and healthcare. Identification documents such as birth certificates and driver's licenses are a prime example of covert privileging of the gender binary system within governmental institutions.

The fourth characteristic states that the privileging of binary systems results in the invisibility and isolation of transgender people (Bilodeau, 2007). Nicolazzo (2017) notes that "in/**visibility** and its varied meanings are central to our senses of self, community, and kinship" (2017, p. 7). Genderism operates at multiple levels and within every social institution through policies and practices that administrate, regulate, and restrict intelligible genders—that is, gender identities and expressions that are acknowledged in governmental, professional, and personal contexts. Struggles to be 'seen' and affirmed simultaneously exist alongside fears of being hypervisible, especially for Black trans people (Ellison et al., 2017). At the same time, there is an unprecedented representation of trans and nonbinary identities in political office and the media,

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but also a tidal wave of anti-trans legislation which threaten to diminish access to gender-affirming healthcare for trans youth, place restrictions on discussions of trans identity in schools, and prevent trans youth from participating on single-gender sports teams (Crasnow, 2021; Horne et al., 2021; Ronan, 2021).

3 How Gender Operates in Schools

Genderist norms and practices prevent trans and non-binary youth from fully participating in education (Marine, 2017), cause decreased levels of persistence and lower graduation rates (Goodrich, 2012; Singh et al., 2013), and decrease their sense of belonging in educational contexts (Goldberg et al., 2019). Gendered dress codes, for example, often lead to trans and nonbinary students experiencing higher levels of discipline or punishment, potentially criminalizing youth and pushing them into the criminal justice system (Mitchum & Moodie-Mills, 2014). In addition, researchers have shown that transgender youth routinely experience verbal, physical, and sexual harassment from peers and teachers (Grossman & D'augelli, 2006) and lack access to trans-inclusive curriculum and extracurricular activities (Smith & Payne, 2016).

Numerous scholars have shown that genderism and **transphobia** are minimally covered in teacher education coursework and that teacher preparation programs are inadequately preparing pre-service teachers to create equitable **school climates** for LGBTQ+ youth (Gorski et al., 2013; Sherwin & Jennings, 2006). In K-12 classrooms, educators are oftentimes very invested in and reliant upon binary understandings of gender, and even in situations where **transgender students** are present, teachers tend to "fall back on binary gender systems to help them decide how to place the transgender student in the school" (Smith & Payne, 2016, p. 42).

In postsecondary environments, genderist policies and practices influence nearly all aspects of college life, starting with admissions policies and procedures and ending with lower rates of retention and matriculation (Marine, 2017; Nicolazzo et al., 2017). On college campuses, Pryor (2018) found that "genderism in higher education partially explains the hostile environments institutions perpetuate, ultimately impacting trans students' development, health, learning, and success" (p. 36). When faced with these genderist practices, trans and non-binary students struggle with retention and persistence, sense of belonging, financial wellness, attaining leadership positions, and accessing opportunities such as study abroad (Goldberg et al., 2019; Jourian & Simmons, 2017; Rehr & Regan, 2020).

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4 Counteracting Genderism in Educational Contexts

In order to minimize or counteract the effects of genderism in schooling environments, researchers have suggested a plethora of trans-affirming strategies and interventions, such as reforming admissions practices, offering gender-inclusive housing options, and ensuring preferred or chosen name policies are available (Marine, 2017). Student affairs practitioners are encouraged to develop gender-inclusive extracurricular activities, and trans-specific leadership retreats, in addition to fostering mentorship and kinship networks among students (Jourian & Simmons, 2017; Pitcher & Simmons, 2020; Nicolazzo et al., 2017).

Educational administrators, faculty members, and researchers are encouraged to excavate their own praxis to identify the ways genderist norms and beliefs are embedded in their work. Kean's (2021) critical trans framework, Keenan's (2017) movement toward a critical trans pedagogy, as well as Radi's (2019) and Nicolazzo's (2017), approaches to trans* epistemology are all critical interventions into teaching, learning, and researching about gender in a way that celebrates gender diversity and centers transgender experiences.

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CHAPTER 44

Genderqueer

Dana M. Stachowiak

1 Introduction

Genderqueer is a term that is rooted in activism and postmodernism. Used first in the early 1990s by activists as a response to **heteronormativity**, **cisnormativity**, and the divide between "gender and gayness" (Wilchins, 2002, p. 27), genderqueer grew from a concept to a **gender identity** category. As an academic concept, genderqueer is often used to challenge and resist both the **gender binary** and gender oppression. As a gender identity category, genderqueer can fall under the transgender umbrella and also be an umbrella for other related identities. Genderqueer is not easily defined; it is complex, philosophical, holistic, and deeply personal. In a most straightforward use, genderqueer constitutes a state of being in and/or/not inside the binary. The important complexity of the definition of genderqueer, however, will be expanded in this entry.

2 Origins

The origins of genderqueer are somewhat uncertain and not well-documented. While the first printed record of the use of the word genderqueer was by Riki Anne Wilchins in a 1995 issue of the zine, *In Your Face*, others had long used related terms to conceptualize the same resistance to normative thinking around gender and **sexual orientation**. These included activists of Color, such as Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, and academic scholars, such as Leslie Fineberg (1992), Kate Bornstein (1994), and Susan Stryker (1994). Genderqueer was a radical and political choice that came as a part of the response to the reclaiming of the word "**queer**" by transgender and gay activists. As an early concept, however, genderqueer was eclipsed by the rise of the gay rights and marriage equality movements.

Following the birth and plateau of the concept of genderqueer in the 1990s, it later re-emerged in the 2000s as a tool in academic settings to oppose boundaries and hierarchies that marginalize people who identify outside the gender binary and oppose gender norms (Stryker, 2008; Wilchins, 2002). Genderqueer

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was something people *did* to express the disconnect between how they felt about their gender and what their sex assigned at birth denoted as their gender. The use of "queer" along with "gender" became the action of "queering" gender norms.

Genderqueer also developed as a gender identity category. The sparse literature on the lived experiences of individuals who identify as genderqueer reveals that genderqueer is both something that individuals do and embody (Stachowiak, 2017). This means that individuals identify as, perform, and/or express genderqueer as a way of being. Within this, genderqueer was considered an identity that fell under the transgender umbrella but was also a contested space. Namely, in an effort to counter the creation of its own normative structures, genderqueer as an identity came to mean different things for different people. Overall, genderqueer still referred to anyone who identified with a gender that queers normative gender expectations (Girshick, 2008; Killerman, 2013; Stachowiak, 2017).

Most recently, genderqueer has become somewhat synonymous with the term "non-binary," and sometimes an extension of transgender, and sometimes not (Rajunov & Duane, 2019; Worthen, 2020). With the rapidly growing body of understanding of gender identity and diverse philosophical underpinnings, genderqueer continues to be an evolving term, thus making it difficult to define concretely.

3 A Note on Transgender and Non-Binary

Because of the close association of genderqueer with transgender and non-binary identities, it is important to briefly define these terms as they relate to genderqueer as an identity category. The distinct differences between the terms provide essential context to understanding genderqueer.

In its simplest form, transgender refers to a person who transgresses the gender norms imposed by the binary gender system. By this definition, genderqueer is an extension of, or falls under the umbrella of, transgender identity. Transgender, in a more nuanced definition, however, "implies movement away from an initially assigned gender position" (Stryker, 2008, p. 19), something to which some genderqueer people do not subscribe while others do. For a more detailed understanding of transgender, please refer to the related entry in this encyclopedia.

Non-binary means "not exclusively male or female" in gender identity or gender presentation (Rajunov & Duane, 2019). The emphasis on the rejection of the binary is a key difference between non-binary and genderqueer.

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While some genderqueer people may reject the gender binary, others may embrace iterations of it as a part of their queer gender identity. Another key difference, then, is that genderqueer signifies a gender identity that is queer or non-normative.

4 Defining Genderqueer

Three overarching themes, pulling from the conceptual origins to the philosophical underpinnings to the personal experiences of genderqueer, help develop a clearer definition.

4.1 *Genderqueer as Non-Normative*

Whether speaking in terms of *doing* genderqueer or *being* genderqueer, both the act of and the identity embody non-normative behaviors. Genderqueer people transgress gender norms, and they are also queer—in their sexual and romantic orientation, in their ways of being, and/or in what they do—socially and politically (Stachowiak, 2017; Wilchins, 2002). To be or do genderqueer is to intentionally, or unintentionally, disrupt gender oppression and power structures by pushing back against traditional expectations of doing and being a normative gender. This can also include pushing back against gendered stereotypes that get applied to genderqueer people. Some people may see genderqueer as a way to identify their gender category, while others may see it in a broader context, and how each person enacts it is subjective.

4.2 *Genderqueer as Personal and a Felt Sense*

Much of the current understanding of genderqueer comes from personal narratives of people who identify as genderqueer (see Nestle et al., 2002; Rajunov & Duane, 2019; Stachowiak, 2017). These lived experiences bare the deeply personal journeys of genderqueer as a gender identity, where "binaries begin to falter, and fiction [of the social construction of gender] becomes the real" (Munoz, 1999, p. 20). A person assigned female at birth who queers gender norms to express their genderqueer identity, for example, reveals how the person they always knew they were, but that gender norms rejected, is valid and authentic.

Salamon (2010) speaks of this as a felt sense—one's literal body plus one's psyche, both of which are driven by social constructs. One's felt sense of gender is mediated by the ways in which one identifies or disidentifies with their sex and gender assigned at birth. In this sense, it is a product of many social practices and is highly contextual and personal. Considering genderqueer as a felt sense exposes the nuances and complexities of its definition.

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4.3 *Genderqueer as Complex*

Gender is socially constructed, with the gender binary privileging cisgender male and cisgender female gender identities that come with expectations of who to be and how to act. Genderqueer is a product of the social construction of the gender binary, and as such, is a social construction—fraught with its own privileges, expectations, and norms—as well. Adding to this complexity is the fact that people who are genderqueer may also identify in other, interrelating ways (Killerman, 2013; Stachowiak, 2017). These can include identifying as:

- Both man and woman
- Neither man nor woman
- Moving between genders
- Third gender or other-gendered

Those who identify with the first bullet may identify as bigender or agender. If someone identifies with the second bullet, they may identify as genderless or agender. A person who identifies with the third bullet may identify as genderfluid. And, if someone identifies with the fourth bullet, they may not place a name to their gender. Genderqueer people may also have overlapping, or not clearly defined, boundaries between their gender identity and sexual orientation (Wilchins, 2019). In the same breath, some genderqueer people may use these terms in entirely different ways, while others may not use them at all.

Genderqueer, in all its complexity, "is a state of being both inside and outside the binary, continuously, independently, simultaneously," or not at all (Stachowiak, 2017). It is important to note that, while some genderqueer people may also identify with bigender, for example, a bigender person may not identify as genderqueer. Similarly, some genderqueer people may also identify as transgender, while a transgender person may not also identify with as genderqueer. Some genderqueer people may also identify as non-binary, but a non-binary person may not identify as genderqueer. With a short and varied history, genderqueer, as a concept and a gender identity category, is compelling, subjective, and complex.

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CHAPTER 45

GLSEN

Caitlin L. Ryan

1 Precursors and Founding

In 1988, Kevin Jennings, then a 25-year-old teacher at Concord Academy in Concord, Massachusetts, came out as gay and helped students at his school establish the first **Gay-Straight Alliance (**GSA**)** in the country (Jennings, 2015). The next year, with the support from the leadership of the Independent School Association of Massachusetts, Jennings and fellow teacher Kathy Henderson formed the Gay, Lesbian Independent School Teachers' Network (GLISTEN) in Massachusetts. In 1991, GLISTEN grew to include public school teachers, becoming the Gay and Lesbian School Teachers Network (GLSTN; Jennings, 2006). Some members of the group were gay or lesbian, others had gay friends and family members, and still others were heterosexual with no direct connection to gay or lesbian people but wanted to be better able to serve their gay and lesbian students. The group held conferences (Meyer, 2015), published newsletters, organized testimony at public hearings from gay students throughout Massachusetts on safe-school related legislation, and drafted recommendations for the Massachusetts governor that, in 1993, became the Safe Schools for Gay and Lesbian Students program, the first of its kind in the nation (Jennings, 2006).

In 1994, Jennings' work to end anti-LGBT bias in K-12 schools went national with the founding of the Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Teachers Network (Jennings, 2006), later called the Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) to reflect that there were more than teachers involved. The organization has continued to broaden and evolve over time, and, like other LGBTQ+ organizations such as PFLAG and GLAAD (Harris & Lundin, 2020), is now simply known by its acronym, pronounced "glisten," to be more inclusive and acknowledge the wider range of identities they represent, including bisexual and trans students. The organization operates as a national network of educators, students, and local GLSEN chapters working to achieve their mission of ensuring that every member of every school community is valued and respected regardless of **sexual orientation**, **gender identity**, or **gender expression.** GLSEN is headquartered in New York City and has a Washington, DC office focused on public policy. Jennings led the organization for its first eighteen years (Jennings, 2015).

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2 Early History

At the start of its national work, GLSEN hosted national conferences and began certifying chapters. In 1997, Jennings met with President Bill Clinton to discuss anti-LGBT bias in America's schools. During the late 90s, GLSEN staff also created support materials for teachers and school leaders, including the award-winning documentary *Out of the Past*, co-produced in 1997 by Eliza Byard, who later served as GLSEN's Executive Director from 2008–2021. GLSEN was also involved in the production of Just the Facts about Sexual Orientation and Youth: A Primer for Principals, Educators, and School Personnel (Just the Facts Coalition, 2008), first published in 1999 after Kate Frankfurt, GLSEN's Director of Advocacy, helped start the Just the Facts Coalition, a response from a number of national education, health, and mental health organizations to religious groups' support for so-called "conversion therapy" for gay and lesbian people.

The release of GLSEN's first National School Climate Survey, the first and only national study regularly documenting the experiences of LGBT youth in schools, also took place in 1999. This survey became the cornerstone of an empirical, longitudinal research base to inform the public about homophobia in schools while simultaneously aiding the organization's development of evidence-based solutions to the very problems documented in the research. Having national, empirical data also helped shift the framing of the discourse around LGBT teachers and students. As Meyer (2015) described it:

> Establishing the prevalence and consistency of the hostile environments and negative impacts on LGBT youth gave teachers, researchers, and policy makers essential data they needed to reframe the debate. In the public eye, we needed to change perceptions of gays as predatory pedophiles who were responsible for the AIDS epidemic; the focus had to shift to the needs of diverse students who, due to institutionalized homophobia and transphobia, were being deprived of their rights of basic safety and access to education. (p. 348)

The report documented "systemic hostility being leveled upon lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth in schools across the country." It found that 90% of students had heard homophobic remarks, over 60% had been verbally harassed, and 1/3 reported staff had participated in verbal assaults (as cited in Eaklor, 2008, p. 219).

Since that initial climate study, GLSEN has continued to survey LGBTQ+ students every two years, with the most recent data from 2019 at the time of this

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writing. Additional GLSEN research reports have looked more specifically at the experiences of different subgroups, including LGBTQ+ students of Color, trans students, rural students, and LGBTQ+ parents and their children.

3 The Four Supports Model

GLSEN's current programs, resource development, advocacy, research, and policy work are organized around four ways schools can cultivate safe and supportive environments for all students, regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression. They call this the Four Supports model. According to www.glsen.org, the Four Supports schools can provide to support every student's right to a safe, supportive, and LGBTQ+-inclusive K-12 education are:

1. Activating supportive educators, who are crucial to creating LGBTQ+-inclusive classroom environments.
2. Advocating for inclusive & affirming curriculum, which not only offers support to LGBTQ+ students but raises the awareness of all students.
3. Passing and implementing policies to ensure that LGBTQ+ students can learn and thrive in safe, inclusive, accepting schools.
4. Supporting student-led clubs and GSAs because student leaders are integral to creating community and pushing for change.

To help develop supportive educators, GLSEN maintains an Educator Network to connect and communicate with supportive teachers. They offer **Safe Space** kits for teachers to learn more about and display their willingness to be effective allies for LGBTQ+ students. They develop and share Educator Guides for GLSEN-sponsored programs like No Name Calling Week and materials for educators involved in supporting GSAs. Because GLSEN's own research indicates that LGBTQ+ students who attend schools with curricula that are inclusive of LGBTQ+ people, history, and events experience a better **school climate** and improved academic outcomes (GLSEN, 2011), they encourage educators to make their instruction more LGBTQ+-affirming. They offer an Inclusive Curriculum Guide with recommendations, flashcards, and lesson plans. They also co-published *Reading the Rainbow: LGBTQ-Inclusive Literacy Instruction in the Elementary Classroom* (Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018) to demonstrate how other teachers have successfully implemented LGBTQ+ topics into their curriculum. GLSEN's comprehensive policy work includes advocating for harassment, **bullying**, and **non-discrimination policies**; policies for facilities' accessibility for trans, gender non-conforming, and non-binary students; and policies affirming trans and gender non-conforming students' participation in

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athletics. They have advocated in support for the Safe Schools Improvement Act and the Student Non-Discrimination Act and fought discriminatory legislation in over 15 states. And they support student-led efforts to positively impact their own schools and local communities through programs such as Day of Silence, **Ally** Week, and thousands of registered GSAs nationwide. They also host the National GSA Leadership Coalition.

After over 25 years of leading the movement, GLSEN has grown significantly from Jenning's initial efforts in Massachusetts. In addition to serving more people, they have broadened their understanding of educators beyond just teachers, expanded their sense of who the students are who need their support to include a wider range of identities beyond just gay and lesbian, and begun to investigate the ways that race, class, ability, geography, and other overlapping, intersecting aspects of identity might require differential attention and advocacy. Recent research and projects have included a focus on supporting LGBTQ+ students of Color, translation of advocacy materials into Spanish, a Puerto Rico School Climate Survey, and research into the experience of LGBTQ+ students in rural schools, just to give a few examples. Future adjustments of this type will no doubt continue to be necessary as definitions, identities, policies, and popular opinions related to gender and sexuality continue to change. The evolution GLSEN has undergone thus far has helped the organization's efforts and services remain broadly useful and relevant. Their national network is currently more than 1.5 million strong, made up of students, families, educators, and education advocates working to create safe schools. More than 500,000 GLSEN resources are downloaded by students and educators each year. Thanks in part to GLSEN's advocacy, more than 26 million U.S. students now go to school in states with laws that specifically protect LGBTQ+ students from harassment and violence. By the Fall of 2020, more than 65% of all LGBTQ+ students nationally had access to a GSA, and 1,300 educators had registered for GLSEN's GSA advisor summit.

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CHAPTER 46

Go-Along Interviews

Sam Stiegler

Go-along interviews offer compelling insights into the study of queer and trans young people, as well as the field of queer studies in education. Go-alongs (Kusenbach, 2003), a type of mobile interview, place the act of qualitative interviewing in step with participants' everyday life journeys. Go-along participants invite the researcher to move and speak with them as they go about their daily routines. Such a positioning helps shift methodological frames towards the seemingly uninteresting (or unsearchable) moments that can evade other methods. Unlike more traditional interviews that take place in locations with no connection to participants, go-along participants invite the researcher to complete go-alongs as they go about their everyday routines. The importance of place in go-alongs is tantamount (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). By allowing the participants to select the location(s) of the go-alongs, the places where the interviews occur become part of the 'data' to be analyzed. While go-alongs have been utilized with many different populations and communities (see, for instance, Carpiano, 2009; Castrodale, 2018; Flick et al., 2019; Vannini & Vannini, 2017), the method is of particular import to research with queer and trans youth in order to better understand the ways in which they understand and move through the spaces they inhabit (Porta et al., 2017; Stiegler, 2019, 2021). This entry will focus on the specific dynamics of doing go-alongs with these populations.

Go-alongs are of particular utility for examining 'everyday' experiences—that is, the moments in one's daily happenings and movements that often seem too routine, too inconsequential, and too insignificant to be part of a research project. Often, queer and trans youth are discussed within the context of certain notable moments, whether those deemed as good (coming out stories, standing up to **bullying** or discrimination, overcoming structural barriers of oppression, etc.) or those deemed as bad (being kicked out by one's family, attempting suicide, HIV and STI transmission, etc.). The result of this dual focus is such that knowledge about queer and trans youth is accumulated only through the peaks and valleys of their lived experiences. Go-alongs offer the opportunity for researchers to think about the moments of young peoples' experiences between the highest highs and lowest lows not just to more holistically account for their daily experiences but also to challenge the normative

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lenses through which researchers, educators, and society at large see young people. Go-alongs offer a different way of sensing the contours of queer and trans youths' lives that include more than moments that typically draw attention from researchers, educators, and policymakers.

The location and movements of go-along interviews are always set by the participants. Participants might invite a researcher to join them as travel as they travel to and from home, school, or work, as they hang out with friends, or spend time in public spaces. While go-alongs are often intended to study notions of 'everyday' experience (Kusenbach, 2003; Stiegler, 2021), it must be noted that the act of having a research move and speak with a participant intrinsically undoes the everyday-ness of such movements and actions.

Go-alongs are not just about the conversation that takes place between the two individuals but about the process of moving and speaking as the researcher goes along with the participant. As researchers and educators alike seek to better understand what life is like for queer and trans youth, go-along interviews offer glimpses into the lives of queer and trans young people, specifically in the moments when they are away from the adults charged with their care—namely parents and teachers. By their nature, go-along interviews are personal—the participants are inviting the researcher to be with them and observe their actions in a very personal manner. As such, a go-along researcher must not only work to create trust and ethical relationships with participants but think reflexively about their presence in the participants' live (Pillow, 2003).

Go-alongs are all about sensory experiences. They are about more than just the conversation between researcher and participant, more than just the questions asked and the answers given in reply. Go-alongs are *also* about routes a participant takes to get from one place to the next and about considering how the pathways they choose might indicate something about their lived experiences. During go-alongs, the researcher must work to not let their body 'lead' the way and instead let the participant's movement determine which route to take, when to cross the street, how close to stand by other people on a subway platform, or where to sit on public transit. Doing go-along interviews involves noticing how a participant moves around other people during their journey and how other people account for the participant in return. They include listening to how the surroundings affect whether participants speak in a whisper or at full volume. Noticing such decisions might then prompt conversations about, for instance, why a participant took a side street over a main thoroughfare, why they always sit at the back of the bus, or how they responded to a certain line of questioning.

These experiences, including sensorial, affective, non-verbal, and bodily expressions, portend to illuminate a great deal about the experiences of queer

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and trans youth. A hushed response to a question about their gender identity while walking down a crowded sidewalk might indicate they are not comfortable talking about it in public. Noticing where a young person sits on public transit might illustrate how they choose to interact (or not) with fellow transit riders. Letting participants lead the movement of the go-along through city spaces offers ways to examine their knowledge about the geography of the city and how they have come to know its terrains. These methodological framings, however, do not attempt to offer insight into the lives of queer and trans young people that are 'truer' or more valid than other methods. Rather, go-alongs offer researchers the opportunity to explore how the closeness and proximity necessitated in such a method offer different types of insights into the experiences of queer and trans young people and their everyday experiences.

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CHAPTER 47

GSAs (Gay-Straight Alliances or Gender-Sexuality Alliances)

Susan W. Woolley

1 About

Gay-Straight Alliances, or Gender-Sexuality Alliances (GSAs) as they are increasingly more often called, are youth-led school-based and community-based clubs that serve various purposes, including but not limited to creating safe and affirming environments for youth who identify as or are perceived to be LGBTQ+, who are questioning their **gender identity** and/or **sexuality**, who come from LGBTQ+ families, or who are cisgender-heterosexual (cishet) allies to their LGBTQ+ peers and family members. GSAs provide support networks and representation for LGBTQ+ people, as well as social contexts in which gender, sexuality, and issues particular to LGBTQ+ communities can be discussed openly. A critical component to GSA clubs is the inclusion of cishet allies and a focus on alliances across and gender differences. GSAs have come to play an important role in addressing anti-LGBTQ+ bias in schools and in providing LGBTQ+ youth and their allies safe spaces in which to gather and organize themselves both socially and politically.

2 Origin Histories in K-12 Schools

Although separate histories of GSA clubs can be traced in higher education institutions and community-based settings (see, for example, Coley, 2018; Goldstein & Davis, 2010; Killelea McEntarfer, 2011; Snively, 2004), this entry focuses on the origins and development of GSAs in K-12 schools. Because GSAs emerged first in the United States in the 1980s and in Canada in the 1990s before becoming more globally widespread in the 2000s, a more detailed history of GSAs' North American context and shorter discussion of their more recent global emergence follows.

2.1 *In the United States*

The origins of the first GSA clubs in U.S. K-12 schools emerged from different geographies and political landscapes. Some scholars consider Project 10

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support groups, which were facilitated by adults for LGBTQ+ youth, founded in the Los Angeles Unified School District in 1984, to be the precursors to modern GSAs (Fetner & Kush, 2008; Miceli, 2013; Snively, 2015; Uribe, 1994). Project 10 groups were so named in reference to sexologist Alfred Kinsey's claim that approximately 10% of the population is lesbian, gay, or bisexual (Snively, 2015). Other scholars point to the establishment of GSA clubs in suburban Boston private schools in 1989 and the subsequent developments of Project 10 East, the Gay and Lesbian Independent School Teachers Network, which later became the Gay, Lesbian, Straight Education Network, now known simply as GLSEN, and the Massachusetts Department of Education Safe Schools Program for Gay and Lesbian Students as important points of origin (Bidell, 2016; Jennings, 2006; Snively, 2015). And, some hail the gay group created by students at George Washington High School in New York City in 1972 as the first extracurricular school-based safe space for LGBTQ+ youth in the U.S. (Johnson, 2007). By the 2010s, schools in all 50 states and the District of Columbia had established GSAs.

In order to provide leadership training to youth interested in starting GSAs, foster networking across GSAs from different locations, and support advocacy and legislation aimed at promoting safe schools for LGBTQ+ students, the GSA Network was founded in 1998 in the San Francisco Bay Area. Originally named the Gay-Straight Alliance Network, in 2016 the organization changed its name to the Genders and Sexualities Alliance Network to reflect the reality that many youth leaders understand their genders and sexualities as beyond the limits of a binary gender system and the labels of "gay" and "straight," and because the name Gay-Straight Alliance was inherently trans-exclusionary. Now such networks for GSAs exist throughout Canada and the United Kingdom as well.

2.2 *In Canada*

The first GSA in Canada is believed to have been started in a secondary school in Coquitlam, British Columbia, in 1998, although the British Columbia Teachers' Federation credits students in Maple Ridge for forming the first in 1997 (bctf.ca). Following shortly thereafter was the founding of the first GSA in Nova Scotia in 1998. Two years later, the first GSA in Alberta was started in Red Deer, emerging out of a longstanding antiracist Students and Teachers Opposing Prejudice (STOP) program, which worked to create an atmosphere of accepting differences in their school (Lund & van Driel, 2007). The province of Saskatchewan saw its first GSAs established in Saskatoon and Prince Albert in 2003, with the first GSA at a First Nations school founded in North Battleford in 2004.

In Ontario, the first elementary school GSA was started in Kitchener in 2008, followed by the first high school GSA founded in a small rural Ottawa Valley town called Arnprior in 2009. In 2011, students in a Mississauga, Ontario

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Catholic school provoked a significant battle for LGBTQ+ students' rights by requesting to establish a GSA, refusing to accept their school's denial of their request and inadequate substitution, and continuing to advocate for a bona fide GSA until the passing of Bill 13, the *Accepting Schools Act*, in June 2012 (Callaghan, 2014). Bill 13 specifies that school boards shall support students who want to establish GSAs (S.O. 2012, 303.1 1d, 303.1 2).[1] As scholars note, with the passage of Bill 13, the primary issue for Catholic schools in Ontario is no longer socio-political but legal (Donlevy et al., 2014).

While the Yukon does not have specific legislation regarding GSAs in schools, the first GSA in the territory was established at a Catholic secondary school in Whitehorse, along with a few in secular public schools in 2013. The first GSA in New Brunswick was also started in 2013, as well as the only GSA in Nunavut.

2.3 *Outside of the U.S. and Canada*

LGBTQ+ youth groups in the United Kingdom have historically been located outside of schools, funded by their local education service or health authority. The first school-based GSA in the U.K. was founded in 2000 at a Girls' Day School Trust high school in London. On the other side of the globe, in 2002, the first GSAs in New Zealand were established in various schools on the South Island. Conversely, facing resistance from conservative parents and a Mormon principal organized in opposition, students at a private American school in Mexico City started the first GSA in Mexico in 2004, learning critical lessons about democratic values and effecting social change (Macgillivray, 2005). By 2009 GSAs began to emerge in schools in the Netherlands, whereas the first in India was started in New Delhi in 2014 and the first in Australia in 2016 at an all-boys religious school.

3 Legal Precedents

In the United States, Congress enacted the Equal Access Act (EAA) in 1984, forbidding public schools from receiving federal funds if they deny students' noncurricular groups on the basis of "religious, political, philosophical, or other content of the speech at such meetings" (DeMitchell & Fossey, 2008, p. 92). As a federal nondiscrimination statute for student groups, the EAA protected the rights of religious groups to meet during non-instructional times at school. As school districts have denied students' requests to form GSAs, student groups have sued in federal court for recognition under the EAA. Largely speaking, in most instances, the student groups have prevailed in these lawsuits.

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East High Gay-Straight Alliance v. Board of Education of Salt Lake City School District in 1998 was the first case to establish that denying access to a school-based GSA was a violation of the federal EAA. In 2000 *East High School PRISM Club v. Seidel* further affirmed the Salt Lake City School District's requirement to recognize the students' GSA. *Colin v. Orange Unified School District* in 2000, *Boyd County High School Gay Straight Alliance V. Board of Education of Boyd County* in 2003, *White County High School PRIDE v. White County School District* in 2006, *Straights and Gays for Equality v. Osseo Area School* in 2006, *Gay-Straight Alliance of Yulee High School v. School Board of Nassau County* in 2009, and *Carver Middle School Gay-Straight Alliance v. School Board of Lake County, Florida* in 2016 required public secondary schools to recognize LGBTQ+ student groups if the school previously recognized other noncurricular student groups.

In Canada, the federal law *Canadian Human Rights Act* of 1985 as well as provincial laws like Alberta *Human Rights Act*, British Columbia *Human Rights Code*, Manitoba *Human Rights Code*, *The Saskatchewan Human Rights Code*, Ontario *Human Rights Code*, New Brunswick *Human Rights Act*, Nova Scotia *Human Rights Act*, Newfoundland-Labrador *Human Rights Act*, Prince Edward Island *Human Rights Act*, and Quebec *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*, and territorial laws like *Yukon Human Rights Act, Northwest Territories Human Rights Act,* and *Nunavut Human Rights Act* have prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation (Donlevy et al., 2014). However, "in spite of human rights legislation and a constitutionally entrenched *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, both of which protect against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, homophobia is alive in Canadian society" (Clarke & MacDougall, 2012, p. 144).

There are no federal laws in Canada regarding GSAs, but laws specific to each province or territory that mandate safety and inclusion for LGBTQ+ students. Such legislation includes the *Yukon Education Act* of 1990, Bill 14 *Anti-Bullying* Act enacted in Ontario in 2011, Bill 18 *The Public Schools Amendment Act* (*Safe and Inclusive Schools*) introduced in Manitoba in 2013, and Bill 24 *Act to Support Gay-Straight Alliances* introduced in Alberta in 2017. Legislation in Canada and legal decisions in the United States uphold students' rights to organize GSAs in their schools.

Note

1 https://www.ola.org/en/legislative-business/bills/parliament-40/session-1/bill-13

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CHAPTER 48

Hegemonic Masculinity

Scott Ritchie

1 Background

In the 1980s, Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell (1987) formulated a theory of gender relations based on an analysis of power, and *hegemonic masculinity* is a key component in this theory (Carrigan et al., 1985). Connell (1987, 1995a, 2005) argued that gender is a way of organizing social relations in society, and masculinity is a configuration of practice within that system. Masculinity and femininity, Connell argued, are not static and fixed "roles" inherent in individuals as sex role theory claimed; instead, they are dynamic and relational processes. In fact, sex role theory, by collapsing social structures into individual roles based on inaccurate 'biological differences,' could not address power and social change. It failed to recognize power both *between* and *within* genders (Demetriou, 2001). Conceptualizing gender as *a system of relations* offers a social constructionist way to overcome reductionist roles based on biological essentialism, viewing masculinity and femininity as relational and dynamic, "constantly re-constructing themselves in a context of unequal, but shifting, power relations" (Messner, 1993, p. 724). Hegemonic masculinity takes Antonio Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony—that ordinary people willingly consent to the ideology of the ruling class—and applies it to the field of gender relations. Under **hegemony**, the normative model of masculinity of powerful and elite men in society need not be imposed upon everyone else through brute force; the ascendancy of one group of men is accomplished through *ideology* and the organization of private life and cultural practices: the media, religious doctrine and practices, wage structures, access to healthcare, educational tracking, taxation policies, etc. In this way, hegemonic masculinity helps explain not only how and why men maintain power and dominance over women but also how they do this to other men and people of all genders.

2 Hierarchy of Masculinities

One distinctive aspect of Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity is that it exists within a framework of multiple masculinities that are hierarchical, with

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hegemonic masculinity located in the top position. Additionally, the patterns of masculinity in the framework are sociohistorically contingent—that is, they are subject to change depending on the time and place within which they occur. According to Connell's (1995a, 2005) conception, there are four main patterns of masculinity in the gender order. *Hegemonic masculinity* is the dominant/normative pattern, the practice of masculinity that is culturally exalted and exemplified by those in power. Masculinity is hegemonic if it legitimates men's dominance over women and upholds cisheteropatriarchal relations. In the words of Connell, hegemonic masculinity is a "currently accepted strategy," a "historically mobile relation" (2005, p. 77), meaning that what is hegemonic today may not be tomorrow or in another context. *Subordinated masculinity* is a pattern constructed as inferior to or aberrant from the hegemonic standard. This refers primarily to masculinity enacted by gay men, although heterosexual men and boys who act effeminately may also be subordinated. *Complicit masculinity* refers to masculinity which does not explicitly embody hegemonic behaviors but does in fact receive benefits from patriarchy, a "patriarchal dividend" (Connell, 1995a, p. 79), and legitimates patriarchal domination. *Marginalized masculinity* results from the intersection of gender with other structures such as race, class, and nationality.

3 No Femmes Allowed

Although much of the writing on hegemonic masculinity is focused on heterosexual men, this pattern of masculinity also shows up in the gay community. Donaldson (1993) described how gay men's culture had shifted from more effeminate to more physically tough behaviors: "over time, the connection between homosexuality and effeminacy has broken…forms of homosexual behaviour seem to require an exaggeration of some aspects of hegemonic masculinity, notably the cult of toughness and physical aggression" (pp. 648–649). In a chapter titled, "A Very Straight Gay" Connell (1995a, 2005), one interviewee remarked, "If you're a guy why don't you just act like a guy? You're not a female [*sic*], don't act like one" (Connell, 2005, p. 158). Similarly, Sycamore (2012), critiquing assimilationist norms of hegemonic masculinity in the gay community, described Internet dating life: "We scan the options: *HIV-neg, STD-free, UB2. Masc only, no femmes or fatties. Straight acting, straight appearing. No blacks or Asians. Must be discreet"* (p. 2). When hegemonic masculinity gets taken up in the gay community, it often contributes to anti-femme, straight-acting homonormativity.

While Connell's theory lacks a thorough treatment of transgender masculinities, hegemonic masculinity also governs trans lives. For example, attorney

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and trans activist Dean Spade, arrested for trying to use a men's restroom in New York, lamented how afterward he was "slammed on several trans listservs" by people writing that he "probably didn't even take T" [testosterone] (2006, p. 65). Spade described how people were upset that he was representing himself in public as trans yet was not passing as a cisgender man. For Spade and other trans men, hegemonic masculinity regulates "the legitimacy of trans identity" (p. 65). Hegemonic masculinity plays a role in reinforcing transnormativity as trans men try "to convince cisnormative society that they are 'just like them'" (Vipond, 2015, p. 24), which delegitimizes gender variance and limits the ways that male-identified and masculine-of-center gender nonconforming people can show up in the world (Stone, 2006).

4 Critiques of Hegemonic Masculinity

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been widely used in international contexts, across multiple fields of study, including gender/sexuality studies, education, criminal justice, healthcare, psychology, communication, and sociology (see Bridges & Pascoe, 2018). Some critics have charged, however, that the idea of multiple masculinities leads to a static and essentialist typology; there is ambiguity about which men could be characterized as hegemonically masculine; and, hegemonic masculinity includes only violent behaviors and overly focuses on negative characteristics of men. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) responded to these and other critiques and reformulated the theory of hegemonic masculinity, including new ideas such as the role of embodiment in masculinities and how scholars should analyze hegemonic masculinity at three geographic levels—local, regional, and global—since what is hegemonic in a local context may not correspond to hegemonic behaviors regionally or globally. Some critiques remain unresolved, such as Demetriou's (2001) argument that hegemonic masculinity is dialectic, highly adaptable, and it pragmatically appropriates styles or elements from subordinated and marginalized masculinities that enable it to retain power. In fact, some scholars have shown how hybrid forms of masculinity appear more egalitarian while maintaining inequality (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014; Messner, 1993).

5 Hegemonic Masculinity in Education

In the context of education, hegemonic masculinity manifests in multiple ways. The Gay Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) and others

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have shown that school can be a hostile environment for students whose gender identity and/or expression do not fit hegemonic patterns (Greytak et al., 2009; Kosciw et al., 2019). Topics of gender identity/expression are rarely addressed explicitly in schools, and students who do try to address them are actively forbidden (Kosciw et al., 2019). Moreover, children's and young adult books that challenge hegemonic masculinity are frequently censored by communities. Preschool-Grade 12 teachers lack professional development and training around gender theory and pedagogy. They often express fears that they will say the wrong thing or get pushback from parents and administrators if they address gender diversity with students (Leonardi & Staley, 2015). In teacher education courses, patriarchy and gender diversity are either missing altogether, taught through a liberal individual "bias" lens, and/or given minimal coverage in comparison with other structures. Schools at all levels embrace Eurocentric, colonial ontoepistemologies of mind/body, man/woman, and individual/community dualism that privilege techno-rational solutions over holistic ones (Gonzalez, 2018; Oyěwùmí, 1997).

School policies and practices reify gender binaries and foster hegemonic masculinity through things like gendered bathrooms and locker rooms, patriarchal dress codes using false narratives of "boys' distraction," elementary school gendered class "jobs," boy/girl competitions, **cis**- and **heteronormative** school dances and homecoming ceremonies, rigidly-gendered athletic teams, guidance counseling sorting boys and girls into different courses/occupations, respectability politics programs for Black men and boys, problematic programs for "dads," military recruitment, and other means. Boys are not taught in school to identify, name, and express a full range of emotions. Teachers fail to intervene when "fag discourses" (Pascoe, 2007) are used. Educators reify rigid gender categories by using gendered pronouns and other gendered terms like boys, girls, mother, father, sister, brother, daughter, son, husband, wife, etc. (Gonzalez, 2019).

6 What We Can Do

Educators wishing to address hegemonic masculinity can take action both inside and outside of schools. In addition to addressing the in-school issues enumerated above by changing classroom practices and restructuring school policies, spaces, and events, it is important for educators to work in intersectional alliances to address larger systemic and structural issues, "outside pure gender politics, at the intersections of gender with other structures" (Connell, 2005, p. 237). Educators must overcome liberal individualism and fight against

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all systems of domination and exploitation—e.g., capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, and White supremacy (Arruzza et al., 2019; Connell, 2005; Segal, 1990)—what hooks (2004) calls "imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (p. 17). Fair wages and income equality, free universal healthcare, low-cost housing, collective child-rearing, decarceration, and restorative justice, labor rights, demilitarization, mutual aid, and environmental justice are examples of structural policies educators can work toward outside the classroom.

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CHAPTER 49

Hegemony

Addie Shrodes

1 Hegemony in Marxist Critique

Italian Marxist and anti-fascist activist and writer Antonio Gramsci theorized hegemony as a mechanism of domination through ideologies and norms (Gramsci, 1971). Groups in power establish and maintain hegemony by normalizing their cultural systems of belief, value, representation, and practice. Hegemony organizes consent to domination from marginalized groups by exerting authoritative, often imperceivable, influence. Dominant ideologies and norms constantly shift to accommodate resistance and continually establish consent to domination.

Though groups in power may also use violence to achieve domination, hegemony describes the ways in which ideologies and norms naturalize and legitimate structures of power without recourse to brutality or coercion. Gramsci observed that schools and the media-manufactured consent to fascism by circulating beliefs and norms that naturalized fascism as a social, economic, and political formation.

By developing critical consciousness of self and society, marginalized groups can perceive hegemonic ideologies and norms as social constructs and resist domination (Gramsci, 1971). However, critical consciousness requires vigilance to hegemonic adaptations.

Gramsci developed the theory of hegemony from 1926–1935 while he was imprisoned by the Italian fascist regime under Benito Mussolini (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). He died in 1937. His writing was posthumously published in a volume titled *Prison Notebooks* in 1947 and translated into English in 1971. Since then, hegemony has become an important tool of cultural analysis.

2 Hegemony in Theories of Race, Gender, and Sexuality

Theorists of race and imperialism have built on Gramsci's work by theorizing the role of hegemony in interlocking structures of power (Cabrera, 2018; Collins, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Said, 1978; Gilroy, 1993). Critical race theorists extend Gramsci's focus on class domination to consider the ideological

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dimensions of racial oppression and intersecting oppressions (Cabrera, 2018; Collins, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Black feminist theorist Patricia Hill Collins (1990) theorized hegemony as the ideological domain in a matrix of domination that organizes intersecting oppressions. Collins (1990) demonstrated how racist and sexist beliefs, stereotypes, and images are used to legitimate the oppression of Black women. For instance, the image of the "mammy" created under chattel slavery continues to naturalize the oppression of Black women in low-paid service and caretaking roles (Collins, 1990). Scholars of race and imperialism argue that the hegemonic ideology of western white superiority naturalizes and legitimates imperialist and settler colonialist configurations of domination established through violence (Gilroy, 1993; Said, 1978).

Sociologists of gender and **sexuality** build on Gramsci to theorize the hegemonic nature of gender and sexual oppression (Connell, 1987; Pascoe, 2007). For instance, R.W. Connell's widely used concept of **hegemonic masculinity** theorizes that configurations of gendered practice maintain hierarchies of dominance within and among genders (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Practices of hegemonic masculinity shift over time but typically include racism, transphobia, homophobia, sexism, and sexual violence against transgender and cisgender women. Hierarchies within gender create subordinated masculinities oppressed by hegemonic masculinity, such as gay men, and marginalized masculinities aligned with dominant configurations of gendered practice but marginalized by race or class (Pascoe, 2007).

3 Hegemony in Queer Studies in Education

The theory of hegemony has influenced queer studies in education in a number of ways. Scholars have critiqued how schooling can uphold and reproduce hegemonic ideologies and norms. Moreover, an expansive body of literature examines how youth and educators can develop critical consciousness and resist hegemony through counter-hegemonic practices.

3.1 *Educational Critiques of Hegemony in Schooling*

Queer and anti-racist critiques of education apply and extend theories of hegemony to examine how schooling upholds and reproduces ideologies and norms of whiteness, heterosexuality, and cisgender identities (Blaise, 2005; McCready, 2010; Miller, 2016; Pascoe, 2007).

In early grades, scholars have observed that childhood play can reproduce hegemonic norms of whiteness, English monolingualism, binary gender difference, and heterosexuality (Blaise, 2005; Bryan, 2018; Skattebol, 2005; Souto-Manning & Rabadi-Raol, 2018). Blaise (2005) observed that girls in kindergarten

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reproduced **cisheteronormativity** by pretending to 'get ready' for a date with a boyfriend or prince. As children learn hegemonic norms, they can also police racialized, linguistic, and gendered difference. For instance, Nathaniel Bryan (2018) examines how white children can enact and support hegemonic white masculinity that marginalizes Black boys' play as dangerous.

Research on secondary grades has focused on how educators and youth sustain hegemonic norms through boundary policing and **bullying** (McCready, 2010; Pascoe, 2007; Payne & Smith, 2013; Ringrose & Renold, 2010). For instance, Pascoe (2007) observed that teenage boys practice hegemonic masculinity and establish masculine, heterosexual solidarity through bullying boys they perceived to be gay. Though homophobic bullying has been a key practice of hegemonic masculinity (see Kimmel, 2005; Pascoe, 2007), scholars suggest this may change as hegemonic norms selectively incorporate features of subordinated and marginalized masculinities, such as sensitivity associated with gay culture (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014).

Scholars of higher education demonstrate how campus cultures shaped by white normativity and cisheteronormativity regulate and marginalize ways of being (Blockett, 2017; Duran et al., 2020; Nicolazzo, 2017). Queer and trans Black, Indigenous, and people of color experience increased marginalization via intersecting oppressions (Duran, 2019; Nicolazzo, 2017). Blockett (2017) observed that Black queer college men at a predominately white institution experienced marginalization from the campus community and labored to create counterspaces within the campus.

3.2 *Queer Counter-Hegemonic Practices in Education*

Queer studies in education have examined the dynamic ways in which young people, educators, communities, and researchers can destabilize hegemony. Scholars often mobilize queer of color critique, queer theories, Black feminist thought, and U.S. Third World Feminist theories to examine counter-hegemonic practices in LGBTQ+ communities (Aguilar-Hernández & Cruz, 2020; Brockenbrough, 2015; Cruz, 2011; Duran et al., 2020; McCready, 2019). Scholars also tend to mobilize the category of '**queer**' as counter-hegemonic through its transgressive qualities (Kean, 2020; McWilliams, 2016; Pennell, 2016; Uttamchandani, 2020).

Across the literature, youth resist hegemonic norms through their writing, talk, embodied movements, and digital media activities (Blackburn & Schey, 2017; Cruz, 2011; Johnson, 2017; Shrodes, 2020; Wargo, 2018). Higher education studies contribute attention to forms of kinship, community building, and refusal that students enact in response to oppressive normativities (Duran et al., 2020; Nicolazzo, 2017).

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Scholarship in queer studies in education suggests that educators and researchers can play an important role in disrupting hegemony. Teachers can disrupt racist, colonial, cisheteronormative, and ableist norms in schooling through counter-hegemonic pedagogies, curriculum, participant structures, and play (Johnson, 2017; Kean, 2020; Keenan, 2017, 2019; Miller, 2016; Oshito & Oyler, 2017). Educational researchers can destabilize forms of hegemony in research by employing collaborative methodologies that position researchers alongside LGBTQ+ participants toward justice-oriented action (Jourian & Nicolazzo, 2016).

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CHAPTER 50

Heteronormativity

Sara Staley

1 What Is Heteronormativity?

An important theoretical construct to understand in queer studies in education is *heteronormativity*. In 1991, queer theorist Michael Warner used *heteronormativity* to describe a pervasive discursive framework that is deeply embedded in social institutions and that perpetuates homophobia and **heterosexism**, egregiously, at times, but often in invisible ways. Through its presumption of heterosexuality as normal and natural, heteronormativity privileges heterosexuality in all its forms, including identities (i.e., heterosexual people) and arrangements (e.g., traditional family structures and romantic relationships). Thus, heteronormativity positions heterosexuality as normal and **queer** sexualities as deviant. Although it is distinct from ***cisnormativity***, heteronormativity also regulates normative perspectives on gender. To be clear, **sexuality** and gender are distinct constructs that should not be conflated. And yet, they are enmeshed within a discursively produced system of meaning—what Judith Butler (1990) conceptualized as the "**heterosexual matrix**" (p. 151), which constructs heterosexuality as the norm through which masculinity and femininity are defined (Renold, 2006). As such, heteronormativity organizes a set of beliefs, social practices, and relationships of identity that presume heterosexuality *and* enforce **binary gender** norms. As Blackburn and Smith (2010) put it, this hegemonic framework "insists" (p. 627) that boys and men behave in masculine ways, which includes being sexually attracted to girls and women, and girls and women behave in feminine ways, which includes being sexually attracted to boys and men. In this way, heteronormativity affects everyone, and we are all implicated in reproducing and/or disrupting heteronormativity as a system of power.

To disrupt heteronormativity's "totalizing tendency" (Warner, 1991, p. 8), Warner called for scholars to reject engagements of social theory that aim toward greater tolerance of lesbian and gay people and, instead, to engage **queer theory** as political practice. Central to queer politics are persistent, deliberate efforts to uncover, challenge, and resist the production of (hetero)normativity. Three decades since Warner's call, generations of queer-focused education researchers have contributed to a robust volume of scholarship that has uncovered,

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challenged, and resisted the production of heteronormativity in PreK-12 schools and teacher education.

2 The Heteronormative Context of Schools

Queer-focused education researchers have written extensively about the heterosexist, homophobic, and transphobic context of schooling and the ways in which heteronormativity is institutionalized in schools through discourse practices, policies, pedagogies, and everyday actions of administrators, teachers, educators, and students (Ngo, 2003; Sears, 1999; Wickens & Sandlin, 2010; Woolley, 2020). For example, studies have revealed how heteronormativity and, more specifically, the heterosexualization of children's friendships (i.e., boyfriends/girlfriends), is reinforced in elementary-school classrooms through teachers' and students' language and interactions (Davies, 1993; García & Slesaransky-Poe, 2010; Robinson, 2005). Researchers have also demonstrated that curricula are largely heteronormative: Science textbooks normalize heterosexual sex for procreation (Letts, 1999). Language arts teachers generally do not include examples of same-sex desire (Blackburn & Buckley, 2005), and when they do, they sometimes position their students as "straight and often aggressively homophobic" (Clark & Blackburn, 2009, p. 27). And, as Ryan (2016) observed, elementary teachers and students construct and support heteronormative perspectives as "common sense," that is, as "the only possible way to live and love" (p. 81). These are just a few examples of how heteronormativity is institutionalized and reinforced by curriculum and teachers' and students' discourse and literacy practices. When educators are unprepared and unsupported to disrupt heteronormativity in these ways, students have few opportunities to learn to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions of "straight" as normal and to unlearn traditional scripts that rely on binary gender categories to teach what it means to be a boy or a girl—scripts that, as Keenan (2017) argues, are always and everywhere in schools.

Scholars have also linked the heteronormative context of schooling to a persistent problem plaguing schools in the United States as well as a variety of national contexts: the violent consequences of unsafe school environments for LGBTQ+ youth (GLSEN & Harris Interactive, 2012; Meyer, 2015). Disproportionately higher rates of violence are committed against students who identify or are perceived to identify as LGBTQ+, and queer youth consistently lack access to supportive adults, inclusive curricula, and safe spaces at school (Kosciw et al., 2018). And, as Johnson (2017) importantly notes, through its privileging of whiteness, Standard English, and discipline practices that reinforce race- and

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gender-based power structures, the heteronormative context of schooling positions queer and trans youth of Color as uniquely vulnerable to violent and dehumanizing educational experiences.

3 A Heteronormative Discourse of Silence

In addition to school-based violence, heteronormativity is linked to another problem that orients much research in the field: a discourse of silence surrounding LGBTQ+ topics in PreK-12 and teacher education. Simply put, through its persistent presumption and (re)production of heterosexuality as normal, heteronormativity silences and marginalizes queer sexualities and erases transgender and nonbinary identities altogether. Much school- and classroom-based research has explored what is involved in breaking that discourse of silence. Studies have examined teachers' efforts to include LGBTQ+ topics in the curriculum and to engage students in explicit conversations about gender, sexuality, power, and normativity (Blackburn et al., 2010; Brochin, 2019; Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2019), as well as perceived barriers to disrupting heteronormativity, such as parental resistance (Malins, 2016) and fear of getting in trouble or losing their jobs (Taylor et al., 2016).

Given research that suggests teachers can play important roles in making LGBTQ+ youth feel safer and more connected at school (Greytak et al., 2013), calls to break the silence in teacher preparation have grown louder in the past decade (NCTE, 2007; Quinn & Meiners, 2011; Staley & Leonardi, 2016). But, as Gorski et al. (2013) argue, "[Scholars] overwhelmingly agree that silence persists in teacher education programs when it comes to LGBTQ concerns" (p. 229). A driving question in the field, then, concerns what happens when teacher educators interrupt heteronormativity by broaching topics of gender and sexual diversity.

4 'Unmasking' Heteronormativity

Research demonstrates that including LGBTQ+ content across teacher preparation coursework is a crucial first step toward addressing the concerns outlined above. But, as scholars have learned more about the affordances and constraints of LGBTQ+ inclusion, particularly in teacher education coursework, many are challenging inclusion as an effective solution. Specifically, scholars are calling on the ways in which inclusion often fails to challenge heteronormativity. Blackburn and Clark (2011), Martino (2009), and others caution that

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inclusion can have unintended consequences, for example, reinforcing heterosexism and homophobia and providing a "sentimental education" (Britzman, 1995) that erases difference. Moreover, teachers' moves to include LGBTQ+ people and themes risk perpetuating problematic binaries (e.g., normal/different, self/other, us/them) if they fail to challenge how constructions of normal and different come to be. For these reasons, scholars are calling for pedagogical interventions that move beyond inclusion (e.g., Blackburn & Smith, 2010; Staley & Leonardi, 2020). Drawing on queer theoretical perspectives, these scholars argue for "queering" (Sears, 1999) teacher education, that is, enacting "queer interventions" that "unmask heteronormativity" (Martino, 2009, p. 386) and support preservice teachers to develop critical habits of mind for deconstructing binaries and questioning how heterosexuality and binary gender become normalized in everyday practice.

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CHAPTER 51

Heteropatriarchy

Jacob Kelley and Andrea Arce-Trigatti

1 Definition and Function

Heteropatriarchy refers to the social, political, and economic system in which heterosexual men are the dominant group in a society or culture. The concept is made up of two parts: hetero, described as an inherent attraction to the opposite sex, and patriarchy, defined as systematic domination of men across a myriad of social institutions (Barker, 2012). Scholarship expands the framing of the concept to focus more broadly on the dominance of cisgender heterosexual men, "since what it is to be male varies across time and space" (Barker, 2012, p. 311). Woodson and Pabon (2016) further establish that heteropatriarchy is a Black feminist construct "which refers to systems and practices that normalize and center male dominance; male-female gender binaries; and heterosexual identities, family units, and sexual expressions" (p. 57).

To achieve dominance, institutions are manufactured and maintained to distribute power in ways that elevate cisgender heterosexual men above other identities, socializing people to believe and internalize that the cisgender heterosexual man is the ideal. For example, Foucault (1979) argues that subjectivity is a product of discourse and of dominant narratives, subjecting people into positions based on the regulating power of the dominant narrative. Within the concept of heteropatriarchy, cisgender heterosexual men are viewed as "strong, capable, wise, and composed" (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 13). As such, the subordination and oppression of those other than the cisgender heterosexual man is seen to be both natural and logical (Smith, 2010).

According to Harris (2011), heteropatriarchy is able to flourish in a society or culture due to a set of five interrelated assumptions. First, a person is born either male or female. Second, a person's sex at birth determines their gender and behavior. Third, sex/gender causes differences in "appearance, character, behavior, interests, and innate abilities" (Harris, 2011, p. 22) between males and females. Fourth, because these differences are complementary, romantic and sexual relationships should only occur between individuals of the opposite sex. Fifth, males are privileged because masculine characteristics and abilities are seen as better. Together, these assumptions offer an explanation of the mechanisms that enable heteropatriarchy to function, with the first four assumptions

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relating directly to the hetero part of the term and the fifth assumption linking to the system of patriarchy (Harris, 2011). These assumptions are considered salient within a heteropatriarchal society. Scholars argue, however, that gender is considered a cultural construct, malleable in ways that counter these assumptions with changes in society, discourse, and narratives surrounding sex and gender (Barker, 2012; Foucault, 1979).

2 Connections to Education

Education, as an institution, plays an important role in normalizing heteropatriarchy through policies and practices. Arvin and colleagues (2013) explain that the institutionalization of heteropatriarchy establishes what should be considered "normal" within the dominant culture, ultimately suggesting that:

> other configurations are perceived as abnormal, aberrant, and abhorrent. By heteropaternalism, we mean the presumption that heteropatriarchal nuclear-domestic arrangements, in which the father is both center and leader/boss, should serve as the model for social arrangements of the state and its institutions. (p. 13)

Due to this, queer, feminist, and Indigenous scholars refer to the infiltration of heteropatriarchy as remnants of settler colonization of education, which oppresses and polices those that do not fit within the cultural norms associated with binary conceptions of genderized dominance (Smith et al., 2019). The reification of heteropatriarchy as part of educational policies and practices further serves to exacerbate the issues of inequity that already permeate the experiences of those who do not fit within the norms established by heteropatriarchy.

As an institution that has traditionally served a purpose of indoctrinating individuals with the socio-political norms approved and accepted by a privileged majority (Apple, 2013; Arce-Trigatti & Anderson, 2018; Galindo, 2011; McLaren, 2003), education has often pushed heteropatriarchy as an inherent part of these practices (Woodson & Pabon, 2016). This is rooted in an outdated, Eurocentric ideology that the cisgender heterosexual man was inherently rational, logical, and civilized and therefore associated with the development of knowledge, science, and education (Brown & Jordanova, 1995). The cisgender heterosexual man, then, is privileged within educational spaces.

To this point, several studies have argued that educational spaces are often gendered, benefitting cisgender heterosexual men in ways that are evident

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through the physical structures (e.g., availability of bathrooms, residence halls, and lactation areas), policies (e.g., maternity leave, childcare options, and equal pay), curricula (e.g., a focus on cisgender heterosexual male authors and protagonists), and social norms (e.g., dress codes that are more flexible for male students, dialect and language preferences, and standards related to elite professionalism) (Charles, 2019; Edmore, 2013; Fordham, 1993; Friedmann, 2019; Lei, 2003; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004; Wyn et al., 2017).

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CHAPTER 52

Heterosexism

Sohini Chatterjee

1 Introduction

Heterosexism stems out of discrimination and prejudice against **queer** people when heterosexuality is considered the norm and the only acceptable **sexual orientation**. It is marginalization wrought structurally and institutionally on queer people by legitimizing heterosexuality as normal and the lone permissible way of inhabiting states, cultures, and societies. Heterosexism validates heterosexuality as the only proper way of life and punishes those who do not figure in the dominant socially approved processes through which heterosexuality is conceived (primarily, marriage and procreation). Neisen (1993) called heterosexism an institutionally validated form of "cultural victimization" (p. 50). Herek (1990) recognized the ubiquitous nature of heterosexism which pervades social customs and institutions, including the family, religion, and the media, which he terms "cultural heterosexism." It promotes **heteronormativity** and penalizes, in in/conspicuous ways, those who are not heterosexual. Heterosexism often runs parallel to sexism and racism and produces similar effects. For example, cisgender heterosexual men are more structurally privileged than cisgender heterosexual women who are structurally disadvantaged in comparison, and white cisgender heterosexual men are privileged over white cisgender racialized men as the latter are often discriminated against because of their race. Racism, sexism, and heterosexism are all structures of exclusion, prejudice, discrimination, and marginalization. Heterosexism, like sexism and racism, is revealed in direct and indirect ways and leads to the marginalization of queer people in the everyday.

2 Forms of Heterosexism

Swim et al. (2007), in their research on queer individuals' quotidian encounters with heterosexism, described "heterosexist behaviors" as "heterosexist behaviors." They noted that "heterosexist hassles" can range from verbal remarks associated with queer stereotypes, including heterosexist humor that demonstrates hostility towards—and the intention to perpetuate stereotypes against—queer

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people and communities, as well as queerphobic remarks that denigrate queer individuals. It also includes overhearing threats of queerphobic violence and hate crimes. Heterosexism also manifests in heterosexist assumptions that everyone is heterosexual in a particular space and time and is also revealed through the promotion of stereotypes about queer individuals and communities. "Heterosexist behavior," on the other hand, include exclusionary behavior "such as being overlooked, ignored, or turned away from, avoidance of eye-contact, and not being invited to be a part of a social interaction or situation such as not being invited to a party" (p. 41). This kind of behavior is also exhibited when poor service is meted out in restaurants or stores on the basis of the customer's perceived sexuality, as well as "aggressive or hostile physical behaviors such as pointing and/or laughing in a mocking fashion, rude gestures, hostile looks, threatening postures, physical contact and damage to property" (p. 41). Authors also note that heterosexism generates fear, giving rise to "fear-related hassles," because of which queer individuals are afraid of the cost of disclosure. Heterosexism is revealed when queer people are afraid to come out because of the fear of overt and covert hostility expressed verbally or through discriminatory and/or violent behaviors (Swim et al., 2007). Heterosexism gets frequently validated as those who partake in heterosexism often find themselves winning greater social acceptance and endorsement of their views in heteronormative contexts (Herek, 1990). However, heterosexism is not readily identifiable and quantifiable. It takes place through day-to-day interactions and encounters and could be deemed liberal even when it is heterosexist.

Cowan et al. (2005) observed that modern heterosexism takes place in complicated and insidious ways. This includes the refusal to recognize and acknowledge discrimination faced by queer people and their communities, questioning the legitimacy of queer people's anger at discrimination and mistreatment, revulsion against queer people expressed through a commitment to "traditional values" and "freedom of speech," tolerance of queerphobic hate speech by denying the socio-economic and political harms that it is capable of causing and perpetuating.

Heterosexism often occurs covertly in the everyday and should be understood in complex ways to recognize the different and varied ways in which it operates in the absence of overt discriminatory and prejudicial speech and/or acts. Heterosexism, among other things, is the normalization of heterosexuality and can be identified in spaces that promote such normalization. It can be identified where there is an absence of recognition of non-heterosexual people and communities, refusal to acknowledge the struggles that queer people face in dominant heterosexual spaces and places, and also in the denial of differential supports they need to live and thrive. It can be found in the promotion

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of heterosexuality in educational materials such as pictures of heterosexual couples in school textbooks, in the ways that biology is taught in terms of heterosexual sex and procreation without attention to the sexual health of queer people, in the promotion of heterosexuality in the media through television shows, news, and films, where non-heterosexual issues and concerns, and representation of non-heterosexual modes of desiring and being, are rarely featured and foregrounded. Heterosexism also dominates when queer people are not allowed to, or are discouraged from or are not encouraged to, take up space as queer. It follows from the assertion that queer people are now living in a post-heterosexist world where they have all the rights they need for a good life, and hence conversations do not need to be had on queer rights, needs, demands, and livabilities.

Nancy Fraser (1997) understood heterosexism as a form of misrecognition which, she argued, contributes to the denial of queer people the same level of participation in social interactions as their heterosexual counterparts, which stems from "*institutionalized* patterns of interpretation and evaluation that constitute one as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem. When such patterns of disrespect and disesteem are institutionalized, for example, in law, social welfare, medicine, and/or popular culture, they impede parity of participation…" (Fraser, 1997, p. 280). Moreover, V. Spike Peterson (1999), tracing the interconnections between nationalism and heterosexism, noted that heterosexism, as an ideology as well practice, is at the heart of political authority or coercive power, which inheres state-making (Peterson, 1999). Thus, heterosexism, as attitude, practice, ideology, or modes of governance, is communicated when queer people cannot fully participate in socio-economic and political arenas and remain marginalized in all these spheres, and instead, heterosexual needs and concerns are allowed to dominate. It further becomes explicit when politicians and state leaders do not ensure equity by pushing for affirmative action for the most marginalized of queer people. Specific needs of variously marginalized queer people are seldom taken into account as political parties, and elected leaders fail to demonstrate sincere commitment to work towards improving the lived realities of marginalized queer people. This exacerbates the marginalization of queer people who are marginalized owing to race, class, and disability.

3 Heterosexism and Intersectionality

In order to interrogate heterosexism in all its divergent forms, expressions, and effects, it is important to take an **intersectional** approach to it to understand how heterosexism oppresses people embodying multiple marginalized identities. For instance, older LGBTQ+ people of Color are marginalized owing to

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ageism, racism, ableism, and heterosexism. They have to grapple with ailments that are exacerbated by the lack of social, institutional, and medical supports. Moreover, as Kum (2017) noted when older queer people of Color find themselves in long-term care facilities, they are often pushed back into the "closet" for fear of discrimination, neglect, and harassment by healthcare providers and fellow residents. This leads many older queer people to not consider the option of facilities in the long run. Those who do avail of such services do not have their basic needs met and frequently face harassment. Moreover, older LGBTQ+ people of Color, particularly Black and Latino individuals, suffer poorer mental health, do not have easy access to medical care, rarely experience successful medical outcomes, lack socio-economic supports, "lower identity affirmation," "higher identity stigma," and "lower social support compared to their white counterparts" (Kum, 2017, p. 234). Heterosexism also becomes stark in the lives of Black people. A study revealed that African American queer women experience racism not only by heterosexual white people but also in white queer communities (Szymanski & Meyer, 2008). When faced with the dual harm and effects of heterosexism and racism, African American queer people are often left without supports to combat racism and heterosexism that negatively impact their lives. Hence, marginalizing experiences of racism can get intensified owing to heterosexism, and heterosexism can further compound alienation due to racism. This becomes prominent in the case of Black, HIV-positive queer men who are harassed not only for being HIV-positive but are also marginalized owing to racism and heterosexism. Alienated from and discriminated against in white queer communities, Black queer men's experience of heterosexism takes place in the context of racism, and hence the structural issues they confront have to be interrogated in light of multiple embodied forms of marginalization experienced by them. Seroconversion can be recognized as a social process that is propelled by racism and heterosexism (Arnold et al., 2014), which makes immunocompromised Black queer people vulnerable to multiple forms of stigma and harassment. It is often not seen as a disability issue as racialized queer people's health concerns and outcomes are not taken into consideration very often to alter standardized systems of intervention medical institutions perpetuate. Disabled queer people's health and care needs also suffer when they fear disclosure owing to heterosexism and when medical practitioners take heterosexuality and the heterosexual family unit as a given.

4 Conclusion

Hence, any discussion on heterosexism must necessarily broach the subject of overt and covert heterosexism, as also racism, classism, and ableism, and

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should be understood along multiple axes of oppression. An intersectional approach to heterosexism is able to uncover the diverse and everyday ways in which structural issues manifest in interpersonal relationships, in everyday lives, in institutions, and in queer communities, making it difficult for queer people—and particularly racialized and variously minoritized queer people—to lead livable lives and realize their potential. As heterosexism becomes imbricated with variegated structures of oppression, queer people who find themselves occupying precarious margins in various places, spaces, and communities, bear its brunt most severely. By focusing attention on the most marginalized of queer people, an intersectional lens to heterosexism helps inform queer politics and activism and gears it towards addressing institutional, structural, systematic, and quotidian harms legitimized by states and societies. Heterosexism resides not only in overtly hostile acts of discrimination, violence, harassment, or **microaggressions** but is also located in silences. Not advocating for inclusion and equity, the absence of queer-specific policies and supports, not making explicit the needs and concerns of variously marginalized queer people when it comes to health, housing, unemployment supports, etc., and not encouraging queer people to take up space socio-politically makes heterosexism all-pervasive. Such in/action marginalize queer people and render invisible their concerns making life less than livable and sustains inequitable societies and institutions.

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CHAPTER 53

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

Steve D. Mobley, Jr.

1 A Complex History

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) are a distinct set of postsecondary institutions. HBCUs are federally defined as colleges and universities founded before 1964 whose primary missions were to educate Black students (Anderson, 1988; Brazzell, 1992). White missionary and philanthropist factions, various Black church entities, and state and U.S. governmental legislatures established most HBCUs in the aftermath of the Civil War because southern colleges and universities and a majority of Northern postsecondary contexts operated exclusively for whites and excluded Blacks from full participation in postsecondary education (Brown & Davis, 2001). In adding nuance to their histories, it must be noted that these schools were founded amidst legal segregation. Further, governmental intervention for the creation of HBCUs was enacted because states upheld discriminatory admissions practices (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). As a result, southern states established HBCUs with separate meager funding structures. Many of these institutions are still in operation and are known as several of the public HBCUs.

HBCUs have been highly lauded for their ability to provide Black students across the diaspora with culturally engaging academic and social environments. They have and still do serve as the premier educational spaces that afford and inculcate nurturing, familial, and supportive environments that engender Black student success (Mobley & Hall, 2020; Strayhorn, 2014). It is quite remarkable that while HBCUs only make up 3% of the nation's colleges and universities that they confer on average 26% of undergraduate degrees earned by Black students (Saunders & Nagle, 2018). This must be celebrated and extolled.

However, it is critical to note that HBCUs were controversial entities since their establishments but have thrived in spite of existing amidst a complicated social milieu that perpetually seeks to relegate them to the margins. Their very existences were created amidst turmoil within the U.S. societal context that perpetually struggles with how and *if* it will ever *truly* invest in the education of Black communities (Commodore, 2018). HBCUs are continuously overlooked

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and unfairly scrutinized through myopic lenses that disregard their eminent value to Black education and higher education as a whole. They also have consistently been placed under fire by stakeholders inside and outside of education arenas. For example, The United States Supreme Court has unfairly questioned their value and academic prowess in landmark cases (e.g., United States v. Fordice and Adams v. Richardson); and policymakers in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi have called for mergers with historically white institutions (HWIS) and all together closure of these institutions (Kim & Conrad, 2006). Due to the ways in which whiteness and racism played major roles in how HBCUs were fashioned and then created, it cannot be ignored how these systemic forces have been *and* are ever-present within these seemingly homogenous educational spaces (Mobley et al., 2021).

To many of the white people who played major roles in establishing HBCUs, Blacks had only been slaves. Thus, they were uncivilized, savage, a threat to U.S. society, and needed to be reformed (Nguyen et al., 2018). Thus, for these white stakeholders, HBCUs were sites where racism under the guise of "benevolence" could be enforced by inflicting conservative and religious ideals that still continue to impact the cultures and ethos' of HBCU campuses. Ultimately, HBCU histories are an important factor to consider, especially as it pertains to the myriad HBCU stakeholders who identify with and belong to lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*, and queer (LGBTQ) communities.

2 "Queering" HBCUs

What is quite curious is that HBCUs have *always* been "queer" in nature (Mobley et al., 2019; Mobley & Hall, 2020). As argued by E. Patrick Johnson (2008) in his LGBTQ studies anthology titled *Sweet Tea: Black Gay Men of the South*, HBCUs have perpetually had some rendering of queer culture. Further, the etymology of the word queer derives from Scottish dialect circa 1500, meaning odd or peculiar. The very premise of HBCUs was that their responsibility and creation was embedded with the formidable task of educating Black communities amidst an environment that did not think they could function or thrive. Mobley & Hall (2020) contend that:

> As HBCUs were being founded, Whites still largely held the belief that the idea of Black Education was odd or peculiar. Thus, one could argue that HBCUs have been queer spaces for as long as they have existed. Whites did not believe that Blacks could be educated or were worthy of higher education; thus, HBCUs were queer(ed) and deemed subversive

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> in a similar manner to how queer and trans* individuals have been (mis) treated in the broader societal context. (p. 498)

Ultimately, HBCUs have perpetually wrestled with their intended purpose to serve *all* Black communities while *also* contending with various forms of anti-Blackness that manifest on their campuses which are a direct result of the white supremacy they were born of. Several anti-Black practices at HBCUs are now veiled as traditions and policies that directly impact their LGBTQ+ students (e.g., The Morehouse College Appropriate Attire Policy and the now-defunct Spelman College White Dress Tradition) (Mobley et al., 2021; Mobley & Hall, 2020). However, as Commodore (2019) expresses, the question often becomes, "Why would Black Americans, and HBCUs specifically, continue to operate with seemingly outdated and anti-Black practices?" (p. 2). The answer is quite complex. Much of the Eurocentric ideology that has evolved into conservative anti-Black Blackness meant to "fix" Black individuals heavily affects the realities that queer and trans HBCU students continue to face on these campuses (Njoku et al., 2017; Mobley & Hall, 2020). Thus, it is evident that the historical and contemporary White and religious affiliations that are inherent within HBCU communities present a tension of how these institutions have been and should continue to take a reaffirming and nonjudgmental stance regarding the presence of their various Black LGBTQ stakeholders.

3 We Speak Your Names

There are:

Bayard Rustin &
Audre Lorde &
Barbara Jordan &
Zora Neale Hurston &
Pauli Murray &
Alain Locke &
Lucy Diggs Slowe &
Wanda Sykes TOO!

Homage must be paid!

Any discussion about the presence of HBCU LGBTQ+ cultures and individuals *has* to make clear that Black queer and trans* individuals have always attended,

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graduated, led, and taught at these schools (Sales, 2011). This is *not* a contemporary discussion or phenomenon. The above epithet pays homage to various Black queer and trans* HBCU stakeholders who have literally shaped and transformed the U.S. societal context to effectuate change for not only Black queer and trans communities, but society writ large. This homage is necessary because dominant narratives that feature notable Black or Black individuals who are queer or trans icons have either on one extreme erased their queerness or transness, and on the other, their HBCU affiliations are absent. Further, when past and present famous notable HBCU students, alumni, faculty, and members of their administrations are heralded, one would be led to believe that these environments have been devoid of a queer or trans* presence (Mobley et al., 2019). This is far from the truth.

It is quite powerful to recognize that since HBCUs were incepted that they have been influenced by many Black queer and trans figures who are recognized as revolutionaries, scholars, educators, advocates, and philosophers. Each of these Black contemporaries and ancestors worked and sacrificed to ensure that *these* schools have and will continue to disrupt the broader societal sphere. *Even* amidst times that change, queer and trans HBCU students, alumni, faculty, and administrators have *and* do stand at the forefront of ensuring that these sacred spaces are among the sites where Blackness will be perpetually (re)imagined and given space to be performed in its infinite possibilities (Mobley & Hall, 2020). What is encouraging, though, is that there are many HBCUs who have been answering the "call" to (re)claim their queer and trans* ancestors, engage their LGBTQ+ stakeholders, and are taking up the mantle of *this* work in courageous ways.

4 Looking Onward

HBCU communities have been openly criticized for their tendency to promote and enact conservative ideals. This conservatism is not specific to a specific sector of HBCUs—public, private, church-affiliated, and non-church affiliated HBCUs have been at fault (Commodore, 2019). Further, while this conservatism is not enacted at all HBCUs, there are several that have policies and unwelcoming campus cultures that affect students who fall outside of a certain ideal that they may wish to uphold (Mobley & Hall, 2020). The aforementioned has greatly affected the experiences of queer and trans HBCU students. While HBCUs have wrestled with how to best fashion and enact environments that are inclusive of LGBTQ communities, there are several HBCU communities that *have* made tremendous strides.

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Today, there are 6 HBCUs that have queer and trans* resource centers dedicated to providing support, resources, and advocacy for these student populations—Bowie State University (MD; 2012); North Carolina Central University (NC; 2014); Fayetteville State University (NC; 2015); The University of the District of Columbia (DC; 2018); Prairie View A&M University (TX; 2019); and North Carolina A&T University (NC; 2020). Further, *all* of the traditional single-sex HBCUs—Bennett College, Spelman College, and Morehouse College have trans* student admissions policies. Additionally, 21% of HBCUs in 2013 had recognized LGBTQIA+ organizations (Gasman, 2013). As of 2019, that percentage increased to 32% (34 HBCUs), which is progress in the right direction (Mobley et al., 2019). There are also a number of HBCUs that have begun instituting gender-inclusive interventions on their campuses. Of note, Virginia State University (V.A.) is the first HBCU in Virginia to implement gender-inclusive restrooms on their campus. Also, North Carolina A&T (N.C.) intentionally designed their new student center that opened in 2018 to include gender-inclusive restrooms.

HBCU communities are also offering programming and thoughtful interventions that purposefully underscore vital queer and trans matters. For instance, Johnson C. Smith University (N.C.) has engaged community partnerships to encourage queer and trans inclusion, not only on their campus but in their broader local community. Over the past five years, the university's student affairs division has regularly sponsored and hosted events for Charlotte, NC Black Pride, and in 2019 they hosted their "kick-off" public forum that addressed topics pertinent to Charlotte's Black queer and trans communities. Community partnerships are key relationships that HBCUs should forge to ensure the viability and perpetuity of centering queer and trans* communities on their campuses (Mobley & Hall, 2020; Mobley & Johnson, 2015). Also of note, Dillard University (L.A.) sponsored a suite of programs during their "Sex Week," with the goal of raising awareness and encouraging dialogue on not only sexual health but **sexuality** and **gender identity** as well. Another positive vanguard among HBCU communities has been "The Lavender Fund" at Howard University (D.C.). "The Lavender Fund" is a multifaceted programming intervention that aims to mobilize Howard's queer and trans alumni through fundraising while also supporting their LGBTQ+ students through scholarships and programmatic events. Their goal unabashedly seeks to challenge and confront trans and homophobia at Howard in the form of research and implementing services for their queer and trans students. To date, Howard is the first and only HBCU to actively engage its queer alumni in this manner. Ultimately, all of the aforementioned examples illustrate how HBCUs are working to ensure

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that their LGBTQ+ constituents can feel affirmed and included in their broader campus landscapes.

5 Conclusion

HBCUs strongly center their missions that are beholden to Black liberation and have produced stellar results. Notwithstanding, there have been various HBCU stakeholders who have been underserved due to their diverse queer identities. What is encouraging is that there have been tremendous results for HBCU LGBTQ+ stakeholders who have had complicated relationships with their respective HBCU contexts. Moving forward, if HBCUs continue to atone and actively move forward with strategies surrounding queer and trans inclusion, these initiatives would yield tremendous results.

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CHAPTER 54

HIV/AIDS in the United States

J. Michael Denton

1 Definitions

Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) leads to the destruction of the human immune system. There are three stages to HIV (Center for Disease Control [CDC], 2021a). Stage 1 is acute HIV infection; stage 2 is chronic HIV infection. If HIV infection goes untreated, it leads to stage 3, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS, CDC, 2021a). Without treatment, the life span of individuals with AIDS is limited to a few years (CDC, 2021a). Prior to the invention of antiretroviral therapy (ART), having HIV often proved fatal. With access to ART, living with HIV can stay at stage 2, a manageable, chronic disease. However, this medicine is costly and often unaffordable without financial assistance. Some ART regimes create side effects that can interfere with physical, psychological, or cognitive functioning (Jungwirth, 2015; The Body, 2018). Currently, no cure for HIV exists, but with consistent access and adherence to ART, the lifespan of people living with HIV does not significantly differ from the lifespan of people without HIV (McLaughlin & Schafer, 2018).

2 Transmission and Prevention

HIV is not transmitted easily. HIV transmission happens only through perinatal transmission from mother to infant, transmission into the bloodstream (e.g., via transfusion or a contaminated syringe), or through some sexual acts with a person with HIV (Fan et al., 2011). Different sexual practices carry different risks of transmission, provided one partner is HIV positive. The riskiest practice is when "HIV-infected blood, semen, or cervical/vaginal secretions from an infected person come in immediate and direct contact with the bloodstream or mucous membranes of another person" (Fan et al., 2011, p. 130). The risk of HIV transmission lessens in the absence of these elements, through the proper use of latex barriers (i.e., condoms, dental dams), and other "chemical or physiological factors (e.g., the acidity of the mouth)" (Fan et al., 2011,

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p. 131). Certain sexual practices, therefore, carry little to no chance of transmitting HIV.

The risk of transmission is also greatly reduced if the HIV-positive person has an undetectable viral load. Having an undetectable viral load means that the amount of HIV in the bloodstream to less than 200 copies per milliliter of blood (CDC, 2021b), making the virus undetectable in tests. Furthermore, HIV-negative people can reduce their risk of acquiring HIV using pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) daily. Post-exposure prophylaxis (PEP) is available to reduce the chance of HIV seroconversion, "the detectable presence of HIV antibodies in the blood" (Office of AIDS Research, 2021, p. 158) for individuals who had a high-risk exposure to HIV.

3 Prevalence

Globally, in 2020, 37.6 million people were living with HIV (UNAIDS, 2021). Of those, 1.7 million were 14 years old or younger (UNAIDS, 2021). Deaths and new infections declined, but still, 1.5 million people became infected with HIV in 2020 (UNAIDS, 2021). The United States had 1.2 million people living with HIV in 2018, of whom more than 25,000 are between the ages of 13–24, and 18,000 are between the ages of 20–24 (CDC, 2020c). Young people aged 13–24 made up 21% of all new HIV diagnoses in 2018, a decrease of 10% from 2010 (CDC, 2020e). In the 13–24 age range, most diagnoses of HIV infection are in the 20–24 age range (CDC, 2020e). However, insufficient information exists to accurately estimate how many students enrolled in institutions of education are HIV positive. Most of the children under the age of 13 who are diagnosed with HIV acquired it through perinatal transmission (CDC, 2020b); however, the data on HIV in persons under 13 is limited.

In the United States, men who have sexual contact with other men are most at risk for acquiring HIV (CDC, 2020e). In 2018, an estimated 740,400 gay and bisexual men were living with HIV (CDC, 2020e). Black/African American people are disproportionately impacted by HIV, as are Hispanic/Latinx/a/o people, although at about half the rate of Black people (CDC, 2020b). Men of any race are more likely to be HIV positive than women. Limited data are available about transgender people living with HIV, although trans women assigned male at birth tend to be most at risk (CDC, 2020c). Numerous social conditions such as poverty and other socioeconomic disparities, lack of educational access, and inequities in level of care and health insurance create disparities in HIV risk (CDC, 2020a).

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4 HIV/AIDS as Socio-Political Epidemic

HIV transmission happens through sexual and non-sexual routes and between people regardless of sexual or **gender identity**. For example, cisgender heterosexuals transmit HIV in every country and are responsible for most HIV transmission in most of the world. Despite this, in the United States, homophobic discourses connect HIV/AIDS to gay men.

Part of the reason for this association between HIV/AIDS and gay men lies in the initial reporting about the virus. In July 1981, *The New York Times* first reported HIV/AIDS, describing it as a 'homosexual cancer' (Bronski, 2011). Later, the disease was named Gay-Related Immune Deficiency (GRID) before being classified as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in 1982 (Treichler, 1999). These initial designations successfully linked AIDS to gay men in the minds of politicians, anti-LGBTQ+ rights activists, and the public consciousness. This association persists despite clear evidence that transmission routes are not connected to **sexual identity**. The AIDS epidemic impacted the trajectory of many aspects of gay and LGBTQ+ life, including decimating a generation of queer people, including many gay men. AIDS changed queer liberation politics (D'Emilio, 1992; Eggan, 2008), queer life and community (Rubin, 1997), and the experiences of HIV-positive and negative gay men (Odets, 2019)). The homophobic framing of HIV/AIDS as a gay man's disease serves to obscure the threat HIV poses to women and transgender people and to heterosexual Black and Latinx/a/o people. Accordingly, too, the history of cisgender women and transgender AIDS activists is less well-documented, despite being important members of these movements (Carroll, 2015). **AIDS activism** brought lesbians and gay men together politically more than they had previously been (Gould, 2009). Additionally, lesbians, straight women, and trans activists provided training and strategies to AIDS activists and worked with AIDS activists on issues important for HIV-positive people and all women (Schulman, 2021). AIDS activism also provided opportunities for transgender issues and activism to resurge and further emerge (Stryker, 2017). These erasures and homophobic, transphobic, sexist, and racist framings continue, emphasizing at-risk groups and individual responsibility over governmental and other institutional structures, policies, and laws that result in disparities of risk, prevention, and treatment (Gossett & Hayward, 2020). HIV/AIDS continues to be a highly stigmatized condition (Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, 2020; Lambda Legal, 2010, 2021; Pitasi et al., 2018). Manifestations of HIV/AIDS stigma include HIV transmission being criminalized in 37 states (The Center for HIV Law & Policy, 2020), harsher penalties and over-prosecution for HIV positive people

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(Lambda Legal, 2010), workplace and housing discrimination (Lambda Legal, 2021), poorer quality of health care for HIV positive people (Geter et al., 2018), and negative psychological and physical health outcomes for HIV positive people (Turan et al., 2017).

5 Education and HIV

The number of students living with HIV and enrolled in K-12 or postsecondary education is unclear. Regardless of how many HIV-positive students there are, the number is likely to increase given the incidence rate of HIV for young people and children infected prenatally (CDC, 2020b, 2020c, 2020d). According to Kann et al. (2012), 46% of high school students have sexual intercourse, putting them at risk for HIV. Small-scale studies in certain geographic regions of the U.S. show increases in HIV infection among college students (Chan et al., 2012; Hightow et al., 2005).

Required education about HIV and other sexually transmitted infections has seen significant reductions nationally in grades 6–12 (Kann et al., 2012). An analysis of a national survey on high school students' self-reported sexual activity, however, did show a high prevalence of HIV education among the sample (Demissie et al., 2019). Still, a national survey indicated misinformation about HIV transmission is still prevalent among young adults age 18–36 (Merck, 2021).

HIV stigma likely impacts educational experiences. An overview of college student, faculty, and staff attitudes showed differing levels of acceptance for HIV-positive people in U.S. college environments (Denton, 2014). Less information is available for U.S. K-12 environments about HIV-positive students and educators, but at least one study sample suggests adolescents may hold more stigmatizing views about HIV than adults (Pitasi et al., 2018). The Merck (2021) survey indicated stigmatizing beliefs around HIV-positive people still exist among many young adults.

Stigmatizing views about HIV contribute to the way educational leaders and educators respond to the presence of HIV-positive students. In 1984, Ryan White was banned from school after acquiring HIV through a blood transfusion. Discrimination against students still occurs. In 2013, the Pea Ridge School District in Arkansas demanded three students provide certification they were HIV negative before allowing them to attend public school in a manner violating the Americans with Disabilities Act. Still, some states have disclosure laws requiring public school children's HIV-positive status to be disclosed. Such disclosures can lead to taunting and **bullying** (Tupman et al., 2017). Several lawsuits alleging discrimination against HIV-positive college students were

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settled out of court or in favor of the plaintiffs (Kinchen, 2015; Satterfield, 2017; Stevens, 2014).

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CHAPTER 55

Homonationalism

Kody Muncaster

1 Conceptualizing Homonationalism

Homonationalism describes the use of queer political gains by states to enhance their reputation as progressive nations. These gains are used to justify imperialism, racism, and colonialism. Jasbir Puar (2007) coined the term homonationalism in her book *Terrorist assemblages: Homonationalism in queer times*, where she traced the use of queer legal equalities such as marriage equality and hate crime legislation as a barometer for measuring a nation's modernity. Puar combined the terms '**homonormative**' and 'nationalism,' the promotion of one nation's interests to the exclusion of others, to understand how legal achievements benefiting queer people have been used to determine whether a nation is capable of self-sovereignty. Puar used legal achievements as examples to understand how queer rights have been co-oped for nationalist purposes. The subtitle of her book emphasizes the temporality of homonationalism; it is a mechanism of power that operates in contemporary times by co-opting queer rights activism and naming queer legal equalities as a new measure for a state's progressiveness (Puar, 2007). Puar's focus was not primarily to condemn queer legal equalities but rather to examine the international political deployment of these equalities.

Puar's conceptualization of homonationalism has been so widely misunderstood that she authored *Rethinking Homonationalism* (2013) as a corrective. Homonationalism is not a way of discerning 'good' queers from 'bad' queers, nor is it an accusation or a queer politic that individuals and groups can opt-out of (Puar, 2013). Homonationalism constructs racialized and non-Christian people, in particular, Muslim and Sikh people, as always and only homophobic and always and only heterosexual. At the same time, homonationalism is not a synonym for gay racism (Puar, 2013). Puar explains that homonationalism is a complex interplay of "geopolitical and historical forces, neoliberal interests in capitalist accumulation both cultural and material, biopolitical state practices of population control, and affective investments in discourses of freedom, liberation, and rights" (Puar, 2013, p. 337).

Puar states, "like modernity, homonationalism can be resisted and resignified, but not necessarily opted out of: [as] we are all produced as subjects through it,

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even if we are against it" (Puar, 2017, p. 230); however, while homonationalism describes a form of power rather than a political stance, there are mechanisms of homonationalism that can be challenged through activism. In 2017, Puar released an expanded edition of *Terrorist Assemblages* to celebrate the book's tenth anniversary, with a postscript entitled: Homonationalism in Trump Times, where she discusses Donald Trump's use of perceived homophobia to justify the Muslim ban. Pinkwashing, a term that describes the use of queer rights to distract from oppression and violence, is a tenet of homonationalism that relies on the construction of racialized people as always and only homophobic (Puar, 2017). Pinkwashing security measures, such as Trump's racist use of perceived Muslim homophobia as a means of achieving the so-called "securitization" of the United States, can be actively resisted.

2 Emerging Areas in Critiquing Homonationalism

Scott Morgensen (2010) expanded Puar's conceptualization of homonationalism through a discussion of 'settler homonationalism' to emphasize the role of settler colonialism and Indigenous genocide over time. Morgensen argued that a core part of U.S. sexual colonialism was the condemnation of sexual and gender diversity among Indigenous people as primitive and barbaric. Morgensen (2010) argues that "by the mid-twentieth century U.S. sexual minority movements had formed on normatively white and national terms, which could include reversing the discourses marking them as primitive and embracing a primitive or specifically Native sexual nature" (p. 106). They argue that this turn naturalizes settler colonialism and sexual colonialism through the attempted erasure of Indigenous sexualities. Cameron Greensmith and Sulaimon Giwa (2013) used Morgensen's conceptualization of settler homonationalism in their work on the experiences of Two-Spirit Indigenous people at Pride Toronto. They examine settler homonationalism in Pride Toronto's erasure of Indigenous activism, the eroticization of indigeneity. In the introduction to their anthology, *Canadian Homonationalisms and the Politics of Belonging* (2015), Suzanne Lenon and OmiSoore H. Dryden used Morgensen's (2010) settler homonationalism to argue that queer politics are used to naturalize the violent settler-colonialism of the Canadian nation-state through the development of Canadian sexual citizenship, an issue they conceptualize as the "queerly Canadian" (Lenon & Dryden, 2015, p. 7). In addition to these works examining homonationalism in particular contexts, there has also been research discussing trans people in the context of homonationalism.

The collusion between **transnormativity** and nationalism has been undertheorized compared to the burgeoning work on homonationalism. Puar (2017)

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coined the term trans(homo)nationalism in her book *The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability* to describe the use of a transnormative (passing, binary, respectable trans person) subject and trans legal equalities such as **anti-discrimination laws**, as a barometer for a state's progressiveness. Puar explains that "trans(homo)nationalism is…capacitated, even driven, not only by the abjection of bodies unable to meet these proprietary racial and gendered mandates of bodily comportment but also by the concomitant marking of those abjected bodies as debilitated" (Puar, 2017, p. 35). Puar's argument emphasizes how trans(homo)nationalism operates through the production of an assimilable, white, transnormative, neoliberal subject. Puar states that the production of transnormative whiteness is mirrored by the "biopolitical failures" (Puar, 2017, p. 34) of the construction of racialized trans people as being both inconceivable and also having their value extracted for the aims of white trans activism.

3 Homonationalism in Sex Education

Homonationalism is relevant for educators in areas such as sex education. Eva Reimers (2017) explored homonationalism in the context of teacher education. Reimers examined how a Swedish teacher education program reinforced notions of homonormativity and racism through, for example, its erroneous construction of familial homophobic as existing primarily in migrant families. Similarly, Annabel de Koning (2016) examined homonationalism in the Netherlands' Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science's attainment goals. De Koning argued that discourse on the implementation of the Dutch attainment goals constructed Dutch identity as being multicultural and sexually diverse while maintaining an Islamophobic use of Muslim students as examples of hurdles to sexually diverse pedagogy. They are not arguing that sexual diversity should not be in school curricula; rather, they are examining how homonationalism operates in the discourse on the implementation of Dutch attainment goals. While these examples focus on sex education, the value of homonationalism as a pedagogical tool is not limited to this area.

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CHAPTER 56

Homonormativity

Matthew Archer

1 Introduction

Society's expectations for **heteronormative** behavior are powerful, and when heteronormative and **gender-binary**-centric ideals and values are used to appraise LGBTQ+ existence—or absorbed as 'normal' and privileged by dominant LGBTQ+ groups or individuals—they are referred to as *homonormative* (Duggan, 2003; Stryker, 2008).

Homonormativity refers to an idealized performance of queerness that is congruent with as many privileged **cisheterosexual** norms as possible and which offers the least challenge to dominant narratives. The term is often leveled as critique at members of the LGBTQ+ community who may benefit from this dominant privilege and are complacent or complicit in the othering of LGBTQ+ people who do not fit such an "ideal" (Stryker, 2008); though it is also used as a critique of cisheterosexual imaginings of queer lives, such as when perpetuated through capitalist means (like advertising), or through policies aimed only at (often white) cisgender gay and lesbian people –the closest heteronormative imagined ideals (Chasin, 2003; Duggan, 2003; Stryker, 2008).

Homonormativity, and thus this imaginary LGBTQ+ ideal, often centers whiteness, masculinity (Nast, 2003), upper or middle-class status (Chasin, 2003; Duggan, 2003), cisgender, and binary-adherent gender identity and presentations (Stryker, 2008), and able-bodiedness (Kafer, 2013). Homonormativity also polices what is appropriate relationally, preferring monogamous partnering (Gahran, 2017), a binary and genital-related understanding of attraction (bi and pan-erasure) (Halberstam, 1998; Yoshino, 2000), pro-creative sex, and hypersexuality (Przybylo, 2011), the seeking of marriage, and the creation of financially inter-dependent relationships (Duggan, 2003)—all items that are congruent with and reaffirming of the dominance of cisheterosexual norms.

2 Origins

Popular usage of the term "homonormativity" is typically attributed to scholar Lisa Duggan through her book *The Twilight of Equality* and the contained

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discourse on LGBTQ+ intercommunity politics (2003). However, Susan Stryker noted that grassroots trans advocates in San Francisco were using the term during the 1990s to describe both frictions and "common cause" seeking with "nontransgender gays, lesbians, and bisexuals who [also] contested heterosexist privilege." (Stryker, 2008, p. 146). Of this, she wrote:

> We [trans people] needed to name the ways that homosexuality, as a sexual orientation category based on constructions of gender it shared with the dominant culture, sometimes had more in common with the straight world than it did with us. (Stryker, 2008, p. 146)

Stryker names the term "suitable for use where homosexual community norms marginalize[d] other kinds of sex/gender/sexuality difference" (2008, p. 147). Linguistically rooted with heteronormativity (Warner, 1993), homonormativity's conceptual underpinning draws deeply from Gayle Rubin's (2011) discussions of a privileged, value-attributed, and hierarchical ranking of sexual activity; wherein the appearance of non-procreative or gender-transgressive acts are labeled abnormal, and such abnormality, particularly sexually, is punished by society (Foucault, 1990, 1995; Puar 2007). Even for those who transgress societal expectations through queerness, the appearance of **heteronormativity** is rewarded—or at least punished less. Because fear regarding one's perceived sexuality or gender identity is very real, and "coming out" or simply presenting differently can result in homelessness, job loss, a loss of familial or friendship support, violence, or even death (Meyer, 2015). The presentation of "normal" is not an innate and unconscious performance for many, but something done as a matter of survival. This second foundation of homonormativity (that of presentation and palatability to the dominant) is heavily informed by Judith Butler's (1990) notion of **performativity**, which states that gender ideals are something that we 'do' or 'perform' for society as an audience. Either consciously or unconsciously, for safety or for material benefit, individuals and groups may perform to meet the structural pressures imposed by dominant societal ideals. In present society, that means that there is benefit attached to appearing and acting heterosexual (Rich, 1980), appearing and acting in line with binary gender expectations of masculinity and femininity (Nicolazzo, 2017), and actively engaging with ideas of procreative or recreational sex culture (Emens, 2014). Other ideas for what are "acceptable" performances also exist, such as age-appropriateness, ability-status, and timeframes for achievement milestones (such as marriage or graduation) (Gahran, 2017; Kafer, 2013).

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3 Connections to Capitalism

Participation in capitalist systems has been noted as a technique for social control of minoritized groups, and this concept has deep connections to homonormativity. When defining "the new homonormativity," Lisa Duggan called the term "a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them, while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption" (Duggan, 2003, p. 50). Author Alexandra Chasin (2003) similarly stated that:

> Advertising to gay men and lesbians has often promised that full inclusion in the national community of Americans is available through personal consumption. In other words, consumption has been held out as a route to political and social enfranchisement. (p. 101)

Chasin and Duggan's use of the word 'consumption' refers to the literal buying of a specifically American ideal: the ideal images of queerness which are "sold" to the LGBTQ+ community in advertising, through Pride festivals and nationalist pride, through the body and appearance policing, and through the idea of "equality"—an equality defined specifically through the terms of desiring a nuclear family and a marriage structure, and the financial expenditures and ideal class statuses involved. While not evil or unworthy of aspiration, non-involvement in the U.S. two-party (i.e., married) tax system has very real ramifications for livelihood (Chasin, 2003; Duggan, 2003). Tax documents and marriage status are tied to several benefits needed by many for survival and societal navigation: employment and healthcare, including spousal benefits and spousal job placement (Charlton et al., 2018), affordable housing, financial assistance such as school financial aid predicated on family structure and tax reporting (Garvey, 2020); and credit scores are intricately tied to ideas of two-party marriage.

This buy-in process of queer capitalism includes the adoption of other dominance-serving values to reach Chasin's (2003) conversations of "social" enfranchisement –meaning a sense of belonging to a cohesive group of similar people. This sentiment includes strong nationalist and identity-oriented pride (as an advertising scheme and unifying factor) and the "tendency to collapse American [the 'American dream' or nuclear family] with white" (p. 126). Jasbir Puar (2006, 2007) pointed to these realizations, marking United States homonormativity as a construction rooted in the exploitation of race narratives and the transferring of otherness to different (less white, ostensibly

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poorer, and as such, less "American") groups. Manipulating these multiple narratives of "pride" (called "homonationalism") is another place of homonormative (and thus heteronormative) reinforcement and lends to sentiments of race and other exclusion in queer space (Puar, 2006, 2007).

4 Adverse Effects on LGBTQ+ Peoples and Society

As noted by Puar (2006), US homonormativity and **homonationalism** are informed by a nationalist sense of "us" versus "them." By creating an ideal (heteronormativity), and an ideal way to be LGBTQ+ (homonormativity), diverse lives cannot be realized by either **queer** or cisheteronormative society. A platform of oppression has been created: not just of exclusion, but of active antagonization. Such antagonization exists between LGBTQ+ acronym members, as well as externally. As author Doug Meyer (2015) puts it: "In LGBT communities, lines have increasingly been drawn between mainstream lesbians and gay men…this divide…'homonormativity'…has been viewed as one between the 'good gay' and the 'bad queer'" (p. 163).

Homonormativity seeks assimilation, and anything outside the boundaries of what can be integrated to reinforce the normal-ness of heteronormativity faces homogenization or shunning (Nast, 2003). Bisexual people are essentially reduced to their presentations: if in a same-gender relationship, they are read as gay, and if in an opposite-gender relationship, they are assumed heterosexual, thus suffering from bi-erasure (Yoshino, 2000). **Asexual** people and aromantic people are similarly reduced to their presentations; their identity and belongingness refuted if in a partnership, and their realities questioned because a lack of sexual or relational activity does not reinforce normativity (Przybylo, 2011). Homonormativity also seeks to police physical appearance, privileging some LGBTQ+ presentations over others using anti-fat, anti-trans, anti-femme, or racist discourse. (Han, 2008). LGBTQ+ individuals that refuse to be homogenized or resist integration into dominant ideals may question their belonging in queer communities (or receive pushback) when trying to assert agentic identities.

Trans lives (and/or the experiences of those who do not identify on a gender binary) are also overwritten—or capitalized upon. Transgender transitions and presentations which fit heteronormative ideals of gendered beauty are lauded (or fetishized), and experiences outside what can be easily assimilated are excluded (Stryker, 2008). Those who do not conform to binary notions of gender may find themselves actively excluded from binary spaces (such as gay and lesbian clubs or groups). In gendered gay and lesbian spaces, homonormativity

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(and thus heteronormativity) is reasserted, as heteronormative ideas of gender "rel[y] upon a belief in the two territories of male and female, divided by a flesh border and crossed by surgery and endocrinology" (Halberstam, 1998).

5 Conclusion

The result of homonormative narratives is the policing of access to queer spaces and queer identity and a societal ascription to the idea that there is one true, correct way to be LGBTQ+: a way that re-affirms heterosexuality's dominance. Unfortunately, homonormativity adopts the discussed pieces of what heteronormativity finds acceptable and reaffirms these pieces through perpetuation from within the LGBTQ+ groups. Monolithic ideals of what "gay" and "queer" need to look like to achieve acceptance are harmful to all LGBTQ+ people, including those who may benefit from homonormativity. Constraining belonging and community acceptance to specific identity acts, presentations, or ideas of congruence with cisheteronormative value overwrites the breadth and plurality of lived queer lives—and serves to reinforce the hegemonic aspects of heteronormative dominance.

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CHAPTER 57

Hookup Culture

Nicholas Francis Havey

1 Overview

The U.S. system of higher education has long been considered a space for reinterpreting social norms and, in some cases, transcending them (Thelin, 2011). Traditional and markedly **heteronormative** scripts surrounding sex and relationships, particularly the idea that sex should only occur within the institution of heterosexual marriage and that any sexual activity outside of marriage is amoral, have been an easy target for reinterpretation and transformation on college campuses. Enter hookup culture. While previous centuries centered heterosexist, sexist, and patriarchal norms, hookup culture offers a contemporary response to heteronormative histories and traditions by prioritizing autonomy, exploration, and pleasure.

Hookup culture is evident in much of the popular culture documenting higher education (think *Animal House*, *Van Wilder*, any movie that features a sorority or a fraternity) and can be roundly defined as a casual, no-strings-attached sexual ecosystem that prioritizes minimal communication and getting to the point—sex (Freitas, 2018; Grigoriadis, 2017). These films, and to a larger extent subsequent heteronormative conceptualizations of hookup culture, also serve to recenter cisgender, heterosexual **sexuality** and often situate consent as a marginal concern of characters, which has provided ample ammunition for those critical of hookup culture (Freitas, 2018). These critics have regularly described hookup culture as emphasizing the removal of courtship and the chase in favor of expedient sexual interactions and immediate gratification (Freitas, 2018; Grigoriadis, 2017). These critiques also regularly omit the constructive, liberatory, and empowering aspects of hookup culture, particularly for queer people (Harper et al., 2009; Lamont et al., 2018; Miller, 2017; Sedgwick, 2015; White Hughto et al., 2017). Rejecting more traditional cultural scripts that tell people not to have sex, hookup culture advocates for sex. In contrast to perspectives on hookup culture that highlight the autonomy and agency it can offer participants, some describe an almost coercive element to hookup culture that mandates participation and marks anyone choosing not to pursue sex and sexual encounters as rude, disinterested, or on the social margins (Freitas, 2018; Grigoriadis, 2017).

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These sort of patriarchal, cisgender, and heteronormative conceptualizations of hookup culture, however, flatten the reality that hookup culture includes more participants than the cisgender, heterosexual men and women highlighted on film. A combination of this framing and the articulation of this coercive nature also lend themselves to the maintenance of a hierarchical social structure that privileges, at its highest rungs, white heterosexual cisgender men. While queer people and people of Color participate alongside their white, cishet peers, socially valued beauty standards, and thus standards of attraction, are often Eurocentric in nature and are founded and policed in ways that center whiteness (Brown et al., 2005). This is in part due to the composite structure of hookup culture and the social and cultural environments it relies upon, such as Greek systems, bars, and college campuses, all of which inherently privilege white heterosexual cisgender men.

Aubrey and Smith (2013) argue that hookup culture is comprised of five main components: (1) minimized emotional commitment, (2) maximized fun or pleasure, (3) the pursuit of socially defined status driven by sexual prowess and activity (though this, again, is gendered), (4) autonomy and assertion of control over one's sexuality, and (5) a desire to embody sexual freedom. Hookup culture is also regularly associated with drinking and campus social environments that promote it (off-campus parties, the Greek system, etc.), and some researchers have found that students who report having hookups simultaneously report drinking before and during their experience (Aubrey & Smith, 2013). The centrality of alcohol in some conceptualizations of hookup culture raises simultaneous concerns about consent and the reality that hookups happen outside the readily observable environments of bars and parties. For queer people and queer youth who may not actively exist in these traditional spaces, apps like Grindr, Scruff, Jack'd, and Tinder can facilitate interactions that align with Aubrey and Smith's (2013) five components of hookup culture, while also functioning as empowering and liberatory spaces (White Hughto et al., 2017). Not all hookups and not all hookup cultures are alike.

The expectations defined by the more limited definitions of hookup culture (for instance, within Freitas, 2018), then, emphasize expediting social and romantic relationships to prioritize physical encounters, ignoring the reality that hookups can be more than pre-romantic. What exactly defines a hookup, and thus participation in hookup culture, is, however, amorphous and shifting (Monto & Carey, 2014). While most of the literature on hookup culture agrees that hookups tend to be focused on pleasure and achieving orgasm (Currier, 2013; Freitas, 2018; Monto & Carey, 2014), there is little consensus on what acts define a hookup. Hookups can range from kissing (colloquially: making out), oral sex, digital intercourse (fingering), and full, penetrative intercourse,

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though some students participating in hookup culture may exaggerate and play up the strategic ambiguity (Currier, 2013) of hookups to insulate their social status, mask their sexual identity (e.g., pretending to have sex with women as a gay man), and, in some cases, perform masculinity to form and maintain relationships. More heteronormative conceptualizations of hookup culture largely reinforce existing social norms (patriarchy, **heterosexism**, **heterogenderism**, **hegemonic masculinity**) and may serve to flatten the identities and experiences of their participants. Recognizing a queer(er) hookup culture, however, provides some fluidity. This fluidity offers participants, and queer participants specifically, ample space to engage in sexual practices that feel authentic to their identities and can even result in community building, relationships, and greater understandings of one's sexual identity (White Hughto et al., 2017).

2 Critiques & Future Directions

One of the primary queer critiques of more heteronormatively defined hookup culture is that the way it is discussed is markedly heteronormative, gendered, and deleterious of the experiences of queer participants of hookup culture (Lamont et al., 2018; Pham, 2017). This may be exacerbated by parallel discussions of hookup culture that articulate a need for improved sex education (Freitas, 2018; Grigoriadis, 2017) based in heterosexist understandings of students' sex-lives and studies that center, to the point of active exclusion, heterosexual and cisgender students (see Havey, 2020). Queer people obviously also participate in hookup culture, but flattening their participation to the point of hypersexualization and pathologizing (e.g., focusing on HIV risk, rather than the positive community aspects of engaging in casual sex; White Hughto et al., 2017) only serves to reinforce harmful characterizations of queer people. While sex education in the United States remains extremely and dangerously heteronormative, incomplete, and, in some places, entirely absent or just wildly inaccurate, a deficit approach to interpreting hookup culture as a moral and logistical failing of contemporary students (the argument being that they are not educated towards forming and maintaining healthy relationships and thus have to resort to participation in hookup culture), while simultaneously ignoring the reality that doing so is unproductive and that participation in hookup culture can be empowering. Future investigation into hookup culture and students' sex lives in general should take this deficit framing into consideration and take the lead of existing scholarship that rejects normative notions of sexuality and understands hookup culture as offering agency through social choice (Pham, 2017; White Hughto et al., 2018). Without this counter to heteronormative thinking around hookup culture, understandings of campus sexual

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environments and the relationships, community building, and education that are possible within them may remain incomplete and underproductive.

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CHAPTER 58

Identity Politics

Jaime S. Miller

The term 'identity politics' is understood to be the comprehensive political agenda, actions, and activism that members of identity-based groups organize and mobilize to address the injustices people face through their lived experiences because of hegemonic structures, systems, and practices. Considered a "distinct political practice" (Bernstein, 2005, p. 48), identity politics is difficult to define because it can be "understood in symbolic, cultural, or psychological terms" (Bernstein, 2005, p. 49). Identity politics focuses on mobilization and political action (Bernstein, 2002, 2005; Elpes, 2020) and can foster spaces of identity-based community and support (Brown-Saracino, 2021; Carastathis, 2013; Crenshaw, 1991; "Disability Culture," 2021). For example, Crenshaw (1991) offers that "identity-based politics has been a source of strength, community, and intellectual development" (p. 1242).

A premise of identity politics is the power-based connection between identity and the political, in the context of people who hold marginalized identities that are oppressed by structures and systems (Heyes, 2012). Specifically, identity politics has been used to name "political views and activities based on shared injustices" ("Disability Culture," 2021, "Recognizing Multiple Identities" section). Coalitions (see Carastathis, 2013) of people have mobilized to affect change and disrupt hegemonic systems as part of an identity-based agenda in educational settings and beyond. The Combahee River Collective, a group of Black feminists, offer in their 1977 statement that "focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics" ("What We Believe" section). The practice of focusing on identity to activate a political agenda can be exemplified in social movements. Examples of movements stemming from identity politics include, but are not limited to, the second-wave feminist, Black Civil Rights, and LGBTQ+ liberation movements (Brodkin, 2018; as summarized by Heyes, 2012) as well as the Disability Rights movement (see "Disability Culture," 2021), and Indigenous Peoples movements (see Lupien, 2020). In these examples of historical movements, coalitions of people organized and mobilized around a specific identity area to influence political change to address legal and/also social injustices.

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1 The Dilemma of Essentialism

In the context of identity politics, essentialism is the process of focusing on a single identity and excluding other identities. Essentializing people to a single identity group can make invisible other identities that shape the experiences of people (Harris, 1990). By centering a single identity in a political movement, identity politics can reproduce discrimination (Crenshaw, 1991; Giroux, 1993; Harris, 1990). If informed by essentialist perspectives, identity-based groups can be sites of ableism, homophobia, racism, sexism, and xenophobia. For example, LGBTQ+ identity politics can center the experiences of white, cisgender, straight, able-bodied men in political agendas and activism because of hegemonic systems that produce, and reproduce, oppression. Recognizing this, the threat of essentialism cannot be understated (Bernstein, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991; Harris, 1990). Overall, the lived experiences of people are incongruent with essentialist perspectives that may inform identity-based political agendas. This paradox is exemplified when Crenshaw (1991) stated that "although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they seldom do in feminist and antiracist practices" (p. 1242).

2 Mitigating Essentialism with Intersectional Thinking

Carastathis (2013) emphasizes the necessity of applying intersectional thinking to the use of identity politics. Intersectional thinking (see Anzaldúa, 1987; Collins, 2009; Combahee River Collective, 1982; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Lorde, 1982) can address issues of essentialism (Berkhout & Richardson, 2020; Crenshaw, 1991; Elpes, 2020). Mainly, people's lived experiences can be seen fully when intersectional thinking is applied to the design of political agendas, activism, and identity-based communities. For example, Elpes (2020) highlights the opportunity for politics relating to queer and non-binary people to inform feminist coalitions. Specifically, in illustrating how trans* and non-binary people must be considered fully in a reimagined feminist identity politics, Elpes (2020) offers that "through nonbinary activism and a new intersectional feminist praxis, trans* politics thus helped to expand the political subject of feminism and our understanding of identity politics, sexual politics, and erotic justice" (p. 306).

3 Distorting, Blaming, and Weaponizing Identity Politics

Despite identity politics being an approach to building identity-based political agendas with a focus on mobilizing people toward liberatory legal and social

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changes, it can be blamed, distorted or/also weaponized. For example, identity politics is blamed as a reason the democratic party loses elections (Remnick, 2017) and is distorted as racist by political pundits (Carlson, 2019). The term 'identity politics' is manipulated by white supremacist groups and alt-right campaigners to affirm and normalize white identity politics (Gallaher, 2021). Efforts by these groups include claiming that dominant groups, specifically white people, have analogous discriminatory and oppressive experiences like historically marginalized groups of people. Then also, the efforts of alt-right groups to normalize white identity politics via mainstream outlets, particularly social media, are designed to advocate for race-based policies that maintain racist practices (Gallaher, 2021). Conservative talk show host, Tucker Carlson, distorts identity politics by calling it a "scam" (Carlson, 2019, para. 28) and a discriminatory practice against white men (Carlson, 2019). These tactics to weaponize identity politics are a misrepresentation that undermines the liberatory efforts of identity-based political agendas, community, and activism.

4 Identity Politics in Education

Identity politics' use in educational settings includes approaches to honor the connections between history and identity, address cultural racism, and problematize dominant histories taught in schools with a practice of representational pedagogy (Giroux, 1993). Addison (2007) offers ideas toward collective action in education that challenges heteronormative curriculum by queering identity via art education. While it has been criticized for reasons including **transphobia** among campaign leadership (Ennis, 2021), the *It Gets Better* campaign addresses school bullying with the incorporation of identity politics (Hudson, 2017). Related, Hawkins et al. (2019) applied an intersectional lens to criticize the *It Gets Better* anti-bullying campaign and to then advocate for inclusivity within the campaign. Finally, the misuse of identity policies to affirm oppressive practices in education is illustrated when "white students demand safe spaces and demand courses on white culture" (Gallaher, 2021, p. 249).

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CHAPTER 59

Inclusion

April M. Jones

1 Exploring Inclusion

Since the late 1980s, the conversation regarding "inclusion" has mainly focused on creating inclusive educational experiences for youth with disabilities (York, 1995). The concept marked an effort to stop exclusionary tactics that resulted in youth identified with disabilities being removed from conventional classrooms. The movement toward inclusive education gained traction in the years that followed, with various foci concerning integrated education. In the twenty-first century, inclusion has become an extension of diversity, and efforts have shifted from ensuring all individuals are allowed access to previously exclusionary spaces, to who is permitted to participate once granted entry (Stewart, 2017). Although substantial efforts have been made to add more diverse representations in education by way of inclusion, this movement does not address the systemic issue of inclusive access being controlled by the dominant perspectives that center, white cisheterosexual sensibilities and priorities (Slatin, 2019; Stewart, 2017). For LGBTQ+ students, inclusion in educational environments that have not undergone systemic transformation and significant culture shifts could result in harmful, marginalizing experiences. This chapter explores what inclusion means for LGTBQ+ youth, how the term's conceptualizations are potentially problematic, and some ideals and practices that could improve LGBTQ+ youths' educational experiences.

Because of years of broad application and discussion, inclusion has a range of meanings, and the actualization of "inclusive" environments varies depending on application and audience. In the 1990s, York (1995) found that inclusion meant that educational spaces presumably met all youths' needs. Presently, and with the growing interest in creating inclusive environments within and outside educational systems, inclusion has expanded to include marginalized groups previously "excluded for most of American history" (Slatin, 2019, p. 1), thereby affording opportunities for those marginalized groups to be represented and presumably involved in academic environments. Thus, inclusion became conceptualized as the addition of underrepresented populations into educational spaces, and through this inclusive practice, marginalized groups would ostensibly feel welcomed and have their educational needs met. With

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the goal of including individuals previously excluded, educators, administrators, and institutions are often prompted to, at least hypothetically, recruit, acknowledge, and value forms of diversity in hiring, course content, communities, and policies (University of Rhode Island, 2020). Inclusive teaching, for example, "strives to serve the needs of all students, regardless of background or identity," theoretically sustaining classrooms that welcome all (Yale Poorvu Center, 2020). As Rands (2009) noted, the appeal of inclusion may be intense, particularly for previously excluded individuals. Despite support for inclusion, it has also been critiqued. Appraisals of inclusionary efforts raise the question, how can the needs of "all" students be fulfilled if their needs are not thoroughly explored and the institution that perpetuated the exclusionary practices has yet to undergo systemic restructuring (Antoninis, 2020; Hansen et al., 2020)?

2 Inclusion and Queerness

Although inclusive ideology has been widely adopted in education, inclusion has been and continues to be problematic, specifically efforts to include queer identities and materials in academic settings. Inclusion's emphasis on incorporating queer identities into educational spaces does little to address exclusionary systemic barriers and historical practices. The mere insertion of LGTBQ+ youth and topics in classrooms equates to what Rands (2009) describes as an "Add-Queers-and-Stir" (p. 183) approach to creating an inclusive environment. Furthermore, inclusion in educational spaces ignores the reality that queer people have *always* been present (Kushamiro, 2001; Slatin, 2019) but excluded from the conversation because it challenged **cisheteronormative** patriarchal ideals. Ladson-Billings' (1998) writing highlights how inclusion of diverse individuals often becomes conflated with dominant narratives in an effort to affirm a homogeneous group. That is, inclusion is a method employed to celebrate the appearance of diverse spaces, without actually valuing and recognizing the individuals comprising the label/category (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), or respecting and incorporating the ideas posited by the non-dominant group (Stewart, 2017). Sears (2001) expressed a similar concern that the transition from exclusion to inclusion of marginalized groups did not rid the educational system of "assimilationist beliefs and essentialist assumptions" (p. XIII), which recognize difference only during designated holidays with no meaningful acknowledgments of queer individuals—including queer people of Color—present throughout U.S. history (Kushamiro, 2001). Expressly, the "inclusive" classrooms within which queer youth are expected to thrive continue to be informed by dominant narratives that work to sustain that status quo (Sears, 2001).

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The binary structure of inclusionary practices must be noted, as it maintains a dominant group/marginalized group dichotomy, such as cisheterosexual/LGBTQ+. As a result, the intersectional structures (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990; Kushamiro, 2001) affecting queer youth get lost in the cover of inclusion and multiculturalism. By neglecting to acknowledge the intersections of racism, transmisogyny, heterosexism, capitalism, ableism, along with other systems, the academic environment simultaneously becomes a place of inclusion and exclusion. Inclusion is thus a theoretical framework posited by systems whose methods are exclusionary in practice. Nelson (1999) wondered, "Which characters or characteristics will be included, which excluded?" (p. 376). And, who gets to decide? Such realizations force the question, is inclusion simply a synonym for tolerance [...] that is used by those in power to assuage years of systemic exclusion? If so, inclusionary practices presumably allow queer identities while concurrently "reinforcing [their] minority status" (Nelson, 1999, p. 377).

3 Inclusion, Power, & Privilege

Slatin (2019) noted that power and privilege are always at play when determining insiders from outsiders, and that the individuals in positions of power define the parameters of inclusion. It is through the dominant group's (re) naming that individuals are included or excluded. Outsiders are included in educational spaces, but only with the expressed hospitality, approval, and continued generosity of insiders. Additionally, the dominant population decides what identities are included at any given time. But, as **queer theory** posits, identities are fluid and dynamic (Kumashiro, 2001; Rands, 2009); thus, inclusion's reliance on the premise of fixed identities situates queerness to always be excluded or adapted to meet static inclusionary criteria (Rands, 2009).

Braman (2019) noted in a discussion on inclusion and diversity that including marginalized groups in a particular environment/space does not remove the barriers they will inevitably experience in this "inclusive" milieu. The failure of inclusive educational environments can be attributed to the lack of responsibility for those in power to "[understand]...how inequity is entrenched in [the] social experience" (Schmidt, 2015, p. 2) and efforts to address those inequities. Without shifts in the educational cultures that produce and affirm heterosexist and transmisogynist behaviors, systemic changes necessary to achieve true inclusion could result in prolonged negative, even traumatic, educational experiences for LGTBQ+ youth. The slow and incremental changes often prevalent in efforts to dismantle oppressive systems are steeped in

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exclusion, prejudice, power, and conformity to dominant narratives—another hinderance to inclusive education. Such system changes require establishing new standards for teacher education, curricular design and implementation, and challenging dominate narratives that demand queer youths assimilation to prevailing anti-LGBTQ+ norms.

4 Moving beyond Inclusion

The traditional model for creating inclusive educational spaces for marginalized groups has adverse effects and postulating that all students are on an equal playing field, regardless of difference, further perpetuates discriminatory practices (Hansen et al., 2020). So how should the tensions of inclusion and exclusion be addressed? By employing a transformative, justice-oriented paradigm (Stewart, 2017) which places the focus on diversity, equity, and access (e.g., culturally sustaining pedagogies, safe spaces, meaningful and consistent incorporation of LGBTQ+ materials). A social justice approach is necessary for efforts that seek to dismantle structures informed by cisheteronormative ideologies; thus, this transformative stance is vital in facilitating lasting change in the educational system. By challenging the existing system and advocating for school environments comprised of diverse individuals from various cultures and backgrounds, especially LGBTQ+ individuals, the educational system would be more representative of societal diversities. Conversations surrounding steps to diversify and retain multicultural LGTBQ+ student populations, and ensure those students are valued, engaged, and heard, are essential. E'Ula Green's Ted Talk (TEDxOU, 2019) generated an important question that educational institutions must answer: How should this environment change to make populations previously excluded feel a sense of belonging? Diversifying schooling is not an isolated solution; equity and access must coincide with diversity practices.

As Braman (2019) asserted, the ability to maintain a diverse environment is a cornerstone to diversity, and one mechanism for ensuring this occurs is to create accessible and equitable learning spaces. Equitable education means that learning opportunities and experiences are accessible to all students, and that systems are put in place to meet the needs of entire student populations—including explicit and intentional valuing of queer identifying youth—through identity affirming and multifaceted resources and supports. Brockenbrough (2016), McCready (2004), and Pennell (2016) all agree that the educational environment must be a space that respects the "transgressive cultural capital" (Pennell, 2016, p. 329) of LGTBQ+ youth and utilizes a

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supportive culturally informed, multimodal approach to pedagogical practices and extracurricular groups. While diversity, equity, and access are not perfect solutions to the problem of inclusion, these approaches are better alternatives to improve the educational experiences for LGTBQ+ youth than longstanding attempts at inclusion. Kushamiro (2001) reminds us that pushing against and transforming oppressive structures almost always results in the delineation of margins, rendering "full inclusion…impossible [but that] does not mean that change is not possible" (p. 18).

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CHAPTER 60

Intersectionality

Antonio Duran

Intersectionality has quickly gained attention across educational disciplines as scholars are increasingly interested in naming how overlapping systems of oppression shape practice, policy, and research (Barnett & Felten, 2016; Bhopal & Preston, 2012; Mayo & Blackburn, 2019; Mitchell et al., 2019). Its use by education scholars is unsurprising given how scholars in various academic disciplines have taken up intersectionality since it was first introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989, 1991). As a framework that examines how systems of power (e.g., racism, sexism, **heterosexism**, and trans oppression) overlap and constitute one another to shape the realities of those with minoritized identities, scholars have used intersectionality to make notable interventions into education and queer studies.

To begin, it is important to first review Crenshaw's (1989) operationalizing of intersectionality when she first coined the term. Her critical legal studies article, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Policies,* used intersectionality in order to complicate how the legal system had viewed the nature of discrimination. Using examples of court cases featuring claims of **antidiscrimination** by Black women, Crenshaw (1989) argued that individuals frequently made decisions using a single-axis view of oppression. That is, Black women could assert that they were discriminated against on the basis of race *or* gender, but not both simultaneously. Crenshaw (1989) demonstrated that this framing of oppression erased the ways that Black women experienced the compounding effects of both racism and sexism (among other forms of domination). Using the analogy of a traffic intersection, Crenshaw (1989) contended that the realities that Black women face could not be understood fully without comprehending that systems of oppression overlapped to create unique senses of marginalization. Her work showed how Black women's circumstances were rendered invisible in legal courts but also in feminist advocacy and racial movements.

Although Crenshaw (1991) largely discussed the intersections of race and gender in her writing, she was careful to acknowledge that her theorizing of Black women's experiences also included "factors such as class, sexuality, and age" (p. 1244). Crenshaw also went on to add further nuance to her analysis

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of intersectionality in her 1991 article, *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color*. In this piece, Crenshaw (1991) showcased how intersectionality manifests in three unique ways that all lead to the marginalization of Women of Color: structural, representational, and political. Structural intersectionality captures how policies and practices operate to disenfranchise Women of Color, failing to understand the barriers that Women of Color face to access opportunities and resources. Political intersectionality then describes how movements specific to social groups (e.g., women, People of Color) frequently fail to attend to the needs of those with multiple minoritized identities (e.g., Women of Color). Finally, representation intersectionality names how cultural images erase Women of Color relative to white women, given how Women of Color are treated in society. These three conceptualizations of intersectionality provide nuance to how overlapping systems of marginalization manifest in societal structures.

From intersectionality's coining, educational scholars have since used the framework to interrogate phenomena within K-12 and postsecondary settings (Barnett & Felten, 2016; Bhopal & Preston, 2012; Mayo & Blackburn, 2019; Mitchell et al., 2019). Specific to queer studies within education, theorists have named how intersectionality may sensitize individuals to be more intentional in understanding how heterosexism and trans oppression intersects with issues of racism, ableism, classism, amongst others (Mayo & Blackburn, 2019). Nevertheless, several questions remain about how intersectional theorizing relates to queer studies. For instance, post-intersectional scholars in the field of legal studies argued that Crenshaw's framing of intersectionality did not specifically attend to the nuances of heterosexism (e.g., Hutchinson, 1997; Kwan, 1997). This claim has then been challenged by scholars who contend that intersectionality's aims inherently investigate all types of oppression (Cho, 2013; May, 2015). Moreover, queer theorists have asserted that intersectionality has an inherent tension with queer studies due to its reliance on static categorizations of identity as a means of understanding power relations (see Fotopoulou, 2012). How does one identify the effects of overlapping systems of heterosexism and racism, for instance, if one's understandings of **sexuality** and race are relying upon structuralist ideas? And yet, other scholars have contended that intersectionality may embrace the view of identity as representing discursive, fluid constructs (Gedalof, 2013), arguing that intersectionality and queer studies can learn from each other (Bilge, 2012; Rahman, 2010). Consequently, it is not surprising that researchers have seen the potential that intersectionality has to understand overlapping dynamics of heterosexism, trans oppression, and other forms of oppression, as well as realities within the confines of educational environments (e.g., Duran, 2021; Mayo & Blackburn, 2019; Miller, 2018; Nicolazzo, 2016).

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CHAPTER 61

Intersex

Shelly Melchior

Our societal and institutional structures have traditionally operated under the exclusive guise of the **gender binary**. This is the understanding that there are only two genders, presumably recognizable by the sexual anatomy one is born with, and this anatomy-informed assignment also determines whether we are male or female. That single determination, based on sexual anatomy, extends to include a series of characteristics, expectations, assumptions, and stereotypes that are in effect throughout our lifetime. Yet, gender is fluid. Georgeann Davis (2015) points out that "it would behoove all of us to escape these constraints of binary thinking that underline sex, gender, and sexuality. Genitalia are naturally variable and are not predictive of our gender or sexual identities, which are complex and fluid parts of who we are. There are many ways to accomplish your gender and sexual identities both with and without your genitals" (para. 14).

"Intersex" is an umbrella term used within the medical community to describe anyone who falls outside of the traditionally proscribed binary system of sex/gender assignation. Individuals diagnosed with one of the over 30 intersex variations are not defective or abnormal. These individuals simply have naturally occurring variations that can be chromosomal, hormonal, or anatomical, that fall outside of the traditionally accepted gender binary (InterAct, 2021; King, 2015; Willow, 2021).

It is estimated that 1.7 to 2.0% of the world's population are born intersex (Amnesty Intl., 2018; Merrick, 2019). Some intersex individuals are born with these variations physically present upon birth; other variations are apparent later in childhood or puberty. Some variations are physically visible, and others are detected with genetic testing. In 2005, a consortium of parents, activists, medical professionals, and scholars created the term "disorders of sexual development" or "DSD" to replace intersex, shifting it from "an identity to a condition" (Koyama, 2008). The new terminology was also created to distance those with DSD from its common association with the word "hermaphrodite," a mythic construct of a person born with fully functioning male and female anatomy with functional male and female anatomy.

Standard treatment for intersex or DSD variations, often unnecessary, involves surgical and hormonal interventions, oftentimes both. These interventions are often performed on infants though these variations are often

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not life-threatening and do not require surgical intervention. These decisions made without informed consent often have life-long emotional and physical consequences (Amnesty, Intl., 2018; Dutchen, 2021; InterAct, 2021; Koyama, 2008; Koyama & Weasel, 2002; Merrick, 2019).

Advocacy groups and even many within the medical establishment are now advocating postponing these surgeries until the patient can participate in the decision-making process, hopefully alleviating the physical and psychological traumas that often accompany such surgical interventions.

Education for physicians, families, school systems, bureaucracies, and most importantly, for the patient remains paramount. As Dr. Jennifer E. Potter with Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center attests: "Instead of conforming a child to something, transform the world in which they live. Then life may not be so hard" (Dutchen, 2021, p. 35).

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CHAPTER 62

It Gets Better

Thomas Crisp

An outgrowth of a social media movement, "It Gets Better," is a nonprofit organization intended to provide far-reaching forms of support to **queer**-identified youth. While the general intentions and broader goals of It Gets Better are admirable, these efforts are generally undermined by the organization's centering of white gay cis-male people, its pathologizing (and profiting off) of queer youth, and the normative and too-often false message that life does, indeed, get better.

1 It Gets Better: The Social Media Movement

On September 9, 2010, a 15-year-old boy named William (Billy) Lucas died by suicide, hanging himself in a barn located on his grandmother's property in Greensburg, Indiana. It was quickly learned that Billy took his own life after relentless bullying from peers who perceived him to be queer-identified. In fact, Billy's death came only hours after some of his classmates told him that he didn't deserve to live (Morris, 2011).

After learning of Billy's death, sex columnist Dan Savage (2010) lamented that, "I wish I could have told Billy that *it gets better*. I wish I could have told him that however bad things were, however, isolated and alone he was, *it gets better*" (para. 5., original emphasis). Motivated by that desire, Savage and his husband, Terry Miller, created and posted a video to YouTube trying to share with LGBTQ+ youth the message that "it gets better" (It Gets Better Project, 2010).

Within days, hundreds of similar videos from politicians, celebrities, corporations, organizations, and everyday people were posted on YouTube to convey to young people of all **sexual orientations** and **gender identities** that life does, indeed, get better. Among the many notable video contributors were politicians including then-President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama, then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, as well as artists and entertainers like Margaret Cho, Lady Gaga, Tom Hanks, Neil Patrick Harris, and Zachary Quinto. Messages were also provided by organizations like the Democratic National Committee, the United States Senate, the Human Rights Campaign, and

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dozens of colleges and universities from across the United States and internationally. Within only two weeks, the "It Gets Better Project" had amassed 650 videos, reaching the limit allowed on its YouTube channel (Hartlaub, 2010). As of 2020, the project included more than 70,000 entries (About Our Global Movement, 2020). In 2019 alone, these stories were viewed "millions of times with a total of 11.4 million minutes watched—the equivalent of 21.7 years of screen time condensed into 12 months" (It Gets Better Project, 2020, p. 4).

On one level, the rapid growth and expansion of this movement alongside the widespread participation and support it received are admirable. It testifies to mainstream acceptance of, care about, and concern for the lives of queer-identified youth. However, posting videos intended to make viewers feel inspired or hopeful does not require any actual action or substantive and meaningful efforts to create social change. Indeed,

> videos posted by white contributors (especially celebrities) do not mean that such actions are based purely on altruism; rather, they are often accomplished in the pursuit of what is socially expected from those who reluctantly succumb to or are actively pursuing the latest, most fashionable cause célèbre. (Johnson, Jr., 2014, pp. 280–281)

Further, the It Gets Better Project centers the voices of adults who tell "our own stories from our incredibly privileged positions" instead of focusing on and listening to queer youth and "help[ing] folks feel seen—by trying our hardest to see them" (Melisa, 2011, para. 16). Beyond the somewhat self-satisfied tone inherent in any project through which adults signal their personal successes as inspiration to presumably struggling queer youth, the movement also assumes that life cannot immediately be different or better for queer youth. It Gets Better implies that queer youth need to simply wait and be resilient, holding on until things somehow automatically get better for them once they are adults.

The reality is that, for many queer youth, life will not "get better" in the ways the movement positions as desirable (Brister, 2016; Eichler, 2010). White middle-class liberal gay men who live in Western urban contexts are far more likely to experience life "getting better" than individuals of other social locations and identities (Buday, 2013; Hawkins et al., 2018; Tseng, 2010).

Indeed, the It Gets Better Project is often criticized for disingenuous, affirmative messaging and the privileging of affluent, white, cisgender, gay male perspectives (Goltz, 2013; Johnson, Jr., 2014). As Bettina Love (2019) writes,

> The monolithic naming of the campaign overlooked and ignored the experiences of dark queer youth, poor queer youth, dark poor queer

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> youth, queer youth who are undocumented, dark queer youth with dis/abilities, and Muslim queer youth. (p. 141)

People of Color, transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals, and women "have not been inspirationally hailed by IGB in the same way as white gay male liberals" (Puar, 2010, para. 5).

Although there has been some progress made in recent years, It Gets Better continues to have a predominant focus on white middle-class liberal gay men and similar heterosexual allies. Little attention is given to the relationships between racism, **bullying**, and homophobia (Buday, 2013; Nyong'o, 2010; Webley, 2010). In part as a response to these shortcomings, organizations like the Embracing Intersectional Diversity Project have worked to build upon, extend, and broaden the scope of the work undertaken by the It Gets Better Project.

Responding to some of the above-described criticisms, Sady Doyle (2010) concedes that,

> No one actually knows if things are going to get better; nobody can see the future. But it's important to believe that they will because it might be the only coping mechanism for dealing with otherwise unbearable pain. If every day is terrible, and worse than the day that came before it, the only thing to do is to hold out for the 'better' one. To act as if it's around the corner, somewhere, eventually. (para. 3)

Although offered as a defense of the project, Doyle's comment summarizes another problem with the "It Gets Better" movement. The message to "hold out" implies a waiting, an automaticity that ignores the need for active engagement, including advocacy work undertaken by queer youth. In fact, "for several years prior to the launching of the [It Gets Better Project], young LGBT people had been uploading homemade videos to YouTube in which they share their personal coming out stories" (Tropiano, 2014, p. 15). It also undermines the critical work of organizing and worldmaking by stripping queer youth of agency in determining the direction of their lives and positioning them as passive recipients of an imagined future. The future envisioned by It Gets Better is a familiar progress narrative that obscures individual agency and queer worldmaking in favor of an overarching, **heteronormative** narrative of social progress and eventual arrival (Tropiano, 2014).

With its focus on deficits, the movement ultimately pathologizes queer young people as being "at-risk" and strips them of agency in determining the direction of their lives. Ultimately, despite the potentially excellent intentions of the movement, it feeds into larger, problematic cultural narratives of queer youth as victims.

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2 Pain for (Non)Profit: It Gets Better as Internet-Based Organization

The It Gets Better Project is currently a registered 501c3 nonprofit. This shift to a registered nonprofit also warrants closer examination, raising questions about who profits from efforts to "uplift, empower, and connect lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) youth around the globe" (Our Vision/Mission/People, 2020, para. 1).

The organization is currently engaged in many admirable initiatives, including efforts to create a global queer youth community through "uplifting and inspiring stories of resilience and determination" (It Gets Better Project, 2020, p. 3). Their network of 17 global affiliates also seeks to engage LGBTQ+ youth and connect them with local resources. In recognition of this work, in 2012, the Academy of Television Arts & Sciences honored the It Gets Better Project with its prestigious Governor's Award.

The transition to a registered nonprofit allows the It Gets Better Project to fundraise in support of its initiatives. In 2019, for example, the organization's revenue was more than $2.2 million. Funding for the organization is provided by dozens of companies and individuals, including $1.8 million contributed by retailer American Eagle (It Gets Better Project, 2020, pp. 10–12).

In addition to direct donations, the organization has benefitted from other ventures, including the edited book, *It Gets Better: Coming Out, Overcoming Bullying, and Creating a Life Worth Living* (Savage and Miller, 2011). The volume made the *New York Times* bestseller list and featured more than 100 messages for queer-identified youth, including both original stories and others transcribed or expanded from the organization's library of videos.

Simply because the organization is a registered nonprofit does not mean that individuals involved are not making money off these efforts. The success of the *It Gets Better* book, for example, might enhance the profits of the organization, as well as authors Savage and Miller. Between 2009–2014, the organization "had a total of $1,069,890 contributions, almost all of which have been expenditures on its web presence" (Johnson, Jr., 2014, p. 278). The vast amounts of money generated and used to sustain It Gets Better begs the question of whether or not these funds might have a greater impact on queer youth it purportedly serves if utilized elsewhere.

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CHAPTER 63

Jotería Pedagogy

Sergio A. Gonzalez

1 Introduction

What is Jotería? "The most accurate translation of Jotería is queerness. Yet, to translate our collective work as one that is encompassed by queerness undercuts the radical history of our existence" (Tijerina Revilla et al., 2021). Alvarez (2014) theorizes Jotería pedagogy to be defined as

> looking at the role of sexuality and desire…sexuality is central and not additive to the study of migration, immigration, and the borderlands. Jotería pedagogy focuses on the heterogeneous lives and lived experiences of Jotería but also on the erasure and omissions of queer bodies of color. Attentive to homophobia, transphobia, anti-immigrant sentiment, ableism, and other forms of institutional and discursive violence, Jotería pedagogy is theory and praxis that connects the global, the local, and the individual. (pp. 217–218)

Essentially, Jotería pedagogy emphasizes Jotería's diverse lives and lived experiences, as well as the erasure and neglect of **queer** people of Color. Notably, Jotería pedagogy emerges as a system of knowledge that actively interrogates Eurocentric knowledge and re-centers Queer and Trans People of Colors' (QTPOC) lived experiences as a foundational base of knowledge, especially within the education research process. Furthermore, it challenges the epistemological boundaries by creating new possibilities for how we conduct research in higher education. Thus, Jotería pedagogy draws from experiential knowledge.

2 The Emergence of a Jotería Pedagogy

Jotería pedagogy draws from, but is not limited to, the writings of Gloria Anzaldúa, Audre Lorde, Cherríe Moraga, Chela Sandoval and Dolores Delgado Bernal to name a few. In her innovative text *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza,* Anzaldúa (1987) stated, "People, listen to what your Jotería is saying"

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(p. 85). This call to action led to the validation of Jotería pedagogy, epistemology, and theorizing within academic spaces. It is important to note that Jotería exists in many spaces, not just academic, and has continued to stay true to its *comunidad* (community) as it has blossomed. The expansion of Jotería came about in 2014 when Michael Hames-Garcia (2014) edited a Jotería Studies dossier in *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies*.

Tijerina Revilla et al. (2021) described how the dossier forged together the work and commitment of activists and scholars alike who had been creating and envisioning a movement to establish the Association for Jotería Arts, Activism, and Scholarship (AJAAS) since the early 2000s. Additionally, the dossier explored the different ways in which Jotería manifests in theory. Bañales (2014) asserted that the "reclaiming of *fag* or other terms like *dyke* and *queer*, the resignification of Jotería (and Joto/a/[x]) is part of a decolonizing collective movement" (p. 156). Furthermore, Tijerina Revilla and Santillana (2014) framed the tenets of a Jotería Identity and Consciousness as rooted in fun, laughter, and radical queer love and committed to multidimensional social justice and activism. They emphasize that

> it is important to begin with our personal testimonies before sharing our research and vision of a collective Jotería identity and consciousness. We tell our queerstories as 'counterstories' in the critical race theory tradition to position ourselves and illustrate that there is a direct connection between who are as individuals and how we participate in an activist and academic community of queer Latina/os/[x]. (Tijerina Revilla & Santillana, 2014, p. 167)

Notably, the Jotería Studies dossier "put Jotería on the map and is regarded by scholars and educators as a foundational pedagogical, historical, and theoretical text, containing essays on topics ranging from Jotería activism to spirituality, identity, aesthetics, pedagogy and trans studies" (Alvarez & Estrada, 2019, p. 864).

3 Where Is Jotería Pedagogy Today?

Since 2014, Jotería pedagogy has continued to appear in innovative and groundbreaking ways within academia. In the Summer of 2020, the Samuel Dewitt Proctor Institute (SDPI) hosted a Twitter chat titled, *Where Does Jotería Exist in Our Education,* where they centered the voices and work of activists, artivists, community organizers, and scholars alike. This platform nurtured a space to

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showcase what it means to exist as Jotería across time and space. During this Twitter chat, Michael Hames-Garcia asserted,

> Queer Theory claims to include intersectional analysis, but Jotería emerges from the intersectional analysis. The logic of 'starting' with queer studies is premised on an additive model, not an intersectional one. To be 'queer' implies difference and separation from the 'norm,' but Jotería doesn't begin with the norm and look for difference. It begins with life and looks for possibilities. (Hames-Garcia, 2020)

The SDPI Twitter chat created a critical dialogue to continue to push the boundaries of **queer theory** and research. Moreover, In the Fall of 2020, the Association of Mexican American Educators Journal (AMAE) put forth an invited issue titled, *Grounding Emerging Scholarship on Queer/Trans* Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x Pedagogies.* From Cyborg Jotería Pedagogies to Envisioning a Trans Jotería Pedagogy, much like the Jotería Studies dossier, the AMAE invited issue, edited by José M. Aguilar-Hernandez and Cindy Cruz, re-created a home to uplift and center the evolution of Jotería pedagogy and scholarship in new and creative ways.

4 Where Is Jotería Pedagogy Going?

As Jotería pedagogy continues to radically transform and develop, it "must (a) maintain a political commitment to justice for all of its queer folk and **allies** alike; (b) reaffirm the importance of queer and transformative love, and (c) continue to redefine what and where counts as home" (Galarte, 2014, p. 232). Furthermore, it is important to understand the humanization of a Jotería pedagogy. As Tijerina Revilla et al. (2021) explained, "This is a key aspect of Jotería pedagogy and praxis—to acknowledge that we are human beings, flawed and sometimes wounded, with a desire to thrive, heal, and create." Furthermore, "Jotería positions itself as a tool that transforms silence into language and, as a result, is an act of self-revelation for Queer and Trans People of Color (QTPOC)" (Gonzalez, 2021, p. 5; Lorde, 2007, p. 42). Ultimately, as Galarte (2014) points out, la Jotería are a family, and by challenging the western notions of objectivity, neutrality, gender norms, and so on, this community is embracing and leaning into the messiness within individual and communal lives through research and uplifting our *comunidad* (community).

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CHAPTER 64

Jotería Studies

Arturo Cortez and José Ramón Lizárraga

1 Introduction

Jotería studies is an interdisciplinary field that centers the knowledge and experiences of **Latinx queer** and trans communities. The term itself reclaims the historically derogatory words of joto and jota (equivalent to queer and "faggot") in ways that purposely decenter the **heteronormativity** of the Latinx experience Alvarez Jr. & Estrada, 2019). Much of the work in Jotería Studies has its roots in the writings of Chicana/Latina feminists (Anzaldúa, 1987; Moraga, 1983) who examined the **liminality** and agency that flourishes in the boundaries of geography, **sexuality**, race, and gender. Jotería Studies amplifies the rich knowledges and practices of queer and trans communities, serving as models for social transformation (Tijerina Revilla & Santillana, 2014) and the imagining of new possible social futures (Muñoz, 2019).

This field's interdisciplinarity is informed by Ethnic Studies, Performance Studies, Chicanx and Latinx Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies (Hames-García, 2014), and, increasingly, educational research (Aguilar-Hernández & Cruz, 2020; Duran et al., 2020) and New Media/Communications Studies (Ochoa, 2015). Jotería Studies necessarily leverages the rich theoretical and methodological tools from these disciplines in order to rigorously and robustly examine histories, systems of power, and, most importantly, design considerations for organizing for transformation and liberation for Latinx queers who may also refer themselves as jotxs. The latter has strong implications for teaching, learning, and human development across the many contexts that jotxs traverse throughout their everyday lives.

2 Jotería Studies in Educational Research

Jotería Studies in educational research builds on previous examinations of queer of Color experiences in education (Brockenbrough, 2015) but makes a concerted pivot to focus on the experiences of Latinx queer and trans communities. Aguilar-Hernandez and Cruz (2020) urge researchers to consider the heterogeneity of Latinx queer communities when engaging in enactments of

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Jotería Studies in education research that "include personal reflection, historical recovery, scholarly intervention, praxis (theory and action), and a commitment to ending all forms of oppression" (p. 20). These practices are emblematic of Jotería Pedagogies.

Jotería Studies in education continues to develop within the current context of increased digital and global connectivity. In our work, for example, we have examined the affordances of Cyborg Jotería (Lizárraga & Cortez, 2020) and the catalyzing effects of Digital Queer Gestures (Lizárraga & Cortez, 2019). These explorations have specifically looked at how queer Latinx educators who reside at the boundaries of gender, race, the physical, and the digital use their in-betweenness to guide young learners in consequential learning that engages with current socio-political issues and fosters the imagining of futures that are free of oppression towards Black and Brown communities. The emerging scholarship will continue to look at how digital technologies can amplify the goals of Jotería Studies and **Jotería Pedagogies.**

3 Methodological Openings of Jotería Studies

Jotería Studies offers important methodological openings, specifically in work with non-dominant and marginalized communities. Calvo-Quirós (2014) suggests that scholars shift their gaze to see and value the intentional chaos that marks jotería because "Mastering chaos is a key element of jota/o subversive visual identity, as the variety of elements allows us to build multiple points of connectivity and discourse" (p. 183). Thus, scholars are tasked with methodologically learning how to imagine alongside Latinx queer communities, centering ingenuity and resistance practices, rather than merely representing the practices of these communities (Gutiérrez et al., 2017).

We further build on our own examinations of how leveraging everyday practices can lead to the development of historical actors (Gutiérrez et al., 2019) to present further research design considerations for Jotería Studies. As educational researchers, more specifically learning scientists, we suggest that this emergent field builds with the critical turn in the learning sciences (Philip et al., 2018) in order to center the political and ethical work that occurs within everyday learning. In this regard, consequential learning necessarily is the practice of leveraging the past as a resource in the present to imagine new social futures. Here, we point to learning as a process that is future-oriented (Boggs Jr., 1977), involving imagining and enacting new queer relationalities among people and nature, fostering the development of jotx social and cultural worlds. In summary, methodologically speaking, a Jotería approach advances

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the following: (1) collaborative co-design with queer Latinx communities over documentation of said communities; (2) design and intervention processes that are iterative and that are oriented towards new possible queer Latinx social futures; and (3) a leaning into the uncertainty of what queer Brown futurity looks and feels like.

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CHAPTER 65

Kinsey Scale

Kamden K. Strunk

1 Sexual Identity as a Continuum

The Kinsey Scale is perhaps most commonly known for its popularization of the idea that **sexuality** and **sexual identity** exist on a continuum (Kinsey Institute, 2019). The concept is frequently introduced in settings like **Safe Zone trainings**, LGBTQ+ ally workshops, and sexual identity training materials (Finkel et al., 2003). It is usually introduced to discuss sexual fluidity and often to discuss **bisexual** and pansexual identities.

2 Alfred Kinsey and the Kinsey Institute

The Kinsey Scale was authored by Alfred Kinsey and colleagues, originally published in 1948 (Kinsey, 1948). The scales came out of what is now known as the Kinsey Institute, which was one of the first major psychological research centers on human sexuality. The institute emerged as a response to previous efforts, which had primarily been pathologizing and medicalizing, attempting to locate 'homosexuality' in hormonal, genital, or brain abnormalities (Terry, 1999). While the Kinsey Institute engaged in some of those same problematic (il)logics (such as seeking innate medical or genetic determinants of sexuality), their work was among the first widely read and published psychological research to take human sexual diversity as normal and commonplace. The two landmark publications of the Institute were *Sexual Behavior and in the Human Male* (Kinsey, 1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Kinsey, 1953). While clearly dated, both pieces continue to be heavily cited (a Google Scholar search at the time of this writing shows over 13,000 citations to the 'male' report and over 9,000 to the 'female' report), and their estimates of the prevalence of non-heterosexual behavior and individuals continue to be influential. The Institute has also been the center of political and public controversies, as it was seen as promoting 'homosexuality' and sexuality in general (Bancroft, 2004). It is beyond the scope of this entry to provide a comprehensive history of the Institute and its work, but the Kinsey Scale and prevalence estimates are the most commonly cited pieces in modern research on LGBTQ+ populations.

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3 The Kinsey Scale's Construction and Use

The Kinsey Scale was constructed as a scale ranging from zero to six. A score of zero indicates exclusively heterosexual behavior, and a score of six indicates exclusively homosexual behavior (Kinsey Institute, 2019). The construction of the scale was based on interviews about sexual histories, and thus the scale was originally conceived as an assigned score based on the sex assigned at birth of a person's previous sexual partners (Kinsey, 1948). Moving along the scale, a score of one would mean a person whose sexual history is mostly heterosexual but with incidental same-gender sexual behavior. A score of two would indicate more than incidental same-gender sexual behavior, but still mostly heterosexual behavior. A score of three was a person whose history included equally heterosexual and same-gender sexual behavior. Scores of four or five were the inverse of one or two. As such, the scale sought to place people on a continuum of sexuality based on reported sexual histories.

It is worth noting that the Kinsey Scale did not account for gender fluidity or diversity, conceptualizing of gender as a binary, conflating it with sex assigned at birth. It posited only same-sex or opposite-sex partners as possibilities, thus reproducing the gender-sex conflation and binary notions of gender. In the context of 1948, this is not a surprising fact, but one that is rarely corrected in modern presentations of the Kinsey Scale. Notably, the scale did include an asexual option, noted by a score of X, for people who did not have any history of sexual contact (Weinrich, 2014). The scale has been particularly widely used and important for researchers (especially psychological researchers) in bisexuality (Dodge et al., 2008). Of note, the scale has been more commonly applied to men than any other gender group. While its use in formal research has waned in recent decades in favor of more nuanced ways of measuring and conceptualizing sexual identity, it remains popular in online quizzes and self-assessments (Drucker, 2012).

Perhaps the most enduring impact of the Kinsey Scale in research and education is its popularization of the idea of a sexual spectrum, on which one could fall at any point and could move and shift over time. While its treatment of bisexual and pansexual individuals as being "in the middle" of a scale and its erasure of queer and trans identities remain problematic, it is arguably responsible for the popular notion of sexual fluidity. Few would advise using the Kinsey Scale in modern educational research, but its influences can be seen in many more recent attempts at measuring identity, and its concepts are prevalent in training materials and workshops across K-12 and higher education.

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CHAPTER 66

Latinx

Sergio A. Gonzalez

1 Introduction

What does the "X" mean in Latinx (pronounced La-TEEN-x, Latin-x)? How did it become a term and, furthermore, an identifier? To identify with Latinx means to have origins in Latin American countries. As a term and identifier, Latinx surfaced as a gender-neutral/inclusive expression for people who identify as Latina/Latino in the early 2000s (Morales, 2018). Rodriguez (2017) asserts, "Formed through its relationship to other categories of social difference and forms of embodiments, Latinx is best understood by probing the ways it is mobilized, encountered, and sensed in the body and in the world" (p. 196). Additionally, the "X" in Latinx aims to disrupt the gender norms and binaries embedded within the Spanish language. Padilla (2016) describes how the norms within the **cisheteropatriarchy** are reinforced through the Spanish language. Moreover, "The 'x' pushes us to think critically about the different ways race, gender, **sexuality** and geographical location can impact how we and others understand Latina, Latino or Latinx identities and experiences" (Marquez, 2018, p. 1). Because of this, many have come to resent the term as it threatens the colonial make-up of the Spanish language.

2 Historical Overview or Emergence of Latinx

When thinking about the origins of Latinx, the context in which the term emerges is essential to its understanding. To a large extent, the term Latinx started showing up in online forums in the 1990s, in 2004, and again in 2014 (Milian, 2017; Padilla, 2016). The use of Latinx specifically indicated Latin American people of all genders within the United States. Moreover, through an environmental scan of the use of the term Latinx is used in higher education, Salinas and Lozano (2019) state that "Although the term Latinx is mostly used in the United States (87.5%)," it is also showing up in countries such as: "Canada (0.9%), United Kingdom (0.8%), Argentina (0.5%), Colombia (0.5%), Spain (0.4%), France (0.4%), Germany (0.4%), Philippines (0.4%), and other (8.3%)" (p. 308). Furthermore, Latinx political history "captures a history of shared struggle in

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the struggle against colonial and capitalist material inequities and oppressive ideologies that have led to violence against those in our communities, especially the most vulnerable: children and those discriminated against in terms of gender and sexuality" (Aldama et al., 2018, p. IX). Conversely, it is important to note that people in Latin America are also redefining, expanding upon, and challenging the Spanish language. This is particularly evident amongst Queer and Trans communities within Latin America as the term "Latine" has emerged as a gender-inclusive word for Latinos (Milian, 2019). In this case, the "E" becomes much more pronounceable within the Spanish language.

3 Recent Developments

As mentioned before, most of the advocacy and relevance for Latinx comes from the United States. The "X" can be referred to or used as a way of making gender non-binary and as providing an alternative to binary genders. Similarly, Latinx is also seen as a replacement for the umbrella ethnic marker, Latino/a or Hispanic. While Latinx continues to evolve as a term and identifier, Lopez (2018) asserts,

> Latinx is not for everyone. Transgender and gender-nonconforming Latin Americans living in the U.S. have used the 'X' as a reminder that their bodies are still experiencing a colonization invested in disciplining them to fit a standard gender identity, gender presentation, sexual orientation, and a particular sexual performance. For this reason, it is important for us to not normalize 'Latinx,' but to engage in critical reflection of how violence against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Asexual + (LGBTQIA+) Latin Americans has been accepted by Latin American people to the point that LGBTQIA+ Latinxs have had to create a linguistic intervention in the hopes that they can live a livable life. (p. 2)

While it is important to understand how Latinx is working to bring gender inclusivity through language, consideration should also be given to the rationale of why the term came to exist in the first place. The question then becomes, who is Latinx for? Should everyone use the term?

4 The Future of Latinx

As many continue to critically reflect on, engage with, problematize, and use Latinx, it is important to consider the implications it has for people who use

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it. What does the term Latinx do for people? Some people are opposed to the use of the term, and others have critiqued it for being problematic in its existence. On the other hand, activists and scholars alike in education continue to critically reflect on how and why the term is being used. "We begin by acknowledging the language we use in relation to gender. We use the term Latinx/a/o as a way to disrupt gender binary assumptions" (Orozco et al., 2021, p. 122). Furthermore, it is imperative to recognize trans and gender non-conforming individuals' use of Latinx as a tool to unsettle gender and, at times, queerness (Lopez, 2018). Finally, the term Latinx will continue to evolve whether it is through community activism or academic scholarship, Latinx needs more critical reflection, problematizing, defining, and engagement.

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CHAPTER 67

Lavender Scares/Queer Purges

Karen Graves

United States historians have documented **queer** purges in education as far back as the 1920s, but the most intense period of persecution occurred at mid-century. The lesser known parallel to the ill-famed Red Scare associated with Senator Joseph McCarthy began in the late-1940s, as an expanding awareness of 'homosexuality' collided with the emerging Cold War culture.[1] Mobilization for World War II created social and economic conditions that strengthened pre-war gay and lesbian subcultures, and in 1948 Alfred **Kinsey** published the first of his comprehensive studies on human sexual behavior. **Kinsey**'s extensive data fed fears of moral decline at a time when foreign and domestic policy was intensely focused on projecting an image of the U.S. as stable, secure, prosperous—and gender-conforming (Preskill, 2001). Suddenly, concerns about 'homosexuality' were coursing through media, government, educational, and other civic channels. States and the federal government passed new sex crime and "sexual psychopath" laws, instigated undercover surveillance and investigative committees, and conducted hearings on the perceived menace. In the definitive book on the subject, David K. Johnson (2004) shows how *The Lavender Scare*—"a fear that homosexuals posed a threat to national security and needed to be systematically removed from the federal government"—permeated political culture (p. 9). In the 1950s, "lavender" was the term people used in reference to homosexuality; Johnson characterized the Lavender Scare as a counterpart to the Red Scare that entrapped suspected Communists.

The Lavender Scare resulted in the dismissals of thousands of federal employees, eclipsing the number of suspected Communists dismissed, and it lasted longer than the Second Red Scare (Johnson, 2004). President Eisenhower's Executive Order 10450 that barred homosexuals from government employment stood for decades (until Presidents Clinton and Obama issued executive orders banning discrimination in the federal government on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity). Johnson's research substantiates that "no gay American was ever blackmailed into revealing state secrets," yet the moral panic surging amid an expansion of the national security state set in motion a bureaucratic machinery that reached state and local levels (2004, pp. 9–10). No sector of the American political economy was spared, least of all schools.

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Jackie M. Blount (2005) and Catherine A. Lugg (2016) detailed how, prior to mid-century, elementary and secondary schools in the United States came to regulate the sexuality of the nation. "Quite simply," school officials acted on the maligned belief that "queerness in the public school…[was] contagious" (Lugg, 2016, p. 2). Teachers suspected of being **queer** were dismissed, usually in a quiet fashion, in an effort to curtail "inappropriate" role modeling in terms of sexual orientation or gender identity. **Queer** students, teachers, and staff learned to hide, and the "pressure to remain invisible" became a twentieth-century school norm at all levels, from primary school to university. (Lugg, 2016, p. 3). The secrecy that shrouded many dismissals, along with restrictions on access to student records and personnel files, make it difficult for historians to uncover specific instances of **queer** purges in education. Nonetheless, Jonathan Ned Katz (2016b) suspects that the "hunting of homosexual students, faculty, and administrators, occurred at almost every U.S. school, college, and university from the late-nineteenth century to the 1970s" (para. 14).

A 1920 student suicide led Harvard President A. Lawrence Lowell to appoint a "Secret Court," charging it to investigate traces of a gay network at the university. Over 30 men were caught up in the interrogations, those presumed to be gay as well as their friends and acquaintances. The tribunal subjected men to "the most excruciating and intrusive questions about their sexual histories with both men and women, the extent of their friendships with other students, the degrees of involvement with town boys, the sleepovers in off-campus apartments" (Wright, 2005, p. 53). The court declared 14 men "guilty." One assistant professor was fired, an alumnus had his Harvard record expunged, and seven undergraduates were expelled. Later in the decade, Dartmouth students notified President Earnest Hopkins that members of the Epsilon Kappa Phi fraternity regularly gathered with friends across the state line in Beaver Meadow, Vermont. The students, many of whom regularly took women's parts in school plays, "had parties, stayed up late, drank alcohol, and had sex" (Syrett, 2007, p. 9). Hopkins expelled only one student—for violating alcohol restrictions during Prohibition. Disciplinary measures for others were not as severe. Hopkins directed the students' advisors to keep a closer watch on their behavior and persuaded two alumni in the group to resign their fraternity memberships. Consistent with the dominant scientific discourse of the day, the president also consulted with psychiatrists; shortly after, the college ended its practice of casting men in women's roles in stage productions.

Noting that we know very little about the "frequency, patterns, or the extent of campus purges of homosexuals," Margaret A. Nash and Jennifer A.R. Silverman (2015) made a significant contribution to the literature with their study of purges at three universities during the 1940s (p. 441). Their analysis points to

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another reason why this history has proven so challenging to uncover: "issues of academic freedom have subsumed the issue of homosexuality in the historical record" (Nash & Silverman, 2015, p. 442). As Nash and Silverman explain, in 1944, University of Texas Regents fired President Homer P. Rainey following a series of conflicts regarding academic freedom. Displeased with the president's more liberal stances on some issues, the Regents cited what they perceived as Rainey's insufficiently robust response to an investigation of gay students and faculty as the primary cause for his dismissal. An arrest of two former students on charges of homosexuality led to the campus investigation. Rainey did not defend or protect the ten faculty and 15 students who were dismissed, expelled, or who left the university as a result of the investigation; but that did not keep the Regents from using Rainey's alleged weakness during the homosexual purge as a red herring for his dismissal (Nash & Silverman, 2015).

Nash and Silverman analyzed two purges at the University of Wisconsin (1948) and the University of Missouri (1948–49) to track how universities began to develop the administrative machinery used to expel gay and lesbian students over the next three decades. The system involved campus investigators, local police, disciplinary committees, and psychological assessments. Students deemed "true" homosexuals were dismissed as "incurable" medical cases. "Pseudo" homosexuals were referred to disciplinary committees who would decide between expulsion or prescribed therapy as a condition for continued enrollment.

In 1955 UCLA forced Martha Deane, one of only two women to attain the status of full professor at the university at the time, into retirement—for the "crime" of "having sexual relations with another woman in her own home" (Weiler, 2007, p. 472). Neither Deane's stellar career nor the support of colleagues, students, alumni, and the Dean of the School of Education were enough to push back the force of "Cold War hysteria, sexual anxieties, and homophobia" generated by the Lavender Scare (Weiler, 2007, p. 495).

The longest lasting, most intense **queer** purge in American schools that historians have yet uncovered spun out of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, established in 1956 to curtail civil rights activity (Braukman, 2012; Graves, 2009; Poucher, 2014; Schnur, 1992, 1997; Sears, 1997). Outmaneuvered by the NAACP (its primary target), the committee widened its investigative scope in 1957 when it stumbled upon a sheriff's undercover operation against gay men and lesbians. From 1957 to 1963, the committee pursued and interrogated lesbian and gay schoolteachers and conducted undercover investigations at the University of Florida, Florida State University, and the University of South Florida.[2] Historians estimate that dozens of students were expelled, and more than 200 teachers, professors, and administrators lost their jobs. The

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state mechanism for purging **queer** faculty shifted to the Florida Department of Education prior to the committee's demise in 1965. It would take two critical U.S. Supreme Court decisions—*Lawrence v. Texas*, 2003 and *Bostock v. Clayton County*, 2020—to dismantle the legal structure districts used to fire queer educators.[3] The 2003 decision struck down sodomy laws that branded queer people felons, a designation that kept those found "guilty" from holding teaching licenses. The 2020 decision prohibited job discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity.

In 1960 President Eisenhower signed a bill allowing the Postal Service "to seize and detail the mail of anyone suspected of trafficking in obscenity," part of a crackdown led by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield (ITVS Interactive, n.d.). While the law explicitly targeted "obscene" publications, it provided a vehicle for exposing homosexuals who subscribed to innocuous physique magazines. In September, Massachusetts state troopers arrested 15 men for violating the new law, charging them with possession and distribution of obscene literature. Three were on the faculty at Smith College. Highly regarded literary critic Newton Arvin found himself at the center of a scandal that became known as the "Pink Scare." The arrests ignited fear throughout higher education circles in the northeast among gay academics and their friends, "veterans of the McCarthy era, outsiders with unpopular politics and hidden pasts, liberal intellectuals who had seen their lives and communities ripped by this kind of thing before" (Werth, 2002, p. 206). Arvin and two assistant professors were convicted and lost their jobs. Arvin became suicidal and entered the Northampton State Mental Hospital; he died three years later. His colleagues successfully appealed their convictions and eventually returned to academic careers at San Francisco State University and Stanford.

Jonathan Katz, whose watershed historical research helped launch gay and lesbian studies in the 1970s, has recently established an online repository of information on **queer** purges in the academy. The site documents purges at Brigham Young University, George Washington University, New York University, Reed College, Rust College, University of Michigan, and University of Southern Mississippi (Katz, 2016a). As Patrick Dilley (2002) has shown, "elements of control, regulation, and even suppression play[ed] out in new ways and in new arenas" as the twentieth century wore on (p. 427). From the 1940s to the 1970s, **queer** students labeled as "deviant" and "lewd" were expelled or suffered other sanctions such as transcript notations or refusals to write letters of recommendation. Prescribed therapy (1950s–1970s), covert means of control such as surveillance (1940s–1990s), and opposition to assembly and free expression (1970s–1990s) rolled in overlapping waves of containment that **queer** college students experienced.

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Employing Lugg's theoretical frame, we can see how **queer theory** illuminates the historical record regarding the Lavender Scare and **queer** purges (2016). Whether we consider the ways Dartmouth fraternity men redefined masculinities, LGBT teachers refined professional identities or the multiple, complex ways in which targeted students, faculty, and their interrogators described sexuality and gender identities during the purges, it is clear that identity is not a stable concept. It is equally clear that anti-queer bias permeated the U.S. political economy throughout most of the twentieth century. The power to define, through language and law, was both controlling and contested. During the Cold War, "Femininity and homosexuality became potent symbols for weakness and vulnerability…and sexual transgressions became tantamount to treason" (Boyd, 2003, pp. 71–72). Other dimensions of a person's life, most notably, race privilege and social class, had a bearing on the style and scope of resistance. Ultimately, the most repressive period in **queer** history in the United States led to the organization of new political pressure groups, demanding civil rights for **queer** citizens—educators among them (Blount, 2005; Graves & Nash, 2018; Harbeck, 1997; Johnson, 2004).

Notes

1 "Homosexuality" was an ambiguous concept during this period, used to refer to anyone and anything that didn't fit gender or sexuality norms. During the mid-twentieth century "there was no clear, consistent agreement on what constituted homosexual behavior, let alone homosexual identity…[this was] a critical point in gay and lesbian history when sociopolitical-economic conditions ushered in a transition in focus from homosexual acts to homosexual identities" (Graves, 2009, p. 30).

2 The committee's investigation at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University focused primarily on the 1956 Tallahassee bus boycott.

3 States began abolishing sodomy laws in 1961; by 2003 14 states and Puerto Rico still had sodomy laws on the books. Before the 2020 decision only 21 states and the District of Columbia had laws prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity.

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CHAPTER 68

LGBQ Faculty (Postsecondary)

Olivia M. Copeland, Jodi L. Linley and David J. Nguyen

1 Overview

In this entry, we discuss the climate for LGBQ faculty in postsecondary education, followed by the unique experiences and issues of LGBQ faculty in their work contexts of teaching, research, and service.

2 LGBQ Faculty and Climate

Renn (2010) highlighted "the studies of the experiences and identities of LGBT faculty…have been nearly absent" within higher education research (p. 136). Studies often group LGBQ faculty with other campus populations (e.g., student, staff) rather than focusing on the unique work experiences of faculty. One explanation is that few institutions capture and report data specific to LGBQ faculty, making it difficult to draw conclusive determinations regarding the state of higher education's climate for LGBQ faculty.

A growing number of studies, though, have considered **campus climate** for LGBQ faculty as standalone studies or grouped with transgender faculty (e.g., Garvey & Rankin, 2018; LaSala et al., 2008; McNaron, 1997; Rankin, 2003, 2005; Rankin et al., 2010). Homophobia and hostility characterize early findings on climate for LGBQ campus populations (Rankin, 2003, 2005), with institutional peers and students affecting the experience of LGBQ faculty (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; McNaron, 1997; Rankin, 2003; Sears, 2002). Disparate institutional geographies—such as region or urbanization—also contributed to climate perceptions, as rural environments, for example, are associated with increased feelings of isolation due to community size and values (Bell, 2000; Gray, 2009). Consequently, these institutional factors and climate can influence their decision to stay or intent to leave (Garvey & Rankin, 2018).

Other studies examine the environments more proximal to LGBQ faculty, primarily focusing on academic fields or departments that struggle with a history of exclusion and marginalization of underrepresented faculty (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; Lu et al., 2020). Sears (2002) outlined the importance of feeling personally supported in assessing one's work climate, and though

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LGBQ faculty of specific academic specializations may experience their academic and institutional climates differently, the immediate work environment shapes their perceptions of campus climate.

Climate effects hold a significant influence on retention, job satisfaction, and other career outcomes for faculty, which becomes more significant for underrepresented populations such as LGBQ faculty (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; Garvey & Rankin, 2018). Beyond overt hostility and discrimination, **microaggressive** behaviors, such as tokenism, homophobia, and challenging classroom contexts represent some of the interactions that further contribute to a negative climate (LaSala et al., 2008; McNaron, 1997). LGBQ faculty in chilly, **heteronormative** environments may also develop a sense of isolation or a need to "'cover' their sexuality" (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009, p. 85), creating a feeling of invisibility amongst their peers. These types of environmental factors allow for negative consequences on the career trajectories of faculty as they seek promotion and/or tenure, grant funding, and scholarly community access (Patridge et al., 2014). In short, many LGBQ faculty encountering a chilly climate may consider seeking more supportive environs elsewhere.

Multiple strategies have improved climate for LGBQ faculty. Multi-faceted approaches of addressing climate may provide the best results. Institutional non-discrimination policies that are inclusive of **sexual orientation** provide more structural protection for LGBQ people, including faculty (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; Nguyen et al., 2020; Patridge et al., 2014). Institutions may also target organizational **heteronormativity** by examining traditional organizational policies, such as time-off and family leave (Patridge et al., 2014). Additionally, as research emphasizes relationships between LGBQ faculty in promoting a strong sense of identity and buffering exclusionary interaction (Robinson, 2019), institutional initiatives to connect LGBQ faculty with the LGBTQ community both on and off campus may promote a stronger sense of inclusion and support (Patridge et al., 2014; Reinert & Yakaboski, 2017). On the departmental level, preemptive difficult dialogues and professional development may combat ignorance or bias about sexuality as well as address instances of bias as they arise (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; Patridge et al., 2014), although research also shows LGBQ ally training underprepares participants to confront sexuality-based discrimination or prejudice (Woodford et al., 2014).

3 LGBQ Faculty Work Contexts

Postsecondary education faculty typically have three primary responsibilities—teaching, research, and service. Depending on appointment type, faculty

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may be responsible for one, two, or all three roles. LGBQ faculty occupy roles across diverse academic disciplines and their visibility and representation are central to extant research about their faculty contexts.

3.1 *Context of Teaching*

Teaching involves making decisions about curriculum and pedagogy, and faculty hold academic freedom to teach and discuss topics related to their expertise. Some LGBQ faculty infuse LGBQ topics into curricula as a way to positively influence campus climate (Hughes, 2020). Indeed, queering the curriculum promotes content connection and academic thriving for LGBTQ+ students (Hill et al., 2021). Further, beyond representation in the curricula, LGBQ faculty simply being out in the classroom gives LGBQ students possibility models in diverse academic spaces (Cooper et al., 2019; Linley et al., 2016; Nielsen & Alderson, 2014; Wallace, 2002; Wood, 2005).

3.2 *Context of Research*

LGBQ faculty do research in all academic disciplines, yet the scholarship in this section focuses on those who do identity-focused research. A small body of scholarship has delineated the benefits and risks of identity-focused research, and we extend those ideas to LGBQ faculty doing research that centers **sexuality** or destabilizes heteronormativity. On one hand, LGBQ faculty may find doing research that centers sexuality empowering and providing connections or opportunities beyond those at the faculty member's institution (Taylor & Raeburn, 1995). On the other hand, LGBQ faculty studying identity-based topics may experience chilly academic departments or isolation among their departmental peers (Linley & Nguyen, 2015). Further, faculty who do identity-focused research are often targets of harassment (Ferber, 2018; Taylor & Raeburn, 1995). Indeed, some conservative media outlets are designed to find and publicize supposed liberal bias on U.S. college campuses (Quintana & Read, 2020), marking LGBQ and other minoritized faculty as targets.

3.3 *Context of Service*

Service is the third responsibility and takes many forms, such as supporting institutional, departmental, and professional communities. In addition to these formal service responsibilities, LGBQ faculty can be called upon disproportionately to participate in diversity, equity, and inclusion work that is formally required or informally called upon (Hanasano et al., 2019). LGBQ faculty members may become tokenized as a 'diverse' member of a committee to meet service obligations (Messinger, 2011). Informally, faculty may turn to activism or provide emotional labor towards students as ways to mitigate or redefine

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harmful academic climates for LGBQ people (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009) while increasing professional **visibility** and opportunities (Taylor & Raeburn, 1995).

4 Conclusion

In this entry, we synthesize research and scholarship about LGBQ faculty at postsecondary institutions. In summary, the climate for LGBQ faculty is complex, with faculty being mostly influenced by their immediate departmental microclimates. In terms of their workload expectations, LGBQ faculty navigate the benefits and risks of studying and teaching LGBQ topics, being out as teachers, and balancing activism with tokenization. No doubt, LGBQ faculty are essential to the success of postsecondary education, and their retention is paramount.

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CHAPTER 69

LGBQ K-12 Students

Derek A. Hutchinson and Steven H. White

1 Coming to "Terms" with LGBQ Students in K-12 Schools

A growing number of students in K-12 schools identify as LGBQ.[1] The most complete and current available research on the **sexual identities** of K-12 students in the United States focuses on high school populations (Table 69.1).

Conversely, these statistics document a gradual decline in the percentage of high school students who identify as heterosexual. In 2019, more than 1 in 10 high school students identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual[2] nationwide; and more than three-fourths of this group of students identify as bisexual (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2020). As the CDC (2016) noted, LGBQ "students are part of every community and are as racially, ethnically, socially, economically, and geographically diverse as their…peers" (p. 77).

Changing social beliefs and norms in the United States—particularly increased acceptance of nonheterosexuality—may contribute to the increased identification of LGBQ students. At the same time, there is reason to believe that the sexual labels used to represent identities within these studies are limited and therefore constrict the responses given by high school students in the aforementioned research.

In the 2019 National School Climate Survey undertaken by GLSEN (see GLSEN), Kosciw et al. (2020) noted the inclusion of additional terms to

TABLE 69.1 Sexual identification of high school students in the United States, 2015–2019[a]

	Heterosexual	Gay/Lesbian	Bisexual	Not sure
2019[b]	84.4% (83.4–85.3%)	2.5% (2.1–3%)	8.7% (8–9.4%)	4.5% (3.9–5%)
2017[c]	85.4% (84.1–86.6%)	2.4% (1.9–2.9%)	8% (7.2–9%)	4.2% (3.6–4.8%)
2015[d]	88.8% (87.3–90.1%)	2% (1.7–2.5%)	6% (5.2–6.9%)	3.2% (2.7–3.7%)

a Percentage of high school students (95% Confidence Interval).
b Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020, August 21).
c Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2018, June 15).
d Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2016, August 12).

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describe sexual identities (i.e., queer, pansexual, asexual) in their survey instrument based on student responses to open-ended questions in prior surveys. Other researchers—for example, Savin-Williams (2005) and Coleman-Fountain (2014)—have asserted LGBQ youth are increasingly rejecting sexual identity labels altogether as a way of avoiding social and political oppression and exclusion. Cohler and Hammack (2007) argued many LGBQ youth reject sexual identity as a defining characteristic; in doing so, these individuals decouple sexual attraction from identity and position their desires as part of an ordinary life, "in which concerns such as finding a good relationship and a satisfying job possess more primacy" (p. 55) than sexual identity labels.

2 Trends in Research on LGBQ K-12 Students

While some LGBQ youth eschew identity labels, "a significant portion of people continue to reject anything outside of normative heterosexuality regardless of how individuals choose to label or not label themselves" (Ng, 2013, p. 272). LGBQ students continue to report very real experiences of exclusion and oppression. Consequently, much of the current research has largely focused on school culture and the resulting experiences of LGBQ students. For example, LGBQ "youths experience more violence victimization…than heterosexual youths" (CDC, 2020, p. 19). LGBQ students are much more likely to be **bullied** at school or online than their heterosexual peers (CDC, 2020).

Kosciw et al. (2020) surveyed over 16,000 LGBQ students in the United States concerning their experiences at school. Researchers found that over half of respondents (59.1%) felt unsafe at school because of their sexual orientations (p. 16). A clear majority of students reported hearing negative remarks regarding nonheterosexuality, and over half of students reported hearing these comments from school staff; of these student respondents, a vast majority (91.8%) reported feeling "bothered or distressed" by the comments (p. 22). Further, more than two-thirds of the surveyed LGBQ students reported verbal harassment, approximately one-fourth reported physical harassment, and more than one in ten reported being physically assaulted based on sexual orientation (pp. 28–29). Most students did not feel comfortable reporting the incident(s) of harassment or assault for concerns such as fear of escalation, doubt that school staff would act on their behalf effectively, or general concerns about reaching approachable staff (pp. 32–34). Of those who did report incidents, approximately 60% reported that school staff did nothing in response or "told the students to ignore it" (p. XIX). Most (59.1%) respondents reported experiencing discriminatory policies and practices in their schools such as

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restriction of LGBTQ expression (public displays of affection, using LGBTQ+ topics in assignments/projects, or wearing clothing addressing LGBTQ+ issues) and exclusion from or limiting of extracurricular activities (writing about LGBTQ experiences/topics in school publications, promoting LGBTQ-supportive clubs) (p. 39).

These negative experiences at school have led to negative educational outcomes for students, including increased school absenteeism, lower grade point averages, fewer pursuits of post-secondary education, and higher rates of disciplinary action at school (Kosciw et al., 2020, p. 45). Beyond educational consequences, researchers have highlighted the increased likelihood of negative personal outcomes for LGBQ students such as self-harm, suicide ideation, and suicide (e.g., CDC, 2020; Ybarra et al., 2015), lower self-esteem and depression (Kosciw et al., 2020), mental health issues (e.g., Cohn et al., 2018; D'Augelli et al., 2006), and substance abuse (e.g., CDC, 2020; Huebner et al., 2015; Weber & Dodge, 2018).

3 LGBQ K-12 Students and Changing School Contexts

Blackburn and Pascoe (2015) documented a number of factors that foster more welcoming and inclusive school environments for LGBQ youth, such as LGBQ-**inclusive curriculum** and supportive educators and peers. Regarding curriculum, Banks (2013) argued that the lack of identity representation "marginalizes their experiences and cultures and does not reflect their dreams, hopes, and perspectives" (p. 182). Often the contributions of LGBQ persons are not recognized in school-based curriculum because normative gender and sexual identities are assumed unless explicitly noted. Currently, only a few states (e.g., California, Colorado, New Jersey, and Illinois) have implemented LGBQ-Inclusive curriculum, primarily concerning LGBQ history (see LGBQ-inclusive curriculum) (Schwartz, 2019). Several states, like Massachusetts, provide resources from state departments of education under the Safe Schools mandates (McKiernan, 2018). Conversely, the inclusion process has been slowed due to political push-back within the states. Five states (Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas) have mandated ***no promo homo* laws** that prohibit positive and affirming representation of LGBQ identities in K-12 schools. Such mandates limit how teachers can address issues of gender and sexuality in sexual health education but may also be misapplied to other curricular areas (Schwartz, 2019).

Holstine (n.d.) noted that "[s]tudents are more successful when they can see themselves in both their schools and in their curriculum; and all students

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benefit when they can learn from a variety of experiences and perspectives." Among educators, attitudes about gender and sexually diverse faculty being out at school are changing. As well, there is renewed hope for legal protections of LGBQ educators. In June 2020, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that employees are protected from discrimination at work based on **sexual orientation** or **gender identity** under federal law. These protections have the potential to allay fears educators have felt concerning coming out to their students and colleagues and may consequently impact the **school climate** for LGBQ K-12 students as more educators serve as role models and create safe spaces for students. Further, LGBQ-inclusive school policies provide support for many educators as they create safe and inclusive school environments for LGBQ students (e.g., Dessel, 2010; Theoharis, 2010; Wang, 2015).

Day et al. (2020) concluded that when LGBQ-inclusive policies were in place alongside supportive student organizations, like GSAs (see GSA), LGBQ youth perceived more peer and adult support within the school setting. Importantly, GSAs promote peer support, leadership, and advocacy. Marx and Kettrey (2016) concluded that the presence of GSA *clubs* was associated with lower levels of youth reporting homophobic victimization, fear for safety, and hearing homophobic remarks. Additionally, research by Lessard et al. (2020) found that schools with GSA clubs reported a lower prevalence of bias-based bullying at school in comparison to those without GSAs. Through empowerment and advocacy, LGBQ K-12 students continue to re-create safer and more equitable school contexts.

Notes

1 In this entry, LGBQ is used as an affirming and inclusive term for individuals who take up lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, asexual, pansexual, and questioning as sexual identity labels.

2 The surveys conducted by the CDC excluded multiple sexual identity categories (i.e., queer, asexual, and pansexual). The data collection instrument used in this research limited categories for self-identification of sexuality of high school students to "Heterosexual," "Gay or Lesbian," "Bisexual," and "Not Sure."

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CHAPTER 70

LGBQ K-12 Teachers

Mollie V. Blackburn and Joselyn L. Parker

1 The Rights of LGBQ Teachers

Within the United States, many strides have been made to protect the rights of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ+) community, including LGBQ teachers. In 2020, the Supreme Court ruled that LGBTQ+ people, and therefore LGBQ teachers, are protected under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1966, which bars employers, such as districts and schools, from discriminating against employees on the basis of sex, as well as race, color, national origin, and religion. Eventually, "sex" was interpreted to include gender, gender identity, and gender expression, thus including many LGBT people. Prior to that, however, workplace bias against gay and transgender employees had remained legal in the majority of the country, with 28 U.S. states lacking substantial measures against employment discrimination (Keith, 2020).

This political history came out of widespread **heteronormativity**, which did not keep LGBQ teachers from teaching but did keep most of them in the closet. Blount (2015) states that the "ranks of educators always have included persons who have desired others of the same sex or have transgressed conventional gender norms—despite the fact that until recently there was barely any mention of them in scholarship" (p. 161). She acknowledges that such silence was probably welcomed, since being identified would have likely resulted in them being fired. Historically, LGBQ teachers have been among the most discriminated professionals in the U.S. because of baseless stereotypes characterizing lesbians and gay men as having increased sexual **desires**, being more prone to act on pedophilia and molestation, and participating in "recruiting" youth into the gay "lifestyle" (DeLeon & Brunner, 2013; Jackson, 2007; Mayo, 2008). (Please note that most scholarship focuses on lesbian and gay teachers, rather than LGBQ teachers. We attempt to be as inclusive as possible while still being transparent. That is to say, we use LGBQ unless the study we are referencing does not. In which case, we represent the study accurately, including its limitations. Also, for more detail on purges of queer teachers, please see the entry "**queer purges**" in this encyclopedia.) Since then, residual sociopolitical pressures have regularly prevented queer teachers from disclosing their sexual identities in their classrooms and schools (Asher, 2007).

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2 The Complexities of Silence

There is evidence of this in an early interview study of lesbian physical education teachers, which found that those teachers believed they would be fired if they came out, so they worked to pass as straight, distanced themselves from others at school, and avoided issues related to LGBQ people (Woods & Harbeck, 1992). Similarly, a survey of LGBQ teachers found that whether they remained in or left the classroom, they mostly stayed in the closet or revealed their **sexual identity** to a single trusted colleague (Olsen, 1997). Bliss and Harris (1998) found in their survey that lesbian and gay teachers would disclose to other teachers, not administrators, and to women rather than men, regardless of whether potential confidantes were LGBQ. In the 1990s, being so careful in their disclosures resulted in educators having mostly positive experiences.

More recently, though, Endo et al. (2010) found that queer teachers still kept their personal lives distanced from work lives in ways that were distinct from how straight teachers might do so. For example, LGBQ teachers would not reveal their partners, if they had them, by avoiding bringing them to school events, having photographs of them, or even mentioning them in conversations at school. King (2004) found that some LGBQ teachers tried to avoid "acting gay" to prevent themselves from being outed in order to maintain such compartmentalization. According to Endo et al. (2010), concealing their sexual identities at school improved LGBQ teachers' job security and their relationships with local communities, particularly their students' parents. Moreover, keeping their personal and work lives separate decreased their chances of being harassed. That is to say, such compartmentalization provides LGBQ teachers with protection. It has other consequences as well, however. Connell (2015) notes that compartmentalization is not a choice by lesbian and gay teachers as much as an expectation of them, and an expectation that demands "strenuous emotional labor" (Connell, 2015 p.21). Many lesbian and gay teachers who remained closeted reported feelings of internalized homophobia, while some reported feeling guilty for hiding their sexual identity from their students, as they feared their silence would prevent opportunities to serve as role models for all students –especially for students who identify as **queer** (Connell, 2015).

3 LGBQ Teachers Coming Out

In the past twenty years, more LGBQ teachers have started **coming out** in their classrooms and their schools, in part to endure the emotional labor of teaching (Wright et al., 2019), but also to benefit students while working against

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heteronormativity more broadly. When schools support LGBQ teachers, they create a climate where both teachers and students hear less homophobic and transphobic language from students and school staff, and where they feel safer and therefore more likely to have a positive experience (Zongrone et al., 2020). Rudoe's (2010) study of lesbian teachers, for example, revealed that teachers who felt supported in their sexual orientation felt genuinely happy at work (Rudoe, 2010, p. 32). Other scholarship pointed to the significant contributions LGBQ teachers can make to classrooms, schools, and education more broadly (Nixon, 2006; Rofes, 2000). With so much to gain, Harbeck (1992) argued for teachers coming out, and Griffin (1992) conducted a participatory study in which teachers worked together toward coming out and taking action by challenging "name-calling, anti-gay comments, and AIDS jokes, and by integrating episodes of homophobia education into their classrooms" (p. 193). The idea is that LGBQ teachers' presence in classrooms and schools encourages diversity, inclusion, and representation, but it also raises the question of the diversity, inclusion, and representation of the teachers themselves. Early research from the 20th century, focused mostly on white lesbian and gay teachers from the United States. Recently, more attention has been paid to racial diversity, internationality, and queerness.

4 Missing in Research: LGBQ Teachers of Color

Research centering the lives of LGBQ teachers of Color is severely limited (Hayes, 2014). Some may argue that the limitations are due to an absence of people of Color in the teaching profession in general, and LGBQ people of Color in particular (Dejean & Sapp, 2010; Gillborn, 2005). Others contend that failing to include the experiences of LGBQ teachers of Color among queer teachers in U.S. is a failure to conceptualize the adverse effects of racism in conjunction with homophobia. There is literature that focuses on teachers of Color and that which focuses on queer teachers, as reviewed here, but those who sit at the intersection of being both people of Color and queer are essentially absent (Brokenbrough, 2012). According to Brockenbrough (2012), who studied Black gay men who are teachers, they are situated at the intersection of two distinct professional legacies: the affordances of Black teachers' culturally mediated pedagogical traditions, which support positive relationships with their minoritized students, while also being immersed in dilemmas of queer teachers' vulnerability under homophobic surveillance, which creates fear of being outed or exposed. Such exposure is riskier for teachers who are already minoritized by being people of color in a society and system steeped in white

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supremacy. That is to say, the ideals of white supremacy are so deeply embedded into the fabric of the U.S. society that the further one gets away from the ideas of "whiteness," meaning not just in terms of race but also in terms of gender and sexuality or **cisheteronormativity**, the more likely one needs to contend and combat assumptions of both external and internal inferiority. Although extant literature focuses on Black queer men as teachers, white supremacy and cisheteronormativity.

5 LGBQ Teachers Internationally

In the past decade, attention on LGBQ teachers around the globe has increased. The content of some of these international studies resembles that of previous U.S.-based studies. For example, Neary (2013) studied lesbian and gay teachers coming out in Irish schools, and Gray (2013) studied LGB teachers coming out in schools in the United Kingdom. Others studied LGBQ teachers' school experiences: Lundin (2016) studied the experiences of gay and bisexual teachers in European schools, Lander (2018) looked at queer teachers in Columbia, and Amoor (2019) examined the exclusion of queer teachers in Isreali high schools. While much of the content of these studies parallels studies conducted in the U.S., the insights on what the dilemmas of LGBQ teachers were in contexts outside the U.S. is important.

Moreover, much of the scholarship pushes beyond this contribution. Russell (2010), for example, examines the complicated relationships between queer teachers and students in Canada, and Neary (2017) examines how the relationships between LGB teachers, parents, and students were impacted when those teachers entered civil partnerships with their significant others. Rudoe (2018) explores how lesbian and gay teachers in the United Kingdom are impacted by school policies related to homophobia, sex, and sex education. Thus, more recent scholarship shows LGBQ teachers around the globe, including their experiences with students, students' parents, and school policy and practices.

6 Queer Possibilities

In addition to more recent scholarship focused on racial diversity and internationality, there has also been more attention paid to queerness as distinct from lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities. Attending to queerness does not, necessarily, mean focusing on different teachers; instead, it can mean looking at the same teachers differently. Khayatt (2002), for example, wondered

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how her earlier study on lesbian teachers (1992) might have been different if she had understood queer possibilities. Some scholars, in taking up queerness focus less on teachers' identities and more on the work of teaching as queer. McNinch (2007) and Rofes (2000), for example, embraced **queer theory** as they explored the role of the erotic in teaching. Further, Morris (2005) argues for queering school, which she conceptualized as "throwing into question sedimented, rigid gender/sexuality categories" (p. 12). This approach has been embraced by teachers across grade levels in recent years (e.g., Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018).

7 Conclusions

Whether LGBQ teachers choose to come out in their classrooms and schools and what the consequences are for such decisions, whether they are devastating and/or liberatory for teachers and/or their students, is complicated. It's complicated by the relationships teachers share not only in their personal lives, but also those with students, their parents/guardians, other teachers, and administrators. It's also complicated by *who* they are in the world, beyond their sexual identities, such as racial identities. It's further complicated by *where* they are in the world, both in local and global terms, like whether they are in rural or urban contexts and whether they are in Columbia or Israel, as examples. It's complicated because LGBQ teachers are in no way monolithic. Their wants, needs, and desires are as varied as the teachers are themselves. As such, they matter in profound ways to their students, schools, and communities.

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CHAPTER 71

LGBQ Postsecondary Students

Kristen A. Renn

LGBQ students in postsecondary education are those college and university students who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, or some other **sexual orientation** that is not heterosexual. They attend two-year or four-year degree-granting institutions of any size that are public or private, place-based or online. LGBQ college students have typically graduated high school and range in age throughout the adult lifespan, though they are likely to reflect the national average college student age of 26 with a plurality between 18 and 24. LGBQ students may be of any **gender identity**, and there are LGBQ students in all racial, ethnic, national, religious, cultural, socioeconomic, and other demographic and social identity categories.

There are no precise national statistics on the number of LGBQ college students because there is no mechanism and no requirement to collect and report data on students' sexual orientation as there are for federally defined categories of race, ethnicity, and sex. Estimates for the percent of college students who are LGBQ come from self-reported sexual orientation on general population surveys about college student health, attitudes, or engagement. In compiling the results of a number of national surveys that asked college students for their sexual orientation, Greathouse et al. (2018) determined that about 7.2% of survey respondents identified their sexual orientation as "queer spectrum" (i.e., LGBQ or another identity that was not heterosexual), with percentages on individual surveys ranging from 5.3 to 12.6.

1 History of LGBQ Students in Postsecondary Education

General social histories of sexually minoritized people would suggest that there have always been college students who were not heterosexual. Limited evidence from before the 19th century, however, makes it hard to ascertain that claim. Personal narratives, biographies, and historical research show that from the late 1800s, there were students who formed same-gender romantic friendships (Faderman, 1991; Sahli, 1979). These intense friendships between same-gender college students, and the existence of women academics in committed lifelong partnerships (sometimes called "Boston Marriages") at 19th

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century U.S. women's colleges (Graves, 2018), was offered by opponents of women's education as examples of the unwelcome outcomes that would result from postsecondary access for women (Gibson, 1998). Narratives of same-gender "smashes" (or crushes) portray romantic friendships between women (Sahli, 1979), and there are documented cases of student expulsions for same-gender attraction and sexual activity (suspected or actually observed) (Graves, 2018). There is evidence of **purges** of queer students and faculty through the 1960s, attributed in part to anti-Communism and the "Lavender Scare" or "Pink Scare" (Dilley, 2002; Graves, 2018).

By the late-20th century, same-gender sexual orientation came to be seen as a psychiatric (that is, medical) condition and practices on many campuses turned from punishment to treatment, such as in counseling centers. In 1973 the American Psychiatric Association (APA) removed "homosexuality" from its list of psychiatric disorders. Colleges and universities continued to offer counseling services aimed toward sexually minoritized students but also began in the 1970s and 1980s to focus on helping LGBQ students cope with the effects of dealing with stigma, homophobia, discrimination, and anti-gay violence (Dilley, 2002; Graves, 2018; Marine, 2011).

In concert with community organizing outside higher education, gay and lesbian—later explicitly naming bisexual students and still later including "Q" for **queer**—began forming student organizations. The emergence of these campus groups most likely did not increase the actual number of LGBQ-identified students, but the groups did increase the **visibility** of this community (Dilley, 2002). Student affairs and services professionals in higher education began to recognize particular needs for support, education, training, and campus programming for and about LGBQ students (Graves, 2018; Marine, 2011). From the 1990s through the early 2020s, hundreds of campuses opened LGBT resource centers, most of which focus on the experiences and needs of students (Gilbert et al., 2020; Marine, 2011). In about 130 years, LGBQ students have come full circle in postsecondary education, from being subject to anti-gay purges to having campus resources dedicated to their wellbeing and success.

2 Contemporary Issues for LGBQ Students in Postsecondary Education

In many ways, LGBQ students and others with minoritized sexual identities experience college the same way as their heterosexual peers, and there is a multi-disciplinary field of study called *higher education* that includes research on postsecondary students in general and LGBQ students in particular. Specific

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to contemporary LGBQ students, there are topics worth noting in the areas of identity development, **campus climate**, and student success.

2.1 *Identity Development*

LGBQ students hold multiple social identities in addition to sexual orientation: gender, race, ethnicity, social class, ability, and so on. They also hold identities in relation to family (oldest child, single parent), academics (math whiz, poet), and career aspirations (future nurse, novice engineer, emerging social entrepreneur). College can be a time of identity exploration and commitment in any of these domains, and the domains themselves interact to create person-specific experiences of identity development (Jones & Abes, 2013).

A great deal of research on sexual orientation development in college students has focused on the formation of gay or lesbian identity (Renn, 2010). There is less research on bisexual, asexual, pansexual, and other queer-spectrum identities, though Dillon and colleagues (2011) offered an inclusive model of sexual identity development. This model resembles other sexual orientation identity development theories in following patterns of exploration ("Who am I?") and commitment ("This is who I am"), which can occur in successive iterations. Beginning with the realization that they are not heterosexual, LGBQ college students may begin to explore their romantic, intellectual, and physical attractions to other individuals, then commit to an LGBQ (or other non-heterosexual) identity (Dillon et al., 2011). Exploration may occur in in-person or virtual settings as the individual experiences new thoughts and feelings or new recognition and naming of existing thoughts and feelings. Many college students find that being in a new setting, typically away from high school, sometimes away from their family and home community, provides opportunities to try new ideas and experiences (Jones & Abes, 2013). If they have moved out of a family home, they may have more freedom to explore their sexual identity. Students may find formal or social LGBQ groups to join, might learn about LGBQ topics in college courses, and might encounter adult role models in LGBQ faculty and staff. Each of these contexts provides opportunities to explore LGBQ identity.

In the sense of the Dillon et al. (2011) model of sexual identity formation, committing to an LGBQ or other non-heterosexual identity may also occur in college. Like exploration, commitment may be facilitated by participation in in-person or online communities of LGBQ people. An important—though not essential—element of sexual orientation identity development is being accepted into a group of LGBQ people or being accepted as LGBQ in a caring peer group with members of any sexual orientation (Dillon et al., 2011). The ability to express LGBQ identity through language, appearance, symbols,

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or relationships allows the individual to signal a degree of commitment to this identity and to know that others see their LGBQ identity as part of them. This commitment may take a number of forms—some more visible than others—but the commitment to a sexual orientation signifies a level of identity development.

LGBQ identity commitment does not necessarily mark the end of sexual orientation identity development. A cycle of continued identity exploration and commitment—to the same or possibly a different sexual orientation—is assumed to be a natural part of healthy development (Dillon et al., 2011; Jones & Abes, 2013). When considered in the context of other intersecting identity development processes, it makes sense to think about revisiting one's LGBQ identity to understand what it means to be, for example, a bisexual cisgender Black man, a working-class white lesbian, or a gender non-binary bisexual Muslim (Jones & Abes, 2013). Exploration and commitment can recur across the lifespan as sexual orientation remains a fluid identity. The intellectual and social atmosphere of higher education can provide opportunities for these identity development processes.

2.2 *Campus Climate*

It is difficult to consider LGBQ college students without paying attention to campus climate (see also entry on **Campus Climate Research**). Campus climate is the felt experience of a college or university and is conveyed interpersonally (through interactions with other people), organizationally (through policy and the presence of visible support for LGBQ people), and culturally (through a history of LGBQ inclusion and visibility and contemporary efforts to welcome people with minoritized sexual orientations). Campus climate can be measured on an institution-by-institution basis, and there are hundreds of examples of institutions that have conducted climate studies. Campus climate can also be measured through large-scale national studies that provide a larger picture of LGBQ student experiences (for a compilation and analysis of several national surveys, see Greathouse, 2018).

On the whole, LGBQ campus climate is seen to be better than the climate for LGBQ high school students. College applicants with economic resources have some level of self-selection that allows them to choose institutions that rate highly on "best colleges for LGBT students" lists or that receive high scores on national benchmarks for campus climate (e.g., Campus Pride Index[1]). But even without self-selection of this type, LGBQ students typically find themselves on campuses where homophobic incidents are less common than at high schools. Over time, surveys have shown improvement in LGBQ climate, though climate

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for transgender students—often measured in the same studies as the climate for LGBQ students—has not improved to the same extent.

It is important to note that while LGBQ climate at colleges and universities has improved over time and is usually more positive than in high schools, postsecondary institutions remain sites of anti-LGBTQ attitudes and discrimination. In examining the results of multiple studies that measured LGBQ campus climate, Greathouse et al. (2018) found that 79% of queer-spectrum students, compared to 96% of heterosexual students, agreed that students of their sexual orientation were respected on campus. Queer-spectrum students felt less safe in the community, more likely to hear stereotypical views on sexual orientation, and less satisfied with their social experience. They were more likely to say that they had considered leaving their institution. Surveys of college graduates from multiple decades indicate that campus climate has improved over time (Garvey et al., 2018).

2.3 *Student Success: Completing a College Degree*

Most postsecondary students—of any sexual orientation—begin a two-year or four-year degree with the intention of completing it. National data for college completion shows that a substantial percentage of students do not reach their goals; just over 60% of students who began a bachelor's degree program in fall 2012 had completed a degree by the end of 2018, and one-third of students at two-year colleges completed degrees (U.S. Department of Education, 2020). These national data do not track LGBQ students, but the campus climate data cited above suggest that LGBQ students are no more likely than their peers to complete college, and in fact, may be somewhat more likely to leave without a degree. There is more to the idea of student success than degree completion, but persisting in college until meeting one's goal of earning a degree is generally considered a measure of student success.

Recent research on LGBTQ+ student success offers some clues as to how and why some LGBQ students persist in college in spite of challenging campus climate and whatever other obstacles (e.g., financial, academic, health) they encounter. LGBQ students report that having instructors who are LGBT and/or support LGBT issues is one factor in staying motivated for academic work (Linley et al., 2016). They also report that engaging in campus leadership and activism provides a way to connect with other LGBQ students, work to change the institution for the better, and give back to their community (Hill et al., 2020). Finally, LGBQ students report that supportive policies and institutional practices such as a non-discrimination policy, the presence of an LGBT campus resource center, and inclusion of LGBT topics in campus diversity and equity efforts helps them feel like they belong on campus and provides recourse for

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dealing with negative incidents (Pitcher et al., 2018). These factors alone cannot assure college completion, but they may improve campus climate and remove some obstacles for LGBQ student success. Engagement with academic and campus organizations provides further motivation and reward for staying in college.

Note

1 www.campusprideindex.org

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CHAPTER 72

LGBQ Teacher Induction

Summer Davis

1 What Is Teacher Induction

Although learning to teach occurs in a variety of places and stages in a teacher's career, the period of time between one's teacher education program (TEP) and the initial years of teaching is particularly formative (Feiman-Nemser, 2001). Though teacher induction is often associated with first-year teachers, some (Shillingstad et al., 2015) consider it to include up to the first three years within the profession, while others (Bezzina, 2006) centralize pre-service teachers' (PSTs) field experiences and methodological coursework as part of the induction, since these are often associated with professional determinations, (Dawson & Shand, 2019; Robinson, 2012). Truly, teacher induction is a critical threshold in which the bulk of the daily responsibilities, which were previously managed alongside a more veteran cooperating teacher, now rest squarely on the shoulders of novice educators. Correspondingly, the challenges of this period have been associated with teacher attrition, as nearly half of all teachers leave within their first three years and even greater proportions from schools that serve marginalized populations (Ingersoll, 2003; Ingersoll & Perda, 2010; Loeb et al., 2005; Strom et al., 2018). Importantly, minoritized novice teachers often report receiving fewer supports during this period than their white peers while simultaneously being championed as role models and as sources of culturally relevant understandings for their learners (Villegas & Irvine, 2010; Ingersoll & May, 2011). Additionally, the majority of empirical evidence has focused on racially minoritized teachers (Ronfeldt & McQueen, 2017); consequently, very little is known about LGBTQ+ novice teachers and the supports they receive.

2 LGBQ-Identifying Pre-service Teachers Experiences and Induction

Less than a handful of studies have examined the transition from pre-service to in-service teaching for such educators, with the majority of these studies taking place outside the United States (Toledo & Maher, 2019). Because there is such limited information about LGBTQ+ novice teachers, this entry serves as an overview regarding empirical studies' findings on LGBQ[1] pre-service

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experiences and/or their induction process. The majority of research that exists on LGBQ PSTs has been conducted in Australia and the United Kingdom. In such countries, "religious exemptions to anti-discrimination acts permit direct prejudice against non-heterosexual teachers" (Russell, 2021, p. 1). Similar conditions exist in specific state and school contexts in the United States, where in-service LGBTQ+ teachers have reported experiencing employment ramification, such as demotion, transfers, harassment, exclusion, and/or termination as a result of their sexual orientation and/or gender identification (Blount, 2006; Jennings, 2015). Such matters provide the sociocultural contexts for LGB teacher induction.

LGBQ pre-service and novice teachers have expressed struggles with managing identities, concepts of passing, and lack of having role models and/or spaces to explore such concepts (e.g., Davis, 2020; Ferfolja, 2014; Toledo & Maher, 2019). For example, in order to gain or maintain acceptance within their teaching communities, LGBQ PSTs (with varying degrees of *outness*) often attempted to project different qualities and/or values perceived as heteronormative or "less threatening" (Nixon & Givens, 2004). Such embodied performances may include, but are not limited to, their **gender expression**, assuming long-term and monogamous relationships, and professing a desire for children (DeJean, 2004; May, 2008; Paparo & Sweet, 2014). Thus, teachers' perceptions of K-12 success were predicated on passing as straight or performing "khaki drag," or a "stifling, stiffening, ironing-out of the complex fibers in the fabric that expresses [an] 'outlawed gender' to the world" (Keenan, 2017, p. 98). Accordingly, a specific aspect to LGBQ PSTs' inculcation is their grappling with the hidden curriculum of their field training, which rewards **heteronormative** subjectivities (Nixon & Givens, 2004; Nixon, 2010), thus exacerbating the emotional turmoil of PSTs who struggled with having previously "come out" in different contexts (e.g., within college, to relatives) only to "re-closet" themselves in their new professions (Nixon & Givens, 2004; Russell, 2021, p. 11).

A handful of studies have spotlighted the importance of LGBTQ+ teacher mentorship and the quality of such mentoring within teacher preparation programs (DeJean, 2004; Paparo & Sweet, 2014; Taylor, 1998). More recently, Taylor's (2018) study of the mentoring relationships between LGBTQ+[2] student teachers and LGBTQ+ in-service music teachers found that older mentor teachers who were in more socially conservative school contexts tended to present more trepidation towards addressing their LGBTQ+ identity and LGBTQ+ issues, whereas the youngest mentor in the study suggested an approach of full-disclosure as to normalize LGBTQ+ topics. This concern has been echoed in other studies of PSTs' induction. Across disciplinary contexts and/or grade levels, studies have described participants' personal struggles with how much they should disclose, when, and to whom (Davis, 2020; Toledo & Maher, 2019).

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Taken altogether, researchers have highlighted the salient issues and barriers in the induction process for LGBQ identifying teachers. Research has also suggested that queer-identifying novice teachers place (or have placed on them) additional—but often veiled—pressures, leaving them to feel hyper-(in)visible, isolated, overcommitted, and under-supported and thereby, pushed out of the profession (Brockenbrough, 2012; Davis, 2020).

3 Missing Voices and Future Directions in Queering Teacher Induction

Nevertheless, while such information has made important contributions in diversifying the heteronormative canon of teacher induction literature, there are still many voices missing from our understanding of LGBQ and, more specifically, transgender, **gender-queer**, and/or non-binary teacher induction. More empirical studies are needed in terms of not just understanding but muddying, expanding, and questioning the customary ways of studying gender and sexuality in teacher induction. While there is a growing sense that geographic contexts affect LGBTQ+ teachers' perceptions of teaching, their pedagogical practices, and their comfort in disclosing their sexual orientation (Davis, 2020; Mayo, 2008), scholarship must also attend to intersections of sexual orientation with other aspects of identity such as race, socio-economic status, and gender, as "sexuality is never experienced in isolation from the whole subject" (Robinson & Ferfolja, 2001, p. 124).

Consequently, the dearth of literature on LGBTQ+ teachers must grapple with the preponderance of a white gaze (Keenan, 2017). Future studies should amplify the voices of non-white LGBTQ+ teachers, as well as consider the ways white novice teachers both reinforce and reject whiteness in their own teaching practices. Finally, while the uniquely different challenges that LGBTQ+ PSTs face during their induction should be recognized, research must also consider ways to fully celebrate and nuance their lives so that their **sexual orientation** and/or gender presentation create a true portraiture of their induction experiences.

Notes

1 While research of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and/or queer-identifying teachers' induction are sorely underrepresented in the induction literature, empirical studies regarding trans*, non-binary, and/or gender-queer teachers are in dire need of exploration.

2 This is one of the few studies of pre-service teachers that included the experiences of a trans* participant.

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CHAPTER 73

LGBTQ Education Research (Postsecondary)

Kristen A. Renn

Research on LGBTQ+ issues in postsecondary education, or higher education, is a multi-disciplinary field that has grown substantially since the 1980s. Scholars approach this topic from disciplinary lenses, including sociology, psychology, history, and literature, and from the perspective of higher education studies (Renn, 2020; Tight 2013). The majority of LGBTQ+ research in higher education focuses on college students, with additional scholarship on **campus climate**, faculty and staff, curriculum, and policy (Renn, 2010). Historically, this body of literature addressed LGBTQ+ topics at four-year institutions, but there is increasing attention to the two-year institution context. Four substantive syntheses (Dilley, 2004; Duran, Blockett et al., 2020; Renn, 2010; Tierney & Dilley, 1998) of research on sexual orientation and/or gender identities in higher education punctuate the literature and provide milestones for understanding its development. Three recent overviews of studies of LGBT college students (Duran, Jackson et al., 2020; Lange et al., 2019; Rankin et al., 2019) provide additional insight into the evolution and diversification of LGBTQ+ research in postsecondary education.

1 Early Literature on Sexual Orientation in Higher Education

Research related to LGBTQ+ people and issues in higher education began in the late 1970s, after the American Psychological Association's 1973 determination that "homosexuality" was not a mental illness (Tierney & Dilley, 1998) and was limited primarily to studies related to sexual orientation. As Tierney and Dilley (1998) noted in their review of gay and lesbian studies in education, the landmark APA decision destigmatized gay and lesbian identities and enabled education researchers to shift their focus from a deviance or illness framework to one emphasizing "normalcy and assimilation" (p. 42). Researchers from a range of fields joined those from psychology and sociology to create the foundation of gay and lesbian (later LGBTQ) studies in and about higher education. Narratives of gay, lesbian, and eventually also bisexual academics established their presence in colleges and universities and built a parallel research tradition

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to empirical and humanist studies (e.g., d'Emilio, 1990; Garber, 1994; McNaron, 1997; Mohr, 1984).

Analyzing research conducted after the 1973 APA determination, Tierney and Dilley (1998) identified four categories of studies designed to promote the idea of "normalcy" (p. 43) of gay and lesbian people in higher education, or the idea that gay and lesbian people were no different from heterosexuals. The categories were "(a) issues of visibility; (b) studies of the climate of the organization; (c) studies that suggest ways to improve educational organizations for lesbian and gay people; and (d) studies about [the academic field of] gay and lesbian studies" (p. 43). Though they were writing about education research in general, a substantial amount of the literature they examined and included in their thinking came from higher education rather than K-12 education research. Studies of gay and lesbian college faculty and students created **visibility**. Campus climate studies began to expose the discrimination, harassment, and violence LGBTQ+ people faced on campus. Legal analyses outlined the free association rights of students at public institutions to organize and hold events. As the field of gay and lesbian, later queer studies evolved it was chronicled mainly by humanities scholars who were involved in expanding its theoretical boundaries (Tierney & Dilley, 1998). Research on LGBTQ+ issues in postsecondary education grew slowly until the late 1990s. Studies remained focused primarily on LGBQ issues, with limited attempts to address gender identity and modest attention to combinations of sexual, gender, and racial identities (Renn, 2010).

2 Proliferation and Diversification of LGBTQ Research in Higher Education

In the first two decades of the 21st century, LGBTQ higher education research broadened and deepened. Dilley (2004) identified 27 research articles published between 2000 and 2003 that addressed "campus climate, student life issues, and college teaching" (p. 105). He further noted a number of chapters and books that addressed these topics, as well as queer theory and LGBTQ+ studies.

By 2010, LGBTQ+ scholarship in higher education had evolved to include studies of student experiences and identities, faculty, campus climate, policy, and teaching (Renn, 2010). Studies addressing LGBTQ+ identities and experiences made up the largest subset, though topics related to LGBTQ+ students of Color in particular and transgender students, in general, were under-researched, and literature on transgender faculty and staff was even more sparse. Researchers had begun to examine diversity among LGBTQ+ students, with

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studies of LGBQ students of Color and LGBQ students of particular religious groups emerging.

In the subsequent decade, scholars substantially expanded research on transgender students, diversity among LGBTQ+ college students, and college impact on LGBTQ+ students (Lange et al., 2019). Visibility literature focused on transgender and nonbinary students and intersections of gender identity with sexual orientation. Campus climate remained a core topic, with a turn toward anti-deficit framings of LGBTQ+ students as resistors, leaders, and activists. Studies of college student success and thriving focused on sense of belonging and institutional supports for LGBTQ+ students (Lange et al., 2019). Explicit attention to LGBTQ+ students and organizational supports in community colleges added to the richness of the LGBTQ+ higher education literature (Rankin et al., 2019).

3 Methodological Approaches to LGBTQ Higher Education Research

Across its evolution, LGBTQ+ higher education literature has followed a similar arc to other bodies of scholarship on minoritized people in higher education. Narratives and other scholarship that established the visibility of LGBTQ issues in higher education formed a foundation. Qualitative studies of identities and experiences followed, as did surveys that could form a broader picture. Over time, scholars pursued studies of specific combinations of **sexual orientation** and/or **gender identity** with other social categories such as race, ability, and social class. This arc touches a variety of research paradigms and methodologies.

The vast majority of LGBTQ+ higher education studies over time have been small samples, often on one campus. These studies provide valuable insight into LGBTQ+ lives and issues. They are appropriate for an emerging research area, and early studies – when identifying LGBTQ+ participants might entail putting them at risk for harm and before the internet made recruiting study participants possible remotely – were of necessity usually local. Studies of small populations, for example, studies of LGBTQ+ people with particular racial or ethnic identities, narrow the population substantially and provide critical knowledge about multiply minoritized people on campuses.

Small-scale studies are not intended to generate knowledge about the overall population of LGBTQ+ students, a task better served by an increasing amount of survey-based national studies. The most notable of these survey studies have been the national campus climate studies led by Susan Rankin and colleagues (Rankin, 2003; Rankin et al., 2010). More recently, a few

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national surveys of college students have begun to include sexual orientation and gender identity demographic items, enabling large-scale, multi-campus analyses of LGBTQ+ climate and student experiences. Greathouse et al. (2018) synthesized several of these studies to create the most comprehensive examination available of LGBTQ+ campus climate and student experiences at US research universities. It is important to note that the ways that national surveys of college students (e.g., Student Experience in the Research University, National Survey of Student Engagement, Cooperative Institutional Research Program) collect data on sexual orientation and gender identities are limited and limit the ways that LGBTQ+ identities can be expressed, understood, and studied. The introduction of queer critical quantitative approaches (Dockendorff, 2019; Garvey, 2019) shows promise for new approaches to survey-based LGBTQ+ higher education research, and scholars in the humanities and social sciences (e.g., Browne, 2008; Patterson, 2019) debate the potential for a non-essentializing approach to queer survey research.

The diversity of LGBTQ+ higher education research paradigms has increased over time. Tierney and Dilley (1998) discussed the development of the intellectual tradition of queer theory in higher education but did not discuss its application in studies about higher education. By 2010 a few studies had applied a queer theory lens, but most used post-positivist or constructivist approaches (Renn, 2010). In some areas of LGBTQ+ higher education research (e.g., psychology, counseling, career development, health education, economics, organizational behavior/management), these approaches continue to predominate.

Duran, Jackson et al. (2020) conducted an examination of articles limited to higher education journals and noted that from 2009 to 2018, critical and post-structural frameworks became predominant but also found that published studies lacked a clear connection of theory to research design. They called for authors to clearly articulate for readers the definitions of gender and sexuality they used in their studies and to consider how theory relates to the practice of higher education administration and policy. Duran, Jackson et al. (2020) called on researchers to go beyond increasing the visibility of LGBTQ+ higher education scholarship to embrace theoretical perspectives that allowed for "reimagined practice and environments on college campuses" (p. 9).

The use of **queer theory** and queered epistemologies in LGBTQ+ research is the subject of ongoing dialogue in the area of higher education studies. In acknowledging that part of the point of queer theory is to resist fixed definitions, thus making defining queer theory a challenging task, Allen (2015) noted, "For many queer theorists, it is precisely in queer's refusal to be captured that its greatest promise lies" (p. 681). To address this refusal and promise, Allen and Rasmussen (2015) focused attention from what queer theory *is* to what queer

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theory can *do* in higher education research. They point out that queer theory has utility well beyond studies of sexuality, gender, and bodies. Duran, Blockett et al. (2020) argued for a return to interdisciplinarity in the use of queerness and trans*ness in higher education studies. They called on researchers asking and answering questions about higher education to "move beyond our narrow understandings of queerness and trans*ness as solely representing identities a person holds [to] comprehend how queer and trans* studies can guide how we think about practices, environments, and policies in higher education" (p. 113). This call for transformation echoes Tierney and Dilley's (1998) framing of the scholarship of gay and lesbian visibility and normalcy as a foundation but not an endpoint.

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CHAPTER 74

LGBTQ Homelessness

Jarrett T. Gupton

1 Introduction

In the U.S., roughly 568,000 individuals experienced homelessness on a given night (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2020a). Looking inside that number demonstrates that the experience of homelessness is not evenly distributed across identity groups. Although homelessness is defined as a lack of adequate nighttime shelter primarily due to material hardship, homelessness is more often about intersecting forms of marginalization inside of systems of inequality. The issue of homelessness among LGBTQ+ adults and youth illustrates the realities of intersectional marginalization. Contributing factors that increase the likelihood of experiencing homelessness are health, mental health, poverty, violence, substance abuse, estranged family systems, foster care, race and ethnicity, **sexual orientation**, **gender identity**, culture, and education (Gupton, 2017; Gupton & Trost, 2018). While research on LGBTQ+ homeless individuals has grown, significant challenges remain. Developing social and political interventions is vital in addressing the needs of LGBTQ homeless youth and adults.

2 Prevalence of LGBTQ Adult and Youth Homelessness

LGBTQ+ adults and youth are overrepresented among those experiencing homelessness. As U.S. homeless policy makes an artificial distinction between adults (those 25 years of age and up) and youth (those age 24 and below), it is useful to examine the prevalence of homelessness among LGBTQ+ adult and youth populations separately. An estimated 17% of LGBQ experienced homelessness at some point in their lifetime, more than double that of the cisgender population (Wilson et al., 2020). The information on transgender and gender nonconforming homeless adults is minimal, but what data do exist point to similar trends of growing overrepresentation in the homeless population. An estimated 1 in 5 transgender individuals will experience homelessness in their lifetime (National Center for Transgender Equality, n.d.-a). Since 2016, there

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has been an 88% increase in transgender homelessness (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2020b).

Moreover, 63% of transgender people experiencing homelessness are unsheltered, compared to 49% of cisgender individuals (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2020b). Available data on gender nonbinary homeless adults indicates overrepresentation in the homeless population. For example, in 2018, there were 1,163 **genderqueer** homeless people (Janosko, 2019), and by 2019 the number increased to 1,362 (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2020a), with 80% being unsheltered (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2020c). The numbers of homeless LGBTQ+ adults are essential to accentuate, as they correlate with increased risk of substance abuse, multiple forms of trauma, and legal involvement.

National estimates suggest that between 320,000 and 400,000 LGBTQ youth experience homelessness over a year (Quintana et al., 2010). LGBTQ+ youth are disproportionately overrepresented among the youth homeless population (Maccio & Ferguson, 2016). Research suggests that between 20 and 40% of homeless youth identify as LGBTQ+ (Forge et al., 2019). Further, LGBTQ+ youth are an estimated 120% more likely to experience homelessness than cisgender or heterosexual youth (Morton et al., 2017). Within the LGBTQ+ homeless population, homeless youth of color constitute a disproportionately large population (Choi et al., 2015; Forge et al., 2019; Maccio & Ferguson, 2016). While data on transgender and genderqueer youth are rarely disaggregated from the broader LGBTQ+ population, a 2008 survey indicated 5% of youth identified as transgender (Freeman & Hamilton, 2008). The issue of prevalence is essential as it illustrates a continuous pattern that LGBTQ+ populations are at greater risk of homelessness.

3 Correlates and Causes of LGBTQ Homelessness

Poverty is cited as the primary driver of homelessness, hence why so many definitions of homelessness focus on material hardship (e.g., being able to afford housing). However, for LGBTQ+ adult and youth homeless populations, the association to poverty is weaker (Fraser et al., 2019). Research on LGBTQ+ homeless populations distinguishes three correlates. First, LGBTQ+ individuals experience higher rates of substance use when compared to heterosexual and cisgender individuals (Durso & Gates, 2012; Fraser et al., 2019; Gattis, 2013). Second, LGBTQ+ individuals are more likely to experience post-traumatic stress disorder and other psychiatric conditions than cisgender heterosexual homeless counterparts (Flentje et al., 2016). Third, Black, Indigenous, and

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Latine individuals are overrepresented in the homeless population and in the LGBTQ+ homeless population (Moses, 2019; Page 2017). None of these three individual correlates explain rates of homelessness among the LGBTQ+ population. The causes of LGBTQ+ homelessness are systemic issues that exclude them from housing and deny them protection under the law.

For LGBTQ+ youth, a primary cause of homelessness is family rejection (Choi et al., 2015; Eckler, 2016; Ferguson & Maccio, 2015). An estimated 25–40% of LGBTQ youth leave home due to conflicts with their family over their sexual or gender identity (Durso & Gates, 2012; Maccio & Ferguson, 2016; Whitbeck et al., 2004). While family rejection is the main reason for youth homelessness, it is often correlated with experiences of abuse, entrance into the foster care system, and involvement with the juvenile justice system (Baams et al., 2019; Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2013; Choi et al., 2015; Cochran et al., 2002; Ecker, 2016; Forge et al., 2018; Hull, 2020; Irvine & Canfield, 2015; Jacobs & Freundlich, 2006; Rew et al., 2005; Whitbeck et al., 2004).

4 Policy and LGBTQ+ Homelessness

A further issue perpetuating homelessness among LGBTQ+ populations is the lack of legal protections based on sexual or gender identity. LGBTQ+ populations experience discrimination in housing. Currently, only 22 states and D.C. prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. An additional six states interpret sex discrimination laws to include sexual orientation and gender identity, and one state expressly prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation (Movement Advancement Project, n.d.). The other 21 states and five territories have no explicit state laws prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity. At the federal level, in July of 2019, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) removed requirements that organizations applying for homeless funding maintain **anti-discrimination policies** towards LGBTQ+ people. A year later, in July of 2020, HUD announced a rollback of protections for transgender people from discrimination in shelters and housing services that receive federal funding (National Center for Transgender Equality, n.d.-b). These two policy changes were an attack on the rights of LGBTQ+ people and would further increase overrepresentation in the homeless population. While the Biden administration has restored the anti-discrimination policies, it is essential to reflect that one in five transgender people experience housing discrimination. One in ten is evicted because of their gender identity (National Center for Transgender Equity, n.d.-a). Without a clear and enforceable policy related to gender

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identity and sexual orientation at state and local levels, LGBTQ+ people will continue to experience housing discrimination.

5 Queering Homelessness

The data on LGBTQ+ homelessness is fragmented. To remedy that, researchers should systemically collect data on LGBTQ+ and gender nonbinary homeless adults and youth to create an inclusive and coherent data record to offer insight into trends and individual responses. The data that does exist points to clear trends of systemic exclusion of LGBTQ+ people in educational, economic, and housing arenas, thus increasing their likelihood of experiencing homelessness. LGBTQ homelessness is an intersectional issue and requires attention to systems of inequality and material hardship.

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CHAPTER 75

LGBTQ+ Campus Resource Centers

Meg E. Evans

1 Overview

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer (LGBTQ+) campus resource centers serve as the central resource hubs for **queer** and trans students, staff, and faculty on college and university campuses in the United States by providing physical space, knowledgeable staff, support, and advocacy. Birthed of student and staff activism in the mid-1970s, LGBTQ+ centers or offices are currently located on over 200 campuses (Consortium of Higher Education LGBTQ Resource Professionals, 2021). While varied in name, size, structure, staffing, location, funding, and core operating values, all LGBTQ+ campus resource offices or centers should focus on queer and trans advocacy, support, and education.

2 Advocacy

From microaggressions to misgendering to acts of physical violence, queer and trans students, faculty, and staff experience a variety of harmful social and institutional offenses on college and university campuses (e.g., Broadhurst et al., 2018; Evans et al., 2017; Toomey & McGeorge, 2018; Wentling, 2019). LGBTQ+ campus resource centers should serve as a place of advocacy and activism by highlighting the experiences of queer and trans students on campus, engaging in campus assessment while pushing for more queer- and trans-affirming policies and practices at the institutional level and centralizing LGBTQ+-focused services. Relatedly, LGBTQ+ campus resource center staff should provide advocacy by serving as strategy builders and leaders of collaborative institutional efforts for greater queer and trans campus inclusion.

3 Support

All students need a place where they can be fully and authentically themselves, queer and trans students included, particularly since many queer and trans students experience exhaustion, fatigue, and isolation from combating

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homo/bi/transphobia **climates** on their campuses and within their communities (Evans et al., 2017; Wozolek et al., 2015). This is especially true for queer and trans students of Color (QTSOC) (Evans & Wallace, 2019; Johnson & Javier, 2017). LGBTQ+ campus resource centers, especially on historically and predominantly white campuses, tend to centrally serve white queer and trans students and often exclude QTSOC. Staff from LGBTQ+ centers should be intentional about understanding and honoring the unique intersectional needs of QTSOC by holding space specifically for QTSOC, interrogating the programming and support services to center Black and Brown voices/experiences, and actively engaging in anti-racist practices. LGBTQ+ campus resource centers should prove to be a place of refuge from the general campus culture while also working to address anti-LGBTQ+ campus climates. Additionally, LGBTQ+ campus resource centers should center queer and trans joy as a central praxis to enhance students' sense of belonging. LGBTQ+ campus resource centers may also communicate with queer and trans alumni to connect them with current students to serve as a means of support, mentorship, and affirmation.

4 Education

As an effort to make campuses more queer-and-trans-affirming, LGBTQ+ campus resource offices or centers often house queer and trans educational offerings like **Safe Space** workshops or series. Staff from LGBTQ+ campus resource offices or centers may also partner with other multicultural or diversity offices for other more specific or nuanced trainings (e.g., religion and LGBTQ+ identities, queer on fraternity row, etc.). Staff from LGBTQ+ campus resource offices or centers may also partner with academic departments or individual faculty for classroom presentations, guest lectures, or open workshops, adding to that department's queer and trans educational offerings.

5 Structure

The physical make-up of LGBTQ+ campus resource offices or centers varies from campus to campus in regard to staffing structures' physical spaces. Some campuses will have an office with a singular staff person (e.g., full or part-time staff) who manages the education and support offerings but does not have a physical space for students to convene. Many LGBTQ+ centers will have space for student programming and community-building efforts along with one or more full-time staff. Centers tend to be staffed by at least one full-time

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professional staff member and may be comprised of various additional staff (e.g., Student worker(s), Graduate Assistant(s), Coordinator(s), Assistant and Associate Director(s), and/or a Front Office Manager). Often, LGBTQ+ campus resource offices or centers are located within the student unions or central campus buildings (e.g., University of Georgia's LGBT Resource Center). They may also be located in stand-alone buildings (e.g., University of Vermont's Prism Center). Sometimes the LGBTQ+ campus resource office or center is housed within a greater multicultural or intercultural center or paired with an academic program (e.g., Gender Studies Department). For examples of the evolution of LGBTQ+ resources on a college campus, follow Elon University's story in *Trans People in Higher Education* (Bosch & Pursley, 2019).

6 Funding

Often housed within divisions of student affairs, funding for LGBTQ+ campus resource offices or centers varies from campus to campus. Funding may come from student activity fees, institutional revenue, state allocations, donor dollars, departmental or divisional revenue, academic department funding, or other external funding (e.g., community or organizational partnership). Use of the funding (e.g., program offerings, support services, etc.) may determine part or all the programming or resources offered by the LGBTQ+ campus resource center. Funding for LGBTQ+ centers may be complicated depending on the center's positioning within the division of student affairs and/or the political make-up of the campus, city, or state. State and/or federally funded offices may be subject to political shifts and tend to be heavily scrutinized under more conservative leadership. For example, see the controversy surrounding the funding of the University of Tennessee's Pride Center (Ohm, 2017).

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CHAPTER 76

Liminality

Shelly Melchior

The term "liminality" is derived from the Latin word *limen*, which references the threshold separating one space from another (Larson, 2014). The term has been used across multiple fields, including psychology, where the term was used to examine the threshold between patients' responses to stimuli intensity (Barron, 2013), and anthropology—the field where the term assumed its contemporary usage (Larson, 2014). In the early 20th century, Arnold van Gennep applied liminality as a concept to explore how "rituals across cultures have the function of moving a person from one status or social circumstance to another" (2014, para. 1; see also van Gennep, 1908/1960). Van Gennep saw people's lives as a series of transitions – through age, through relationships, through schooling and jobs, and through social groups. He asserted that human beings are forever in a state of transition (1908/1960)—a concept that has become integral to current understandings of liminality.

Victor Turner, like van Gennep, saw society itself as a "structure of positions" (1969, p. 93) with liminal spaces being the space occupied "betwixt and between" (1969, p. 95), a planned—or even unplanned—destination that he understood as only a stopping point on the path to another destination. For Turner, liminality was a space of ambiguity and uncertainty where those enmeshed within are often seen as outside societal norms – "threshold people" who are "necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in culture space" (1969, p. 359).

Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), who asserted herself as a Chicana, *tejana*-originating, **queer**, lesbian poet and writer, took these concepts and applied explored them in relation to personal identity and heritage in *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Her work has significantly shaped how scholars—especially in feminist and queer studies—engage with liminality as a concept and theoretical framework. In examining liminality as spaces located between socially instituted borders, including geographic, cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and racialized borders, Anzaldúa's discussion of liminal spaces hinged on what she termed "borderlands," or *nepantla*. She explained,

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> Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish us from them. A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition. The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants. *Los atravesados* live here: the squint eyed, the perverse, the queer, the troublesome, the mongrel, the mulato, the half-breed, the half dead; in short, those who cross over, pass over, or go through the confines of the normal. (1987, p. 25)

Liminality is always the in-between, but Anzaldúa noted that the concept is complex. It is sometimes chosen, sometimes expected, and sometimes enforced. It can be an agentive bridge between two places, spaces, fields, states, or a space to which individuals are relegated and in which they can even be trapped. These liminalities can be literal, such as ambiguous and contested spaces between national boundaries. Anzaldúa, in highlighting her Chicana and *tejana*-originating identities, for example, emphasized the degrees to which the borders between Mexico and the United States were created through colonization and conquest, and remain contested—often leaving communities and individuals caught in liminal geographic spaces between these presumed borders (1987), as those in power police and enforce pretend geographic demarcations.

Liminality, Anzaldúa notes, is also often internal, as individuals grapple to "understand this coming together of opposite qualities within, not as a flattening out or erasure of difference, but as a relation of *difference within*" (Barad, 2015, p. 175). Anzaldúa, in examining queer identities specifically, notes that **cisheteronormativity** often situates queer people in an in-between stuckness. In trying to simultaneously navigate enforced gender and **sexuality** norms and authentic self-expression and identity, queer people find themselves between competing thresholds, such as societal norms and authentic self, without the ability to move fully into either space. Anzaldúa, in discussing cisheteronormative oppressions, describes queer individuals as standing stuck in the in-between, with, as Barad puts it, a "fear of going home, the inability to go home," and equal paralysis to move into a new space (Barad, 2015, p. 175). Anzaldúa notes that being trapped in these borderlands is the result "of knowing (and of learning) the history of oppression…of mitigating duality. Living between worlds" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 19). These forced liminalities can be painful and damaging, as one world that a person occupies "grates against the first [world] and bleeds…a scab forms [and] hemorrhages […] the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third" (1987, p. 25).

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Painful and damaging, but also empowering, agential, real. In these moments of time, of space, place, or borders, liminality, or *nepantla*, "signals transition, uncertainty, alarming feelings of loss, pain, ambiguity, and oftentimes despair. *Nepantla* represents a crossroads of sorts, a nexus point, a space/time of paralysis, yet rich with transformational potential. In these moments of liminal opportunity, an individual can move on beyond the labels that bind them, as societal norms and oppressions seek to define, pigeon-hole, or box them in. Liminality, regardless of when forced, chosen, or potentially in-between emphasizes the degrees to which people are constantly in flux, refining and redefining who they are, how others interpret and understand them, and who they will be. Anzaldúa emphasized, importantly, that the thresholds that individuals navigate are, like geographic borders, nearly always societally constructed and enforced. In exploring the many liminalities that she traversed racially, ethnically, linguistically, and queerly, she asserted herself as choosing liminality rather than being forced to select only certain aspects of herself. She wrote,

> Think of me as Shiva, a many-armed and legged body with one foot on brown soil, one on white, one in straight society, one in the gay world, the man's world, the women's, one limb in the literary world, another in the working class, the socialist, and the occult worlds. A sort of spider woman hanging by one thin strand of web.
>
> Who, me confused? Ambivalent? Not so. Only your labels split me. (Anzaldua, 1981, pp. 45–46)

Initially, scholars in disciplines such as psychology and anthropology emphasized the degrees to which liminality was temporary and easily decipherable, with individuals traveling from one space to another through clear rites of passage, but Anzaldúa's work complicated liminalities to be borderlands that bleed into one another and their borders (1987). Clear delineations between these bordering spaces and identities are often impossible and sometimes oppressive (Decker & Winchock, 2017). Additionally, there are individuals who, due to oppressive systems such as cisheteronormativity and racism, permanently occupy liminal places—sometimes by choice, sometimes by force, and sometimes both (Anzaldúa, 1987; Decker & Winchock, 2017). The messiness of these thresholds offers ways of being, doing, and living that do not rely on longstanding societal norms and instead offer the potential for hybridized people and spaces. Anzaldúa, in emphasizing the ways that she is constantly at multiple thresholds, notes that she "continually walks out of one culture / and into another, / because I am in all cultures at the same time" (1987, p. 77).

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Her embodiment and embarkment of liminality offer valuable ways for queer scholarship to disrupt boundaries and norms and to explore, critique, and even sometimes potentially embrace the in-between.

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CHAPTER 77

Marxism and Marxist Theories of Gender and Sexuality

Kit Emslie

Marxism is a broad term for the political and economic ideals espoused by Karl Marx (1818–1883), author, with Frederich Engels (1820–1885), of *The Communist Manifesto* (1848). While current ideologies such as communism and socialism arose from Marxist thinking, the nature of "pure" Marxism remains elusive, fluid, and subject to debate by scholars and activists. If Marx's theoretical works can be said to have a unifying theme or goal, it is the exposure of a political reality in which everything—including human lives, attributes, and abilities—can be bought and sold as private property (Small, 2014).

While the social and philosophical implications of Marxism are wide-ranging and significant, Marx's body of work remains primarily concerned with political economy. Marxism hinges on the rejection of capitalism as a prevailing economic and social model, critiques class structures that confer power onto the rich upper classes (bourgeoisie), and calls for the redistribution of wealth and political agency among the oppressed working classes (proletariat) whose labor is exploited by the bourgeoisie as the means of economic production. For Marxists, this focus on class struggle underlies all other discourses; these 'relations of production' determine not only our political and economic conditions but permeate every aspect of our lived existence, transcending historical, national, and cultural contexts (Voline, 2019). Accordingly, the theoretical 'endpoint' of Marxism is the creation of a society in which the boundaries of class and wealth have been eliminated, and the means of production are no longer controlled by wealthy property owners whose power is afforded by the labor of disenfranchised workers.

Political and social agitators have taken up and reconfigured Marx's liberatory ideals in support of numerous causes, including but not limited to feminism, antiracism, and LGBTQ+ advocacy. However, attempts to align Marx's ideologies with other interested sociopolitical struggles have rarely gone untroubled by competing interpretations of Marxist theory and practice.

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1 Marxism and Queer Theory

The relationship between Marxist and queer social theories has not always been an easy one. Few theorists have attempted a Marxist analysis of **queer studies**, and queer critiques of cultural norms have typically been kept apart from discussions of class and capital. This question of separation aligns with broader critiques of classical Marxism; the primacy of class struggles in Marxist theory has seen other vectors of oppression and marginalization go untended in its reproaches to global capitalism. Geschwender and Levine (1994) observed that issues pertaining to race and gender were routinely "subsumed within class analysis" within Marxist political discourse, leading many to decry classical Marxism as being incompatible with contemporary feminist and antiracist advocacy (p. 66). Similarly, Zeus Leonardo (2004) argued that Marxist orthodoxy "reduces race relations to the status of a reflex within class dynamics" (p. 483). On this basis, scholars of race and gender relations have levied sustained critiques against Marxist philosophy for its apparently singular obsession with class—critiques that extend to the possibility of a truly '**queer**' Marxism. Consequently, pushes for social change that do not explicitly center class and capital have developed an uneasy, often distant relationship with Marxism as a theoretical framework.

Holly Lewis (2016) noted that "the rise of **queer theory** correlate[d] with a decline of debates in the West surrounding Marxist economics" and attributed the scarcity of queer Marxist scholarship to that correlation (p. 245). However, some queer theorists have posited that the liberatory practices of LGBTQ+ advocacy align closely with the ideological goals of Marxism and that the material conditions of modern capitalism operate not only in terms of class division but also in the formation, expression, and regulation of gender and **sexuality**. Feminist scholarship that acknowledges the role of labor relations, class, and capital in the production of gender inequity has taken pains to emphasize that "women's cheap labor (guaranteed through racist and patriarchal gender systems) is fundamental to the accumulation of surplus value—the basis for capitalist profit-making and expansion" (Hennessy & Ingraham, 1997, p. 3). Capitalism's vital investment in the gendered division of labor carries profound implications, too, for queer liberation; the exploitation of women's labor (both professional and domestic) is assured by the dominance of heteronormative social relations. Because queer configurations of power and intimacy trouble **hegemonic** constructions of gender and sexuality, they enter direct conflict with the exploitative project of global capitalism (Hennessy, 2002). In other words, the pervasiveness of capitalism as an ideology is such that it informs social norms, conventions, and discourses around queer

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identities even at an interpersonal level. Likewise, the very existence of queer social relations carries an innate—and arguably Marxist—challenge to capitalist modes of production.

2 Cultural vs. Historical Materialism

Since its inception, queer theory's relationship to Marxism has been troubled by the latter's inherently materialist foundations. Because Marxism is primarily concerned with political economy, it cannot be disentangled from the material conditions of labor, production, and social relations. Early queer theorists, however, viewed these established and ostensibly unchanging conditions as dangerously limited; the material 'facts' of anatomy and reproductive function had long been used to undermine feminist readings of gender and sexuality as abstract concepts constructed and organized through language (Liu, 2020). Coupled with scholarly anxieties about having the project of queer studies subsumed by Marxist schools of thought, this wariness of materialist epistemologies led many queer theorists to disengage their work from social movements focused around class struggles.

In her book *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities under Late Capitalism*, Rosemary Hennessy (2002) rebuked what she called the "post-Marxist" impulse of contemporary queer theory, arguing that this impulse seeks to disentangle queer discourse from ongoing class struggles. Framing **heteronormative** constructions of marriage and family as functions of capitalism, Hennessy argued that queer critiques of these institutions must also be carried out along classed lines. Hennessy differed from that of other prominent queer theorists (including Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick) in that she explicitly appointed historical—rather than cultural—materialism as the basis for understanding the interrelation of gender, sexuality, and class.

This is not to say that Hennessy's contemporaries favored an ahistorical approach to queer studies; indeed, in her 1997 essay "Merely Cultural," Butler challenged the notion that queer scholarship had strayed from Marx's influence, asking: "Why would a movement concerned to criticize and transform the ways in which sexuality is socially regulated *not* be understood as central to the functioning of political economy?" (p. 272). However, where Butler (1997) answered critiques levied against queer studies by so-called classical Marxists, Hennessy (2002) embraced class and labor relations as the starting point for a queer theoretical paradigm. She contended that because historical norms of family, labor, and consumption have shaped contemporary culture, their influence must also be intrinsic to the formation of queer identities. Rejecting

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the assumption that Marxist political rhetoric prioritizes class conflict at the expense of other social movements, Hennessy argued that the dynamics of social difference are mediated by one another. In other words, according to Hennessy, viewing queerness and social class as different "territories" of political discourse is an overly simplistic and partisan approach, which disregards the role of the bourgeoisie in repressing social movements with common liberatory goals. Hennessy's central project, then, was to promote a discourse of queerness and social class which recognizes their interconnectedness and emphasizes the importance of *both* to a unified field of liberatory political action.

3 Queerness and Class Solidarity

More recently, Holly Lewis (2016) attempted to reconcile political, social, and cultural discourses on gender, sexuality, and class in her book *The Politics of Everybody: Feminism, Queer Theory, and Marxism at the Intersection.* Having observed that "social relations are conditioned by the imperatives of capitalist production," Lewis ventured that these relations are complicated by material questions of gender and sexuality (p. 3). Because people "inhabit complex bodies that are collectively coded into different functions" by constructs of nation, culture, and class, Lewis argued that mainstream Western ideas of Marxism and the working class have become outdated (p. 13). Today, due to the patriarchal and racist exploitation of women's cheap labor, these classes are more often comprised of young women than stereotypical, hypermasculine factory workers (Hennessy & Ingraham, 1997; Lewis, 2016). Moreover, as critiques of Eurocentric and colonialist epistemologies have gained traction within progressive social movements, sexual and gender diversity, which predates capitalist economics on a global scale, is gaining unprecedented public attention in Western culture. Lewis (2016) contended that this attention heralded appropriation by capitalist forces: "there is money to be made by those who support queer rights, and there is money to be made by those who oppose them" (p. 14). Indeed, the commodification of queer cultural institutions is rapidly becoming a hallmark of contemporary Western capitalism (see Amy Keating's entry on **Pride Parades and Festivals** for a notable example). However, despite the difficulties posed by the idea of generalizable and autonomous queer Marxism, and by the neoliberal impulse to subsume queer cultures into capitalist economics, Lewis remained adamant that "solidarity with queer, trans, and intersex people is non-negotiable when it comes to the international solidarity of the working class" (p. 14).

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CHAPTER 78

Matrix of Intelligibility

Kathleen Emily Hurlock

1 Defining the Matrix

The matrix of intelligibility refers to how identity becomes intelligible, or understandable and stable, when gender, gender expression, and **sexual orientation** align in a **heteronormative** and gender-stereotypical way, meaning that individuals are either men or women, who express their gender in a masculine or feminine way, and who are exclusively attracted to women or men. The term originates from Judith Butler's 1990 book, *Gender Trouble*, in which she proposes that gender is *performative*, meaning constructed through discursive acts, meaning verbal, nonverbal, written, or other forms of communication. Gender does not exist prior to these acts. Butler's theory considers gender to be socially constructed, meaning that gender is not a fixed biological or essential quality in a person.

The matrix of intelligibility is a system that enforces those gendered roles and behaviors, ones that contribute to oppressing women, LGBTQ+ people, and other people who are gender nonconforming (GNC). In the matrix of intelligibility, "certain kinds of identities cannot 'exist'--that is, those in which gender does not follow from sex and those in which the practices of desire do not 'follow' from either sex or gender" (Butler, 1990/2007, p. 24). By "follow," Butler means that a certain gender presentation is associated with a certain set of sexual organs. In turn, that gender presentation and sexual organ pairing are associated with a socially acceptable way of expressing sexual desire. Table 78.1 depicts the way sex, gender, and sexuality follow from each other.

TABLE 78.1 The matrix of intelligibility

Assigned sex at birth	Gender	Sexuality
Female	Woman, who appears feminine	Attracted exclusively to men (as defined by the matrix)
Male	Man, who appears masculine	Attracted exclusively to women (as defined by the matrix)

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People who are cisgender, gender-conforming, heterosexual, and not **intersex** are the only individuals able to approximate aligning with this matrix, as they can be assigned a seemingly natural sex at birth. In turn, they fit the gender, gender presentation, and sexuality that their society assigns to them. This matrix is why individuals who live in a **cisheteropatriarchal** society tend to think of a "woman" as a person with a uterus and a vagina, who presents as feminine, and who is exclusively attracted to men. This mental association helps to produce intelligible identities. In a discourse community, words and phrases tend to have a stable meaning to be understandable or "intelligible." The words "woman" and "man" are no exception to this standard, and Butler proposes that falling along the matrix in a stable way is how these terms tend to be defined and enforced.

Almost no one can perfectly align with this matrix, as nearly everyone participates in behaviors or commits discursive acts that are not completely aligned with the expectations of masculinity or femininity imposed by the matrix. This near-universal inability is why Butler calls the matrix a "regulatory practice," meaning that it "govern[s] gender [and] also govern culturally intelligible of identity" (Butler, 1990/2007, p. 23.) Attempting to constantly live up to the near-impossible standards of the matrix ensures that *all* subjects are always policed into working toward a narrow version of gender and **sexuality**.

That said, the matrix presents particular problems for LGBTQ+ or otherwise GNC individuals. Consider someone who is assigned female at birth and whose **gender identity** is woman, but whose appearance is masculine-presenting and whose sexuality is lesbian. Per the matrix of intelligibility, this person is not "intelligibly" a woman, as the requirements of being defined as a woman include having an aligned **assigned sex at birth**, gender, and sexuality. This quality of not being a so-called "real woman" is one-way oppression of LGBTQ+, and GNC individuals perpetuates.

Despite facing oppression, people who clearly do not fit along the terms of the matrix continue to live their lives in the face of sexist, homophobic, and **transphobic** oppression, something that Butler labels as a site of resistance: "their persistence and proliferation…provide critical opportunities to expose the limits and regulatory aims of that domain of intelligibility" (Butler, 1990/2007, p. 24.) What Butler means here is that individuals who do not conform to the matrix because they are LGBTQ+/GNC reveal the "limits" of the matrix—that is, it is an entirely fictive "regulatory" system. The matrix "naturalizes" particular notions of sex, gender, and sexuality, making fictive concepts appear natural and real. In turn, the GNC lesbian woman from the prior example faces homophobia and misogyny because individuals view her as an individual going against "natural" law. The matrix serves as a basis for discipline

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here; because this woman cannot align with it, she must be a so-called aberration. Yet, persisting as "aberration" is a way to "resist" some of the matrix's logic. A GNC lesbian, in the face of a logic that indicates her very existence is an impossibility, existing anyway, underscores how the matrix must be a fictive construction, not a natural reality. Butler describes this resistance as a kind of "parody" (Butler, 1990/2007, p. 200). By having a full existence as a human subject who fails to align with the matrix, someone like a GNC lesbian essentially "makes fun" of the idea that to be a straight, feminine woman is the "natural" way to be—after all, if she exists, how can it be?

GNC subjects cannot, though, transcend or eliminate the entire matrix of intelligibility. Butler writes that "precisely because certain kinds of 'gender identities' fail to conform to those norms of cultural intelligibility, they appear only as developmental failures or logical impossibilities from within that domain" (Butler, 1990/2007, p. 24). In other words, for an LGBTQ+/GNC subject to appear intelligible, they paradoxically *rely* on the matrix even as they resist it. Such an idea comes from Butler's larger understanding of gender as intrinsically connected to human subjectivity. Butler critiques what she calls the "humanist feminist position," one that "[understands] gender as an *attribute* of a person who is characterized essentially as a pregendered substance or 'core'" (Butler, 1990/2007, p. 14). Instead, Butler takes a post-structuralist position, meaning that she does not approach structures like humanity as a given, instead looking to deconstruct and understand from where an idea like "humanity" emerges. Butler argues that to be understood as a human subject, one must at least have a relationship with an intelligible gender, as defined by the matrix. By "a relationship," I mean that one can approximate stable gender successfully or, as in the case of an LGBTQ+/GNC individual, unsuccessfully approximate it, but one can never *transcend* it. Everyone must have some relationship to the matrix of intelligibility to exist as an intelligible human subject. In turn, other individuals can, for instance, comprehend a GNC lesbian through the sheer fact of her gender failure. In Butler's understanding of gender, individuals can come to understand its constructed quality, but it will take a radical reordering of societies to completely transcend the notion of some relationship to gender as a requisite for intelligible subjectivity.

2 Origins of the Matrix

Butler draws from various theorists in developing the matrix of intelligibility. She cites Luce Irigaray (1977/1985), who argues that sex, as in the male/female binary, can be thought of in terms of masculine vs. "Other," in which men make

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themselves intelligible through defining themselves as having the phallus, which women do not have (Irigaray, 1977/1985, p. 23). Butler draws from Irigaray's theory in articulating the binary nature of the matrix. She also draws from Michel Foucault (1976/1978). In his *The History of Sexuality,* Foucault writes that sex, as in sex difference, "made it possible to group together, in an artificial unity, anatomical elements, biological functions, conducts, sensations, and pleasures, and it enabled one to make use of this fictitious unity as a causal principle" (Foucault, 1976/1978, p. 154). The "artificial unity" is what is important for Butler; because being defined as a certain sex means being associated with a specific sexuality, "sensations and pleasures" inform what sex category one is placed into. In other words, sex, the categorization system, cannot exist without sexuality, as in sexual orientations. For similar reasons, Butler cites the feminist Monique Wittig, who argues that "naturalized" sex categorization enforces homophobia and misogyny.

3 The Matrix in Education

Scholars of early childhood education, K12 education, and higher education use the matrix of intelligibility as a tool in analysis, though the former two tend to refer to the matrix by a shortened phrase that Butler herself sometimes uses: "the heterosexual matrix." This choice reflects the way such researchers tend to be more concerned with the ways by which the matrix's boundaries enable heteronormativity and less concerned with Butler's theories about human subjectivity. This research regarding the "**heterosexual matrix**" tends to fall into a few categories. The first is researchers concerned with the ways young children acquire and understand gender roles, including Robinson (2005) and Renold (2006). Second, some researchers who use the matrix to understand the specific experiences of LGBTQ+ youths in educational settings, including Leonardi's (2017) account of now-adults reflecting on their youth coming out experiences and McGlashan and Fitzpatrick's (2018) study of how LGBTQ+ youth negotiate identities through naming their pronouns. Next, a large body of research uses the matrix to consider girls' experiences with educational misogyny: Allan's (2009) study of hyperfemininity in a single-sex school, Charles' (2010) consideration of "girl power" discourses in secondary schools, Ringrose and Renold's (2012) study regarding working-class girls and femininity in education, and Bhana's (2018) research about how girls cope with sexual harassment and violence in primary schools. Finally, some researchers use the "heterosexual matrix" to understand the experiences of LGBTQ+ K12 teachers, like Atkinson and DePalma (2009) and Cavanagh (2008).

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Higher education scholars use the "matrix of intelligibility" phrasing more frequently but have completed less research regarding the matrix overall. Some examples include Denton's (2020) work regarding queering common theories of college student retention, Herrera's (2019) compilation of the ways scholars of sexuality suggest "changes in educational institutions" (p. 79), Nicolazzo's (2017) theory of "**compulsory heterogenderism**" at educational institutions, and Niesche and Gowlett's (2019) application of Butler's theories to educational leadership.

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CHAPTER 79

Monosexism

Kaity Prieto

This entry provides an introduction to monosexism, or the social structures that privilege monosexual identities and presume all people are either gay or straight (Eisner, 2013). Monosexism refers to the oppression and negativity faced by bisexual individuals. The prefix "mono" emphasizes the singularity of **sexual identity** (gay/lesbian/heterosexual) rather than acknowledging the expansiveness of bisexual **desires** and behaviors. This entry begins by briefly exploring the structural roots of monosexism and its manifestations—bisexual erasure and binegativity—before discussing the implications of monosexism in education.

1 The Structural Roots of Monosexism

Monosexism is produced by the tendency to view **sexuality** and gender in binary terms. This tendency is rooted in whiteness and colonialist discourses wherein sexuality (gay/straight) and **gender binaries** (man/woman) have been used to uphold white supremacy (Willey, 2016). Of course, not all people understand sexuality and gender in this way; for Indigenous Two-Spirit people, for example, gender has never been binary (Driskill, 2010; Hunt, 2018). Early biological and psychological formulations of **bisexuality** were predicated on these false binaries, however, and even modern, queer conceptualizations of bisexuality may marginalize people of Color by reinforcing colonialist notions of identity and reifying whiteness.

Monosexism is further reinforced by the desire to maintain power within hetero- and **homonormative** society. Just as straight people seek to maintain heterosexual privilege, some gay and lesbian people strive to maintain the minimal benefits they have secured in a liberal, multicultural society (Duggan, 2002, Puar, 2007). Bisexual people, along with pansexual, trans, and **genderqueer** people, are perceived by some to be "radically unconventional" and a threat to the (white) gay community's acceptance by middle-class U.S. culture (Weiss, 2004, p. 29). With limited power at stake, it would appear in the best interest of the most well-accepted members of the LGBTQ+ community to distance themselves from those who are more denigrated and misunderstood. Gay and lesbian people can thus be complicit in monosexist oppression

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against bisexual individuals, but because monosexism originates from and upholds **heterosexism**, they can also share in this experience of oppression (Eisner, 2013). Monosexism is thus an important consideration for the queer community more broadly.

2 Invisibility and Bisexual Erasure

Bisexual invisibility is a type of social invisibility affecting bisexual people, which results in bisexuality's absence from conversations around sexuality (Yoshino, 2000). There are three causes of bisexual invisibility, nested within one another (Yoshino, 2000). The first affects all individuals, regardless of identity, and arises from a societal desire to keep sex private, resulting in the erasure of all sexualities. The second affects anyone displaying same-sex desire and arises from legal and religious prohibitions against same-sex behavior. Here, bisexual people are rendered invisible alongside gay and lesbian people; however, their bisexuality is uniquely erased as it is subsumed under "homosexuality." The last kind of invisibility exclusively affects bisexual people and results from bisexuality's exclusion from considerations of sexual identity. Even when bisexuality is discussed, it is rendered invisible in subtle and not-so-subtle ways. For example, when researchers compare heterosexual and lesbian/gay populations, they often combine bisexual people with gay and lesbian participants; at times, bisexual individuals are included in heterosexual samples (Barker et al., 2012). Again, bisexuality is subsumed into the categories of gay and lesbian.

Bisexual erasure, the process through which bisexual invisibility occurs, can include the denial of bisexuality's existence, a belief that has been well-documented in the literature (Barker et al., 2012). It also results in the assertion that, while some people may actually be bisexual, others are going through a phase that will conclude with a monosexual identity. Lastly, erasure occurs when bisexuality is vilified or stigmatized. This might include treating bisexual people as manipulative, sex objects, or transmitters of disease (for additional examples of denigrating beliefs and behaviors, reference Barker et al., 2012). Bisexual individuals who have internalized such thoughts can also delegitimize others' bisexuality, rejecting those they see as less bisexual than themselves (Blasingame, 1992).

3 Binegativity

Also referred to as biphobia, binegativity refers to these prejudiced attitudes about bisexuality and bisexual people and the discrimination they face as a

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result. I use the term binegativity throughout this entry rather than biphobia as it linguistically shifts the focus from an irrational fear of bisexuality to a question of power (Weiss, 2011).

In addition to the negative characterizations previously detailed, stereotypes include that of the "greedy" bisexual, which can refer to an assumed propensity for nonmonogamy (Flanders et al., 2016) or the notion that bisexual people desire both LGBTQ+ community membership *and* heterosexual privilege (Hayfield et al., 2014). Harmful assumptions about bisexual people also include the belief that they are attention-seeking (Alarie & Gaudet, 2013) and unfaithful (Hayfield et al., 2014).

Further, because of the supposition that the assumed gender of one's partner determines an individual's sexual identity, bisexual individuals are often incorrectly assumed to be gay or straight. Some believe bisexual individuals must simultaneously be involved with people of different genders to maintain their identity (Flanders et al., 2017). The pressure to prove the legitimacy of one's bisexuality may result in bisexual people engaging in unwanted, public sexual behavior (Boyer & Galupo, 2015; Flanders et al., 2017). As Flanders et al. (2017) explained:

> Young bisexual women must navigate competing sexual stereotypes: they are expected to engage in sexual behavior with more than one gender to prove their sexual identity, yet this behavior may be written off as insincere and an attempt for male attention or negatively judged as sexually promiscuous. (p. 77)

Consequently, bisexuality is often seen as illegitimate or hypersexual. Bisexual men, for instance, are often assumed to be "secretly gay" (Matsick & Rubin, 2018) and are viewed less favorably than bisexual women (Yost & Thomas, 2012). This may be due to the eroticization of women's same-gender behavior, wherein bisexual women are regarded as straight, sexually available, and seeking attention from heterosexual men (Yost & Thomas, 2012).

The discourse surrounding this hypersexual openness is both gendered and racialized, given the tendency to leverage these discourses again marginalized women (e.g., Black women, Jewish women, working-class women; Cohen, 1996; Klesse, 2005). Yet bisexual Christians also contend with the discourses surrounding promiscuity. For example, many Christian denominations view bisexuality as promiscuous but assert bisexual people can simply choose an opposite-sex, Church-approved relationship (i.e., that bisexual individuals can choose to be heterosexual; Toft, 2014). This pressure to "choose a side" to find belonging within their religious community is painful for bisexual people to navigate (Prieto Godoy, 2020).

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4 Implications for Education

Binegativity and bisexual erasure manifest in a variety of contexts, including theory, research, and social institutions (Angelides, 2006; Yoshino, 2000). Within educational settings, erasure manifests as minimal attention to addressing binegativity, limited representation and affirmation of bisexuality in the curricula and in school policy, and a lack of care for bisexual student wellbeing (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2014). Bisexuality's absence is evident in the curriculum and classroom discussion (Elia, 2010; Jones & Hillier, 2014; Prieto Godoy, 2020), education policy (Jones & Hillier, 2014), extracurricular programming (Elia, 2010; Prieto Godoy, 2020; Tavarez, 2020), and campus health resources (Oswalt, 2009). Further, bisexual students often struggle to identify role models among their instructors and administrators (Lowy, 2017), perhaps due to pressure on K-12 teachers and postsecondary faculty to conceal their sexual identities (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; Gray et al., 2016). Although gay and lesbian students contend with similar challenges, bisexual students report exclusion even within dedicated LGBTQ+ spaces (Tavarez, 2020). Overall, the absence of bisexuality-inclusive resources is a symptom of both institutional-level **cisheterosexism** *and* monosexism, and this absence communicates to bisexual students that they are not valued by their institution (Lowy, 2017). This has worrisome implications for bisexual students, given an inability to fully participate in curricular contexts can undermine students' academic performance and compromise their sense of belonging (Rankin, 2005). It is thus imperative that instructors and administrators work to dismantle monosexism within education systems.

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CHAPTER 80

Nepantla Theory

Lobat Asadi

1 Historical Perspective

Nepantla means "place in the middle," and *Nagual* translates to shaman or shape-shifter, in the indigenous language of Mesoamerica, Nahuatl (Mora, 2008, p. 5). Nagual were considered a threat to the Anglo-European settlers in the frontier (Brinton, 1894) meaning their knowledge and culture were undermined. Irradiation of Indigenous knowledge in order to build a new nation, is why the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 laid out the blueprints and the systems to maintain the Anglo-American Empire (Passe & Willox, 2009). Education was devised to be a system to "take the native out of them" (Duran et al., 1998). While educational, cultural and religious indoctrination began shortly after settlers arrived, he physical border between North America and Mesoamerica became official under the 1848 under the *Hidalgo Agreement*. In these ways, frontier settlers took over the minds, as well as the land of the people who were native to borderlands, as well as other North American regions.

Fortunately, the colonization of the Texas-Mexico borderlands, where the self-identified queer Chicana writer and philosopher, Gloria E. Anzaldúa was from, propelled her to write about the value of mixed race and Borderland thinking (1987). Anzaldúa (1987) first examines her identity in relation to heritage, colonization and geo-political land ownership: "The struggle is inner, and the psyches resemble the border towns and is played out in the outer terrains" (p. 109). She describes the U.S.-Mexican border as a place where "the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country-a border culture" (p. 25). In these ways, Nepantla theory holds narrative truths that are different to time-ordered events because these truths live in lived experiences and entre espacios, or between the spaces. Thus, while truth is not sought using historical formulaic truth, or "paradigmatic truth," narrative truth (Bruner, 2004) may be what Anzaldúa was seeking.

Anzaldúa did not claim any monolithic inherited knowledge when developing Nepantla theory, instead she engaged her lived experiences while she gazed within. In order to be less imperialistic and more inclusive, educators

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can also press boundaries of meaning-making in ways that support marginalized learners.

2 Nepantla Theory by Gloria E. Anzaldúa

Nepantlera are borderland dwellers that cannot conform to binaries because they are born into of hybridity and reside in-between spaces such as borders, nationality, gender and racial divides. Specially, nepantlera are borderland artists, transgender and/or queer people (GEA Archives, UT Bensen). Foremost in Nepantla theory (Anzaldúa, 2002) is the inability to exist within borders of a nation, gender and all other concepts of categorization (Anzaldúa, 1987). "Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish us from them." Thus, Anzaldúa (2007) explained the psyche of the hybrid race people of the Texas-Mexico borderlands: "La mestiza is a product of the transfer of the cultural and spiritual values of one group to another" (p. 100). They have a "multiple personality" that is restless being "In a constant state of mental nepantilism, an Aztec word meaning torn between ways" (p. 100). In response, Nepantla theory empowers people who "are in in the place between two worlds" because they "are able to slip between realities to a neutral perception" (Anzaldúa, 2002, as cited in Keating, 2016). Anzaldúa defended such marginalized peoples; "the squint-eyed, the perverse, the queer, the troublesome, the mongrel, the mulato, the half-breed, the half-dead" (p. 25). When such peoples are being forced to be confined, they are being asked to "cross-over" borders, in order to fit into a category that dominant powers determined.

La nepantlera are creative shape-shifters in their thinking, who end up challenge dominant norms asserted by colonizers of using only one language, or being assigned one gender, for instance (Anzaldúa, 1987). In these ways, Nepantla theory empowers people who "are in in the place between two worlds" because they "are able to slip between realities to a neutral perception" (Anzaldúa, 2002, as cited in Keating, 2016). Meaning, people's places may colonized, but people's spaces, of existence and ways of being, are de-colonizable, when living as la nepantlera.

Nepantlera, know their work lies in positioning themselves, exposed and raw, and in revealing the current categories as unworkable, explained Anzaldúa (2002, as cited in Keating, 2016, p. 35). Embracing Nepantla theory is defiance of colonial efforts to undermine the knowledge, genetics, and right to exist as dichotomous people who do not belong to one nation, race or gender. In these ways, Nepantla theory (Anzaldúa, 2002) affirms the mixed ancestry of the mestiza people in the borderlands of Texas and Mexico. Nepantla can also

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broadens the academic intellect to reconsider any ultimate truths and ways of learning, knowing and existing.

3 Gender

Nepantla is a space where nepantlera, or the queer, become entrenched and thrive, just as it is a pathway for artists to become shamans (Anzaldúa, 2004). Anzaldúa resisted the colonialization of knowledge and oppressive gender roles (Anzaldúa, 1987; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015). To illustrate, in *La Prieta,* Anzaldúa likens her true identity to "a crossroads inhabited by whirlwinds… Gloria, the mediator, straddling the walls between abysses." In another case of gender role resistance, Anzaldúa revisions la Llorona, which is a legend about a mother who returns from the dead to find her lost children, as a metaphor for female agency. Llorona is feared in Mexican folklore because she is said to have drowned her own children, however, Anzaldúa identifies the "wounds" of la Llorona as mechanisms that that inhibit agency, and imagined alternative images in its place. Similarly, Anzaldúa (2004) describes la nepantlera as people who are mediators that assist and facilitate passage into other worlds. Through these metaphors of women, space, and time, Anzaldúa blended ways of living and perceiving a world she felt rejected her. This creative, queer space also provides the pathway for artists to become shamans (Anzaldúa, 2002). Shape-shifting people, *la nepantlera*, are "gatekeepers" that thrive in the liminal spaces between mental and physical borders (Keating, 2016). The connection between resistance of gender roles, empowerment and queerness in Nepantla theory, indicates la nepantlera are individuals who are the ultimate masters of their own lives and existence.

4 Art & Mythology

Nepantla is also a form of resistance known as the "artist's way to perceive oneself and move forward against the face of male-domination and patriarchy" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 5). For example, Coyolxauhqui, the mythical Aztec half eagle half man figure, is where Anzaldúa (2007) describes how art and myth united the fragmented parts of her existence. "Where does the work of naguala take place? In the body" (p. 105), elaborates Anzaldúa as she described how drawing Coyolxauhqui, who in the Aztec mythology, is a moon goddess and warrior woman. The goddess's brother, Huitzilopochtli, who is a war god, decapitated and dismembered Coyolxauhqui's body. Anzaldúa drew an image

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of Coyolxauhqui, and organized the body parts "into a unified whole" to draft a full version of Coyolxauhqui. In doing so, Anzaldúa (2004) put the divine female "back together again" (p. 106). Nepantla afforded a space where one can become entrenched and thrive by way of their artistry, ancestry, and queerness.

To elaborate, "…the risk-taking has its own rewards, for nepantlera use their movements among divergent worlds to develop innovative, potentially transformative perspectives," explains Keating (2006, p. 6). As nepantlera become self-aware, they cannot be colonized any longer because they embody knowledge(s) from their ancestry and as such, they have healed from cultural trauma. Conversely, if la nepantlera are not able to do exist free of categorization, such oppressive measures further endanger la nepantlera because their identity is not affirmed by one unit of identity, understanding or word (Anzaldúa, 2002, 2009).

5 Interculturality

Nepantla is educational in the wider context of power relations and intercultural awareness. To explain, nepantlera can both merge and continue to exist individually because when nepantlera become self-aware, they thrive as metaphysical, intercultural mediums. Keating (2016) explains that nepantlera are akin to *cultural* workers:

> Nepantlera are threshold people: they move within and among multiple, often conflicting, worlds and refuse to align themselves exclusively with any single individual, group, or belief system. (p. 6)

Through Nepantla theory, Anzaldúa proclaimed herself to be the sum of otherwise unjustly scattered, fragmented parts, like the reconstructed Aztec goddess, Coyolxauhqui. In these ways, along with razor sharp focus on equity for the mestiza people, Anzaldúa affirmed her personhood (Anzaldúa, 2004). Anzaldúa embraced the benefits of embodying multiple worlds, and she sought to empower other non-normative, border-thinking people, to do the same. By following suit, educators can better support the multifaceted, gender diverse, cultural and historic contexts of learners by being open to alternative ways of knowing.

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CHAPTER 81

Neuroqueer

Monica C. Kleekamp

The term neuroqueer first appeared within the autistic online blogging community (Walker, 2015). Since its emergence, while neuroqueer continues to be readily employed across autistic bloggers, it has also been harnessed as a theoretical orientation to autism (Yergeau, 2018). Broadly, individuals utilizing neuroqueer seek to resist normative and essentializing definitions of gender, sexuality, and pathologizing positionings of dis/ability. When neuroqueer is used to frame scholarship or employed in everyday practice, it may be described/used as an identity (i.e., adjective), an actionable way of doing/being/living (i.e., verb), or both an identity and a verb-form.

This theoretical framing has been taken up within scholarship related to gender and sexuality broadly (Egner, 2019) and has more recently appeared in education research (Attias, 2020; Douglas et al., 2019; Kleekamp, 2020). While neuroqueer is described briefly here, it is imperative to note that many who claim this term as part of their identities actively resist any authoritative definition. Therefore, the forthcoming conceptualization should not be viewed as comprehensive or definitive. Never static, the term neuroqueer is fluid, shifting, and always adapting.

1 Claiming a Neuroqueer Identity

Neuroqueer as an identity marker sits at the intersections of the social constructions of gender, sexuality, and dis/ability (Walker, 2015; Yergeau, 2018). While any individual seeking to queer constructs around genders and sexualities may choose to identify with the term neuroqueer, it is particularly relevant for individuals either claiming a dis/abled identity or carrying a dis/ability label (specifically those dis/ability categorizations related to the mind) (Annamma et al., 2016). Ableist assumptions of incompetence tie dis/ability to the routine desexualization and degendering of neurodivergent persons, including but not limited to those carrying labels such as autism spectrum disorder (ASD), attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), and obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) (Tiefer, 1996). Neuroqueer addresses these interwoven identities by refusing normalized constructions of ability, sexuality, and gender (Egner,

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2019). To claim an identity of neuroqueer is not necessarily to identify with a gender, dis/ability label, or sexual orientation but rather to challenge the existence of these categorizations in the first place. In doing so, a neuroqueer identity disidentifies (Egner, 2019) with typical and normalized conceptions of identity organized into categories and labels by putting forth a term that is simultaneously fluid, malleable, always emerging, and intersectional in nature.

Complex braided histories of dis/ability, informed by intersecting theoretical perspectives, cultivated more current iterations of neuroqueer identities. Birthed from the disability rights movement in the 1970s, disability studies became the activism strand of scholarship seeking to reframe and center disabled perspectives. Braided epistemological and ontological efforts in disability studies, the feminisms, queer theory (Sherry, 2004), and crip theory have introduced varied conceptualizations of interdependence (Reindal, 1999), anti-assimilationist strategies (Sherry, 2004), and non-normative statuses (McRuer, 2006) in relation to gender, sexuality, and ability. A consistent critique across dis/ability scholarship has been a privileging of theory and research that promotes the lived experiences and/or perspectives of physically dis/abled persons and a distancing from those with dis/abilities related to the mind. Rejecting this distinction of the 'body' as separate from the 'mind,' complex iterations of lived dis/ability experiences are rooted in the experiences of bodyminds (Price, 2015), through which mental and physical processes always inform each other, give rise to one another, and are experienced together.

Following the disability rights movement in the 1970s, the term "neurodivergence" first appeared in 1998 to disrupt deficit-laden narratives of dis/abilities related to the mind, particularly autism (Singer, 1998). The term was further popularized to promote discourses of diversity in terms of neurological functioning and performance (Bailin, 2019; Robison, 2013). While the term neurodivergent, rooted in antinormativity, attempted to provide inclusive avenues for neurodiversity, neurodivergent individuals often still carry dis/ability labels or diagnoses issued by educational or medical professionals with oppressive and exclusionary ableist constructions. These labels, rooted in developmentalist and ableist expectations of bodyminds (Price, 2015), regularly return those who bear them to presumed states of incapacity, inability, and infantilization (Yergeau, 2018). The historical nature of dis/ability labels promotes rehabilitation of these internal flaws (Brantlinger, 2006).

In response to these critiques, medical and educational communities have promoted discourses of person-first language, attempting to separate dis/ability from a person to encourage remediation of a dis/ability rather than an individual. However, dis/ability scholars argue that person-first language serves as an erasure to dis/abled identities, further promoting stigmatization (Andrews

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et al., 2019). While identity markers we claim are socially constructed (e.g., gender, race, sexuality), our use of these terms can provide an individual sense of pride (e.g., "I am proud to identify as a lesbian"). To place dis/abled, autistic, or neurodivergent after the preposition 'with' is to view the corresponding term as a pejorative, a negative association that should be separated from one's personhood.

Neuroqueer is a critical response to the dehumanization of an anti-normative existence. Individuals claiming a neuroqueer identity recognize that discourses of person-first language or celebrated differences do not shift ableist constructions of neurological functioning as they purport to do. Ableism systematically and systemically constructed what it means to be 'normal.' This construction purposefully excludes neurodivergent persons. Therefore, neurodivergent people's attempts to appropriate 'normal' will always fail, locating these individuals in a perpetual state of Otherness. To claim a neuroqueer identity is to deliberately dissociate with ableist assimilation practices by purposefully resisting conformity while finding pride in one's selfhood. This act, in turn, queers what it means to exist, act, and perform in social spheres.

2 Neuroqueering as a Verb Form

In addition to serving as a complex and intersectional identity term, neuroqueer also functions as a verb form (i.e., to neuroqueer; neuroqueered). This classification of neuroqueer stems from its roots in queer theory (McRuer, 2006; Muñoz, 2009) and gender studies (Butler, 1990; Garland-Thomson, 2005), wherein queering is to motion, idealize, and invent toward an always-becoming-future by looking and examining the world (and the actions occurring within it) in ways that have not yet been imagined (Walker, 2015; Yergeau, 2018). Placing "neuro" in front of "queering" in this sense applies directly to the verb-formed actions of individuals who have been deemed and/or consider themselves to be neurodivergent.

In particular, autistic persons have always been positioned in educational, medical, and social spaces as in need of remediation to appropriate normalness through actions aligning with dominant socially constructed rules (Yergeau, 2018). Autistic individuals are regularly located as deficient within themselves, reduced to a set of clinical symptoms and behaviors, and subject to strict behavioral policing (Yergeau, 2018). Moving away from categorizations placed on people by others, neuroqueer serves as an opening to think beyond clinical labels to instead resist the normative conditioning of bodyminds. By rejecting assimilation to normalization, neuroqueer actions defy social rules to

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center neurodiverse ways of being, acting, and becoming. In turn, neuroqueering refers to actions that disrupt social norms and expectations, particularly as they relate to gender, sexuality, and social acts across an array of one's everyday environments, including schools.

To reject dominant social norms through one's neuroqueer actions is actively resist socially constructed expectations that continue to Other and marginalize a variety of communities, but particularly persons who are autistic or neurodivergent. Rejection of these norms might include openly stimming in public places, unapologetically yelling or scripting (i.e., reciting familiar lines or phrases from media or prior conversations), or openly perseverating on specific topics during conversation. To position these examples as neuroqueer rather than as in need of remediation moves toward a more inclusive future in which infinite ways of acting and performing are encouraged, welcomed, and viewed as legitimate.

3 Neuroqueer Imaginings in Research and Pedagogy

In educational spaces, neurodivergent students are consistently labeled as dis/abled from a deficit perspective (Garland-Thomson, 2017). Educationally sanctioned dis/ability labels might include categorizations such as autism spectrum disorder (ASD), intellectual disability (ID), other health impairment (OHI), or emotional behavioral disorder (EBD). Emerging from medical and pathologizing models of dis/ability, special education instruction for students carrying dis/ability labels, especially those related to the mind, quickly moves toward rehabilitative, behaviorist, and interventionist approaches, seeking to remediate students who do not perform in socially acceptable ways of acting, being, and learning in schools (Roscigno, 2019). Similarly, research for students with dis/ability labels in the special education system habitually emphasizes evidence-based practices to promote the improvement of students' academic skills across content areas based on discrete measures of performance (Watkins et al., 2019). Collectively, pedagogy and research as it relates to students carrying dis/ability labels (whether they identify with these labels or not) is largely centered around what students are unable to do or learn in academic settings.

Utilizing neurological queerness as a theoretical perspective deliberately rejects pedagogical approaches and research inquiries that seek to 'fix' students, so they present similarly to their 'typical peers.' To harness a lens of neurological queerness in education research involves reimagining how acts that have always been positioned as in need of remediation might be re-envisioned

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as educational possibilities. Researchers currently utilizing this lens in education research primarily have done so with students carrying dis/ability labels such as intellectual disability or autism.

For example, Douglas et al. (2019) queered normative understandings of autistic persons as nonsocial or noncommunicative by researching with autistic students to create films overlaid with scripting, tics, and rhythmic breathing as legitimate components of storytelling. I utilized neuroqueer as a theoretical touchstone to describe the asocial actions (i.e., acts that break social rules) of students labeled with significant dis/abilities (e.g., autism, intellectual disability) such as scripting, stimming, speaking out of turn, rocking, and flapping as valid modes of participation when sharing, responding to, and creating literature (Kleekamp, 2020). Attias (2020) examined how neuroqueering art education might help reimagine artistic possibilities for students who have historically been removed, silenced, or denied access to participating fully in art spaces when their ways of behaving, expressing, and existing do not match normalized classroom practices.

Future neuroqueer educational possibilities serve to reframe educational spaces, including higher education, for students at the intersections of normalized expectations related to gender, sexuality, and dis/ability (see Carter et al., 2017; Dunn, 2019). The intersectional nature of neuroqueer, both a term and theoretical framing, creates space for a wide range of research and pedagogical aspirations seeking to restory the experiences of students who have not often been centered as legitimate classroom actors nor honored for their unique educational contributions. In turn, to center and imagine from a neuroqueer perspective serves education in moving toward a more radically inclusive pedagogical and research future (Greenstein, 2016).

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CHAPTER 82

No Promo Homo Laws

Randy Fair

1 What Are "No Promo Homo" Laws?

In general, "no promo homo" laws are a collection of laws that preclude the discussion of LGBTQ+ issues in educational settings and in some cases require a negative portrayal of LGBTQ culture (GLSEN, 2018; The Trevor Project, 2021; Lambda Legal, 2021). One of the major problems in discussing the laws dubbed "no promo homo" is the ambiguity of not only the term, but also the wide range of activities covered under the laws. Even the alternate term that some researchers use, "anti-gay curriculum laws," fails to capture the scope of these legislations because they vary so widely depending on how states or municipalities have written them (Lambda Legal, 2021).

During the period when most of these bills were enacted, lawmakers' primary focus was sex education. The original framers wanted sex education teachers to present anything other than heterosexual sex within a traditional marriage as unacceptable and maintain a focus on the purpose of sex as procreation. (Rosky, 2017, section II.B). However, after enactment, the statutes were generally interpreted in much broader contexts, to limit or prevent any positive discussions of LGBTQ+ issues. While the regulations in some states and municipalities may be very specific, others, especially the statewide decrees may be very general (Eskridge, 1999, pp. 362–371). The variations in these laws may cause confusion for members of the school community and may be responsible for the silencing effects that the laws often have.

2 Origins of "No Promo Homo" Laws

The origin of "no promo homo" legislation tracks with the history of larger LGBTQ fights for equal rights and tensions between LGBTQ communities and fundamentalist Christianity (Esterberg & Longhofer, 1998).

The first of these measures resulted from the infamous "Save the Children Campaign" led by former beauty queen and spokeswoman for Florida oranges, Anita Bryant (Miller, 1995). The progress that LGBTQ+ groups had achieved in Miami-Dade County, Florida offended the religiously conservative Bryant. In

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1977, the county prohibited discrimination against "homosexuals" in employment, housing, and public accommodation. Bryant led a successful campaign to overturn the law by focusing on the myth of pedophilia. The landslide victory on the part of Bryant's group came through the group's ability to convince the general public that the LGBTQ+-positive law would allow "homosexual teachers" to prey on children (Miller, 1995, pp. 403–404).

Shortly after the victory in Miami-Dade, John Briggs, a California politician, teamed up with Bryant in an unsuccessful attempt to ban "homosexual" teachers from California's school system in what has been termed the "Briggs Initiative" (Rosky, 2017). Although that attempt failed, Oklahoma legislators succeeded in passing a very similar bill that became the first "no promo homo" law (Harbeck, 1997, pp. 84–85).

While the Oklahoma law faced court challenges other states pursued similar legislation, the AIDS crisis that began during the decade of the eighties accelerated the battles between the LGBTQ+ community and the religious right, and shifted the debate regarding "no promo homo" laws. Whereas the "Save the Children Campaign" focused on LGBTQ+ people as predators and promoters of "homosexuality," the religious right added to this charge by using the AIDS crisis to portray "no promo homo" laws as protection against a disease being spread by an "immoral" group of people (Eskridge, 1999, p. 211).

During this time period, the dangers of the AIDS epidemic made sex education in schools appealing to the general public as a means of mitigating the spread of HIV, but religious conservatives saw this approach as a threat to traditional values of abstinence prior to marriage and traditional heterosexual marriage. In 1986, President Reagan's Surgeon General, C. Everett Koop—an evangelical Christian—surprised conservatives when he declared his fervent support for sex education in public schools to stop the spread of AIDS (Rosky, 2017, section II.B). This disparity between the science of those in the medical field and the values of religious conservatives ignited a battle that placed schools at its center. Commenting during this time period, Britzman (1998) observed, "even such tiny and intimate objects like condoms and safer sex pamphlets can contribute to a school district's hysteria" (p. 324).

Fearing advocating against sex education in the midst of an epidemic as a losing battle, religious conservatives chose instead to focus on shaping the laws that would govern sex education programs. This gave rise to most of what are now referred to as "no promo homo" laws. While these decrees primarily focused on abstinence education, many of them also included language directing teachers to stress that the only sex that was appropriate and moral was sex in a committed heterosexual marriage. Some even went further in requiring teachers to portray LGBTQ+ relationships as immoral. Rosky (2017) singled out

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Alabama's bill as being particularly egregious because it required instruction that "homosexual conduct" was illegal and unacceptable (section II.B).

Alabama's law, while particularly extreme, reflected a larger shift in the conservative movement's overall strategy. As LGBTQ+ groups began to have some success in overturning "no promo homo" laws, the religious right began defending these regulations on the grounds that society benefited from heterosexual behavior, especially heterosexual marriage. Eskridge called these subtle changes the "sedimentation of discourse" because the old arguments of LGBTQ people as pedophiles, immoral, or diseased never ceased; they were simply used as the basis for new arguments (Eskridge, 2018, pp. 1330–1331).

3 Response to "No Promo Homo" Laws

As the response to the aforementioned Brigg's Initiative clearly demonstrated, the LGBTQ+ community immediately and sometimes successfully pushed back against "no promo homo" laws. Despite these efforts, during the late 1980s and early 1900s, religious right groups achieved success in sixteen states (Rosky, 2017, section II.B).

Ironically, the efforts of a religious, conservative senator, Orin Hatch, gave LGBTQ+ groups their most potent weapon in combating homophobia in the school system. In an attempt to ensure a place for Bible study groups in the school system, Hatch introduced the Equal Access Act. Shortly after the law went into effect, LGBTQ+ groups used the law as a means to force schools to accept LGBTQ+ support groups (Perrotti & Westheimer, 2001, pp. 34–35). The first of these programs, Project 10, sent shockwaves through the conservative religious community, and the group ultimately became a model for future programs (Walling, 1996).

In addition to student support groups, a number of LGBTQ members of the school community increasingly began to speak out. In the 1990s, editors published several books chronicling the fledgling attempts to end the silence of LGBTQ+ people in the school system. Karen Harbeck's (1992), *Coming Out of the Classroom Closet*; Kevin Jenning's (1994), *One Teacher in Ten*; Kevin Jenning's (1998), *Telling Tales Out of School;* Donovan Walling's (1996), *Open Lives: Safe Schools*; and Dan Woog's (1995), *School's Out* all contain numerous anecdotal accounts of the challenges faced by LGBTQ+ people in the school system during this time period. Some of these accounts mention the "no promo homo" laws specifically; other accounts, while not necessarily mentioning the laws, speak in general terms about the difficult climates faced by LGBTQ+ students, parents, and teachers.

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In the decades since the "no promo homo" laws were first enacted, LGBTQ+ people have made great strides in their attempts to have positive treatment of LGBTQ+ issues included in the curriculum and in making schools safe for LGBTQ+ community members. However, in the states where "no promo homo" laws remain on the books, research has shown that LGBTQ+ students are less likely to have supportive administrators and teachers, more likely to have negative curricular portrayals of LGBTQ+ people less likely to have **Gay Straight Alliance** groups, more likely to face **bullying**, and less likely to have appropriate health services (GLSEN, 2018).

An obvious reason for the lack of support for LGBTQ+ students in the "no promo homo" states is the confusion on the part of administrators and teachers as to what forms of help can be offered without school personnel facing negative repercussions. A number of recent news stories show the difficulties educators and students face in states that have "no promo homo" laws. These include the suspension of a lesbian student in Alabama (Taylor, 2018) and the removal and later reinstatement of two Texas teachers (Fitzsimons, 2020; Aviles, 2020).

As these experiences demonstrate, while these laws remain on the books, members of school communities cannot be certain that attempts to include LGBTQ+ issues in the curriculum, create safe spaces for LGBTQ+ students, or provide LGBTQ+ students with appropriate health services won't be met with negative repercussions.

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CHAPTER 83

Outness and Coming Out

Leia K. Cain

To be 'out,' according to Mayo (2007), is to "self-consciously and publicly identify" (p. 82) as a member of LGBTQ+ communities. Orne (2011) further conceptualizes coming out as "not a static action, but a range of various motivations, goals, and strategies that people wrap up in a single term" (p. 699). Being out is not a static or binary status, as LGBTQ+ individuals are consistently navigating who they have and have not yet come out to. This, indeed, makes defining one's outness complicated. To whom one may be out and when one may come out depends on the space, time, relationships, and each individual circumstance, and is often fraught with multiple considerations, including the contextual surroundings of each individual (GLSEN 2013; Mayo, 2007; Rankin, 2003). Other factors that influence considerations as to who, when, where, and how an individual comes out include race, ethnicity, familial acceptance, religious background, and socioeconomic status (Kosciw et al., 2015), as well as geographical and cultural factors (Coker & Cain, 2018; Kosciw et al., 2015).

It is important to consider outness within educational spaces, as LGBTQ+ individuals often come out within educational spaces before coming out at home (Rhoads, 1994). However, educational spaces are often toxic for LGBTQ+ youth, who often experience frequent bullying, microaggressions, negative school climates, and poor treatment from peers, faculty, and staff due to known or assumed sexual orientation or gender identity (D'Augelli, 2003; Kosciw et al., 2015). The changing nature of educational spaces can also further complicate decisions regarding coming and being out, as LGBTQ+ individuals within these spaces often change peers and individual classroom climates from one period to the next. For example, while one class with a supportive teacher and more positive classroom environment may nurture a student who identifies as LGBTQ+, the student may then head to another classroom where the teacher is hostile toward their identities.

Further, LGBTQ+ identified K-12 educators must consistently balance more complicated factors about whether or not they will come out within their own classrooms. For example, many US states allow employees who identify as LGBTQ+ to be fired without cause, and even more states offer no protection from discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity. Teachers

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may face upset parents, hostile administrators, overt and covert violence from students, and other negative outcomes (Coker & Cain, 2018).

1 Experiences of Coming Out for K-12 Students

LGBTQ+ youth report both becoming aware of and disclosing their sexual orientation and gender identities at young ages (D'Augelli, 2003; D'Augelli et al., 2008; Grossman et al., 2009; Grov et al., 2006; Pinar, 1998). Grov et al. (2006) found that self-actualization and self-identification of sexual identities occurred at similar ages for LGB children and non-LGB peers. The researchers reported that cisgender boys recounted self-identifying and coming out at younger ages than cisgender girls, and further, for youth of Color, self-identifying as LGB followed self-identification with racial roles and identities.

While the process of self-identifying and coming out can have positive outcomes, coming out can also mean that LGBTQ+ youth are victimized from young ages. In fact, LGB youth report higher levels of victimization after coming out (D'Augelli, 2003; D'Augelli et al., 2008; Grossman et al., 2009). Researchers have documented harassment perpetrated by elementary school students against their peers based on known or assumed sexuality, though harassment based upon assumed sexuality is often lesser than that based on known sexuality (D'Augelli, 2003; D'Augelli et al., 2008; Poteat, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009). Many LGBTQ+ youth throughout primary and secondary schooling reported an overabundance of negative experiences, including being targets of hate speech, being physically harassed, being on the receiving end of microaggressions, and being excluded from school activities and communities (D'Augelli et al., 2008; Grossman et al., 2009; Nadal et al., 2011). Many youth do not come out, due to these negative outcomes, including threats of harassment and assault (GLSEN, 2012).

Though coming and being out increases experiences of victimization, as shared above, being out is also related to higher self-esteem and lower rates of depression (Kosciw et al., 2015). Further, researchers have found that disclosure of one's LGBTQ+ identity can lead to improved academic performance (D'Augelli et al., 2005; Jordan & Deluty, 1998; Ueno, 2005; Vincke & Van Heeringen, 2002), though it is unclear if improved academic outcomes are caused directly by the act of disclosure or if outcomes are improved due to an increased ability to find available support. For example, supportive teachers may be able to help guide LGBTQ+ youth who have disclosed their identities to resources both inside and outside of the school, create safer classroom environments for students, and increase the overall satisfaction that LGBTQ+ youth have for their

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school experiences (Grossman & Kerner, 1998; Kosciw et al., 2015). Supportive teachers offer a safe person to come out to while LGBTQ+ youth are still not yet choosing to disclose their identity to their peers, and may also provide a safe, positive space away from victimization and harassment where students who have disclosed their identity to peers may find respite.

2 Experiences of Coming out for Postsecondary Students

Much like the research surrounding LGBTQ+ students in K-12 school settings, LGBTQ+ postsecondary students who reported themselves to be out to some or most of their social networks experienced sexuality-based harassment at much higher rates than those students who described themselves as not being out to few or any of their social networks (Gortmaker & Brown, 2006; Rankin, 2003; Silverschanz et al., 2008; Taulke-Johnson, 2008). These students further reported higher incidents of negative experiences with university staff when compared to their less out counterparts (Garvey & Rankin, 2015; Garvey et al., 2018; Gortmaker & Brown, 2006; Rankin, 2003). In fact, in a study conducted by Gortmaker and Brown (2006), 17% of students who reported higher levels of outness experienced harassment from school administrators, faculty, and staff, when compared to only 2% of students who were out to fewer people. Students across multiple studies, regardless of their reported level of outness, have communicated that they felt staying closeted was necessary when dealing with faculty (Cain, 2015; Garvey & Rankin, 2015; Garvey et al., 2018; Gortmaker & Brown, 2006). These unsupportive faculty, staff, and peers, cause university campuses to still exist as heterosexist spaces (Taulke-Johnson, 2008).

3 Outness as Strategy and Activism

Orne (2011) argued that outness and coming out should be considered as aspects of identity management instead of only being considered as a stage in identity development. He explores the concept of strategic outness, which he defined as, "the contextual and continual management of identity in which people are never fully 'out' or 'closeted'" (Orne, 2001, p. 698). Orne found that gay men used a variety of methods in order to come out (e.g., informal signaling), that their motivations for coming out were complicated and based on individual contexts, and that perceived potential impact on their social relationships was a driving force in how and when decisions regarding coming and being out were made.

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Rhoads (1994) examined university students on campus involvement and found a relationship between a participant's comfort coming and being out with becoming an organizational leader or political player on campus. One participant in this study specifically stated, "to be out is to be political and to let others, especially straight people, know that we exist" (p. 94). Participants connected being out and becoming political to resistance against heteronormativity.

Over a decade later, Renn (2007) found that university students who were involved in LGBTQ+ groups on campus and who served in campus leadership positions were more likely to be out when compared to other LGBTQ+ students. Further, students who were involved in campus leadership roles were more comfortable coming out to their families. She argued that the established support network the students had on campus made this possible. Students who were out shared that they felt less anxiety and depression than those who were not out (Renn & Bilodeau, 2005; Renn, 2007). This finding is consistent with GLSEN's (2012) research about coming and being out in elementary and secondary contexts.

4 In Conclusion

Overall, the decision to come out is a complicated, personal choice that is constantly negotiated across time, space, and context. While most of the available literature surrounds negative consequences to coming out such as higher levels of victimization, there is hope in positive outcomes such as improved educational outcomes and higher self-esteem. An individual is never completely 'out'—we must instead consider each interaction with new people, and in new spaces, before choosing to discuss our sexuality or gender identity.

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CHAPTER 84

Panopticon

W. Boden Robertson

1 Introduction

In the 1780's, English social reformer Jeremy Bentham (1791) designed the panopticon as an alternative to the dungeon of his time. Bentham designed his prison model so that everything (*pan-*) in the annular perimeter of the building could be observed (*-opticon*) from a centralized guard tower. The design's openness and ingenuity proved influential as several prisons exist today following Bentham's conception of the panopticon.

As a social theory, the panopticon is well-known from its inclusion in Michael Foucault's (1995) text *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Foucault, one of the most well-known philosophers of the 20th century, used Bentham's panopticon as a metaphor to demonstrate how power functions in everyday life.

2 Foucault's Panopticon

In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault (1995) traced how disciplinary apparatuses functioned and evolved in institutional settings. His analysis focused on the genealogy of their evolution and what their operations made possible. He detailed apparatuses such as enclosures (e.g., schools), the partitioning and ordering of space within an enclosure (e.g., the classroom), the control of activity with time (e.g., a bell schedule), and control through step-by-step articulation of the body (e.g., the careful repetition of strokes and grip in handwriting). Disciplinary apparatuses work to render subjects (e.g., students) docile so that they can be "subjected, used, transformed and improved" (p. 136).

Foucault did not characterize these institutional apparatuses or practices as oppressive. Instead, he believed that power is productive in its ability to create possibilities. He argued the systematic ordering of subjects through apparatuses facilitates the possibility to supervise or surveil "at each moment…the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits" (Foucault, 1995, p. 143). In the context of education, students rendered docile by such apparatuses become analyzable based on the ways in which institutions order them (e.g., achievement, class rank, and behavior).

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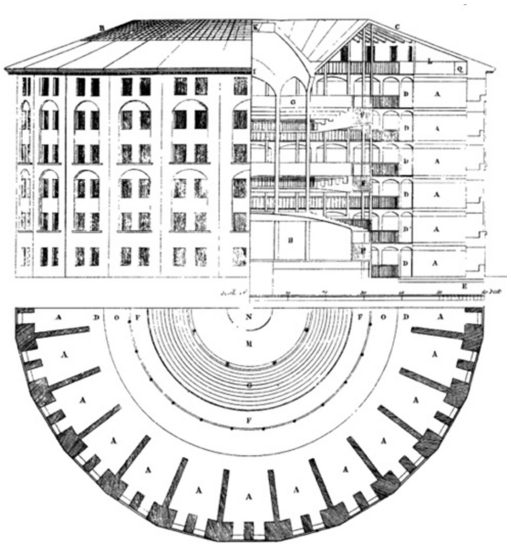

FIGURE 84.1
Panopticon: or, the inspection-house (Jeremy Bentham, 1791, from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Panopticon.jpg)

For Foucault, Bentham's panopticon was the physical manifestation of a technological apparatus designed to discipline an institution's subjects. In a peripheral cell, the inmate may only see the tower in the center of the room. Through use of blinds and creative manipulation of light, a supervisor in the tower may observe the peripheral cells, remaining unseen by the inmates inhabiting them. This obfuscation of the supervisor's gaze results in two distinct yet intertwined phenomena: First, the inmate does not know whether they are being observed; second, because the inmate is unaware, they always behave as if under observation.

The panopticon was the antithesis of the dungeon Bentham sought to replace; whereas the dungeon rendered its subjects unseen and relied on coercion through threats of violence, the panopticon rendered its subjects visible and coerced through surveillance. Foucault (1995) wrote that this visibility of observation "induce[s] in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (p. 201).

In this way, the panopticon subverts people's understanding of the externality of observation as the observed become their own observers enacting power and enforcing it on themselves. Foucault's panopticism signifies an internalization of observation where each subject becomes their own "guard."

3 Queer Panopticism

For Foucault, power was generative, and it necessitated resistance. Queer activism has historically exhibited resistance as activists pushed against normative

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practices of heterosexism, homophobia, and transphobia. This activism influenced scholars in the academy as they took up this research under the name of queer theory (Freeman, 2010; Brim & Ghaziani, 2016). As queer theory disrupts the entrenchment of dominant discourses formed by **cisheteronormative** social organization, scholars within queer studies have taken up work in the field to critique societal apparatuses of domination and demonstrate their generative possibilities. For example, Beauchamp (2019) understood transgender as "not a predetermined category…but as a shifting discursive category *produced* [emphasis added] in part through practices of surveillance" (p. 15). Nonconformity to dominant ideologies is produced by the act of **surveillance** itself. In this way, Foucault's panopticism becomes a useful analytical tool for queer studies.

The panopticon enables scholars to examine not only how external observation coerces LGBTQ+ bodies into docility, but also how that observation *in*ternally coerces. Apparatuses of cisheteronormativity (e.g., media representation, social influences, religion, etc.) confine an LGBTQ+ individual in their "cell." Communication that does not promote docility is impossible (e.g., no promo homo legislation). The aim of this partitioning is "to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others" (Foucault, 1995, p. 143). To further promote docility, body movements and gesture must conform (e.g., do not "sissy that walk"). Docility is guaranteed because of the perception of continuous observation from the tower. This coercion operates not on the threat of violence—though this may be true—but internally: The fear of being seen transgressing against cisheteronormativity asserts power automatically even in the absence of external surveillance. Similarly, idealized portrayals of LGBTQ+ individuals in media can also function as apparatuses, coercing LGBTQ+ identities and actions.

This inward exploration of power helps to uncover how social apparatuses such as gender, race, and class are enacted in LGBTQ+ contexts with respect to issues such as internalized homophobia, bisexual erasure, passing, racism, body image, etc.

In the context of education studies, scholars have used the panopticon to explore themes of coercion, surveillance, and docility in a school setting. For example, Azzarito (2009) utilized the panopticon to demonstrate how external and internal surveillance apparatuses disciplined students in a physical education context. This produced student performances which aligned or did not align with dominant ideals of masculinity or femininity. Woolley (2017) used the Foucauldian notion of the panopticon to explore how apparatuses of schooling produce ideologies of cisheteronormativity within the context of neo-liberal education.

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While Foucault's work documented the evolution of disciplinary apparatuses in many contexts (viz., prisons, military barracks, hospitals, and schools), his metaphor can be applied beyond the original boundaries to examine how the fear of being observed doing something wrong coerces subjects into compliance.

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CHAPTER 85

Paranoid and Reparative Reading

S. Adam Crawley

1 Introduction

In her essay "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay is About You," Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (2003) introduced two approaches to interpreting texts: paranoid reading and reparative reading. She asserted in the essay that both approaches could be useful within queer theory, depending on the motive of the reader.

Paranoid reading involves readers taking a critical and skeptical approach to texts, having the "anticipation of pain" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 138). Such reading requires taking an "x-ray gaze" (p. 149) to texts to explore how "homophobia and **heterosexism** work" (p. 126) to systemically oppress. Sedgwick argued that paranoid reading doesn't involve paranoia as a "pathologizing diagnosis" (p. 126) but rather as "one kind of cognitive/affective theoretical practice among other, alternative kinds" (p. 126). To conduct a paranoid reading, a reader would enter into reading a text expecting—and intentionally looking for—problematic aspects relative to sexuality and gender. For example, the reader would look for if and how homophobia, **transphobia**, and hetero-, cis-, and **homonormativity** exist within the text. The reader would also attend to how the text and the representations within continue to inflict harm on **queer** people by regurgitating painful histories and reifying oppressive, limiting futures.

Reparative reading, however, involves readers taking a different and more hopeful stance. Sedgwick (2003) explained that "in a world where no one needs to be delusional to find evidence of systemic oppression" (pp. 125–126), reparative readings take an "additive and accretive" orientation to a text, "confer[ring] plentitude on an object that will then have resources to offer an inchoate self" (p. 149). She described that reparative reading takes an "empathetic view of 'the other' as at once good, damaged, integral, and requiring and eliciting love and care" (p. 137). In short, reparative reading entails looking for the positive in the text; this lens offers the "provision for pleasure" (p. 138). For example, queer readers who have experienced physical, emotional, and/or mental violence might need and yearn for repair. In their quest, the readers are oriented to approach the text with hope, looking for more promising possibilities for queer existence now and beyond.

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In a recent study of representations in **LGBTQ+-inclusive children's literature**, Jon Wargo and James Joshua Coleman (2021) provided additional distinctions between paranoid and reparative reading. They referred to paranoid reading as reading critically with a "nonreparative perspective" (p. 91). For example, the researchers found that the contemporary picturebooks they selected and analyzed largely reflected homonormativity and the marginalization of queer characters, and they described the negative effects such books can have on readers. On the other hand, Wargo and Coleman described reparative reading as a way to "incite the imagination and propel a practice of queer worlding" (p. 87). They further discussed reparative reading as a way to "recast the hermeneutics of skepticism," analyze "in pursuit of healing," "address speculative potentials" within texts, and be "more-than-humanizing" (p. 88). For example, the researchers described how the representations in the texts they analyzed—despite the texts' problematic aspects—also depicted present queer joy and future queer(er) worlds with communities comprised of "resplendent figures of hybridity, fluidity, and multiplicity" (p. 92). In short, Wargo and Coleman (2021) stated paranoid reading "illuminates the violence of abjection" while reparative reading is speculative, showing "what can or could be in the social world" (p. 93). Further, the researchers asserted the vital point that paranoid and reparative reading are not dependent on the "texts themselves but the meaning made through reading texts" (p. 93).

2 Additional Examples in Education-Related Scholarship

In addition to Wargo and Coleman (2021), other scholars have also explicitly used reparative (Greteman, 2011, 2018) and paranoid (Abate, 2015; Lugg, 2012) reading in their work relative to queer studies in education. In these projects, the researchers rely on using one rather than both types of reading in their study.

Mollie Blackburn and Caroline Clark's (2011) inquiry with adults and youth reading queer-inclusive books in a literature discussion group is helpful for considering how both paranoid and reparative reading can be applied within the same study. In addition, their research demonstrates the potential for using both types of reading as a way to analyze data generated via focus groups rather than studying extant literature. To illustrate how their study reflects both approaches, I focus on a component of their larger analysis. In the particular component, Blackburn and Clark (2011) identified two "uses of talk" by the participants: combatting homophobia and reinforcing heteronormativity. The researchers' identification of how participants "combatted homophobia" (e.g.,

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when participants described homophobia's negative impacts and articulated the attributes of effective allies) entailed a reparative reading of the data from the group conversations. In other words, the researchers' analysis attended to what the participants did or said "well" in supporting all queer people. On the other hand, when the researchers identified how participants "reinforced heteronormativity" (e.g., the participants policed gender norms and related the experiences of queer people to heterosexuals in ways that appeared to conflate across sexuality), the researchers used a paranoid approach. In other words, the researchers recognized how the participants' comments—despite their intentions—were problematic and antithetical to supporting all queer individuals. In this instance, paranoid reading required setting aside participants' "good intentions" and attempts at allyship to discern latent, problematic cis-hetero and homonormative messages they reified and reinforced.

It is important to note that Blackburn and Clark did not explicitly describe their analysis as reparative and paranoid reading. However, their study offers parallels to Sedgwick's (2003) two approaches.

3 Addressing Critiques

Despite the affordances of paranoid and reparative reading for illuminating particular findings, Sedgwick (2003)—using a paranoid approach herself—anticipated and addressed potential critiques of each type of reading. According to Sedgwick, reparative reading and other non-paranoid approaches might be accused as "naïve, pious, or complaisant" (p. 126). In response, Sedgwick argued that reparative, or non-paranoid, readings do not automatically equate with denying the "reality or gravity of enmity or oppression" (p. 128). Instead, she asserted that "sometimes the most paranoid-tending people are able to, and need to, develop and disseminate the richest reparative practices" in order to "succeed in extracting sustenance" for survival (p. 150). In other words, sometimes those who are the most marginalized have understandably become accustomed to entering texts with a critical, skeptical orientation because of the repeated harm they experience and to which they are exposed. These readers, therefore, need opportunities for repair and hope. Reparative reading—while not ignoring the harm that exists in texts—also provides opportunities for readers' healing. According to Sedgwick (2003), reparative reading is no less acute or realistic—nor is it "less or more delusional or fantasmatic"—than paranoid reading. Rather, it simply "undertakes a different range of affects, ambitions, and risks" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 150).

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Paranoid reading, too, "represent[s] a way, among other ways, of seeking, finding, and organizing knowledge" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 130). Acknowledging that paranoid practices might be critiqued as "delusional" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 130), Sedgwick argued that paranoid reading instead offers "a tool for better seeing differentials of practice" (p. 130). According to Sedgwick, "paranoia knows some things well and others poorly" (p. 130). What paranoid reading knows particularly well is how homophobia and heterosexism work to individually and systemically oppress (Sedgwick, 2003).

Reflecting on both approaches, Segwick (2003) asserted that "it is not people but mutable positions—or, I would want to say, practices—that can be divided between the paranoid and the reparative" (p. 150). The same reader can read the same text using a paranoid or reparative approach—or both.

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CHAPTER 86

Parents and Parental Involvement

Heidi Lyn Hadley

Research that employs a queer framework around parenting and parental involvement in educational spaces challenges notions of heteronormativity (Warner, 1991) and homonormativity (Duggan, 2002) in family structures—both for LGBTQ+ parents and LGBTQ+ youth. However, as Martin et al. (2009) point out, there remains "a variety of conflicting cultural discourses and stories" (p. 964) about what it means to identify as a part of the LGBTQ+ community. These conflicting discourses continue to influence the ways in which families understand themselves and others. The concept of family itself carries socio-politically shaped expectations of a "traditional" family, which is comprised of a father, mother, and children, all of whom are assumed to be cisgender and heterosexual. Both heteronormative (see also: **Heteronormativity**) and homonormative (see also: **Homonormativity**) discourses continue to underpin many of the assumptions about LGBTQ+ identities in families (Connell, 2014). As such, there is a wide breadth of research that attends to the intersection of LGBTQ+ issues with parenting and education, even while the majority of such research does not employ a queer theoretical framework.

There are three major bodies of research that frame conversations around the role of parents and parenting in educational settings: first, research that examines the educational experiences of parents of LGBTQ+ youth; second, research that examines how parents in public educational spaces respond to LGBTQ+-inclusive curriculum and educational experiences; and third, research that examines the experiences of LGBTQ+ parents as they navigate the educational settings of their children.

1 Parents of LGBTQ+ Youth

If there is one key takeaway about parenting LGBTQ+ youth, it is that parenting choices matter and directly impact the physical well-being and mental health of LGBTQ+ youth. Decisions by families to reject LGBTQ+ family members have real and material consequences: LGBTQ+ youth are one of the largest populations among homeless youth, and LGBTQ+ teen homelessness is linked to

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parental/family rejection (Tierney & Ward, 2017). LGBTQ+ youth benefit when parents or other caring adults accept and embrace their identities (Ryan, 2014).

However, an enormous amount of literature in this vein parallels the experiences of parents who have LGBTQ+ children with those of parents who experience the death of a child. These studies describe parents' initial understandings of their LGBTQ+ children's identities in terms of the grieving process (for a welcome exception, see Gonzalez et al., 2013), essentially (and problematically from a queer theory stance) equating the experience of understanding a child's LGBTQ+-identity with the process of losing and grieving a child who has died. Additional researchers focus on the responses that parents have when a child comes out to them and the (often informal) educational journey that these parents take as a result of their child coming out (see also: **Coming Out**). Seidman (2002) points out that because more and more LGBTQ+ youth and adults are coming out to their families with an expectation of recognition, more families are making choices about whether/how to support and embrace LGBTQ+ family members.

There are a wide variety of support groups, parenting books, etc., that aim to both support and educate parents of LGBTQ+ youth. Because of the wide variety of beliefs and discourses available to parents as they make sense of their child's LGBTQ+ identity, these support groups and educational resources have similarly disparate purposes and goals. For example, Martin et al. (2009) examined books that addressed parenting a child with an LGBTQ+ identity. Researchers categorized the advice given as falling into three major categories: *disapproval* (urging parents to remake their LGBTQ+ children as cisgender heterosexuals), *accommodating* (urging parents to love their LGBTQ+ children while still asserting that an LGBTQ+ identity is problematic or a tragedy), and *accepting* (urging parents to both love their LGBTQ+ children and celebrate/take pride in their identity). Similar categories would certainly apply to parental support groups as well.

For example, PFLAG, which is perhaps the best-known support group for parents and family members of LGBTQ+ youth and adults, has been both celebrated and critiqued. Founded in 1972 and originally titled Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays, PFLAG has over 400 chapters in the United States. International groups which carry the same or similar names (like PFLAG Vietnam, PFLAG China, PFLAG Australia, PFLAG Canada, etc.) share similar structures and missions as the U.S.-based group but are not directly affiliated. PFLAG follows a support group model, and the current stated mission of PFLAG is to "build on a foundation of loving families united with LGBTQ people and allies" (PFLAG mission statement, 2021). Broad (2011) reports that PFLAG has a dual mission of supporting parents while also engaging in advocacy. PFLAG support

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groups operate under the assumption that the "typical" parent of an LGBTQ+ youth will experience a grief-like process as they mourn the loss of their child's cis-hetero identity. However, Broad also notes that PFLAG support groups also educate parents so that they can embrace and celebrate their child's sexual and gender identity. PFLAG members, then, are expected to both mourn their child's LGBTQ+ identity and also eventually engage with what Broad calls "love advocacy"—advocacy for LGBTQ+ equality and joy that is fueled by reclamation and restoration of parents' love for their LGBTQ+ children. Researchers in the field of queer studies who offer critiques of PFLAG point out that PFLAG has discursively positioned LGBTQ+ family members as having the potential (and promise) of being "normal queers"—queers who can and will have mostly "traditional" family lives with children of their own (Broad, 2011; Fields, 2001; Ward, 2008).

Many groups that offer parental support and community explore very explicitly the connection between a family's religious beliefs and the child's LGBTQ+-identity. In some cases, like with the Mama Dragons (Truong, 2018)—a group of mothers from The Church of Jesus Christ (also known as Mormons) who formed a parental group to protect and advocate for their LGBTQ+ children within the context of their particular faith tradition—certain religious tenets and beliefs are positioned as problematic or damaging to LGBTQ+ children. However, in other religiously informed parental groups, LGBTQ+ children themselves are positioned as problematic or damaging to the "traditional" family or to the faith tradition. Groups like Focus on the Family or Exodus International, both of which have strong ties to evangelical Christianity, have a history of advocating for "conversion therapy," which promises to reorient queer sexual and gender identity into cis-hetero identity. Conversion therapy has been disavowed by the American Psychological Association (2009) as damaging and harmful.

2 Parental Responses to LGBTQ+-Inclusive Curriculum

Parents and parental involvement often frame conversations of the challenges of implementing LGBTQ+ inclusive movements in public education (see also: **Inclusion**). Educators have long cited parental opposition as one of the primary reasons they are reluctant to include LGBTQ+-inclusive curriculum into public school classrooms (Fredman et al., 2015; MacGillivray, 2000; Meyer, 2009). While Cloughessy and Waniganayake (2017) point out that parental opposition "always receives more attention than other parents' support" (p. 8) of LGBTQ+-inclusive curriculum, research counternarratives do exist that highlight the experiences of parents who support the inclusion of LGBTQ+ resources and topics in public education spaces (e.g., Crawley, 2020).

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Researchers who aim to understand parents' varied responses to LGBTQ+-inclusive curricular choices are contributing to a growing and important field of educational study (Crawley, 2020; Hermann-Wilmarth & Ryan, 2019; Jarpe-Ratner, 2020; Ullman & Ferfolia, 2016; Wright & Smith, 2015).

3 LGBTQ+ Parents

Another strand of research related to parenting examines the experiences that LGBTQ+ parents have in a society that has traditionally centered heteropatriarchal familial configurations, and it is worth noting that this body of research centers queer theory and queerness in ways that other strands discussed here do not. Where the majority of studies on the parents of LGBTQ+ children and the responses of parents to LGBTQ+-inclusive curriculum were conducted by researchers who focus on the responses and feelings of heterosexual cisgender parents, researchers who study LGBTQ+ parents offer glimpses of what it might mean to queer the concept of family and parenting and provide examinations of "the ways in which LGBT[Q+]-identified parents and their children have tried to resist and rework heteropatriarchal familial standards in their everyday lives and as part of broader social movements" (Montegary, 2018, p. 3). This is not to say that there *isn't* research and family equality advocacy that centers homonormativity and the white middle-class notion of a nuclear family, but simply that more studies within this strand critique these discursive figurations—a move that is made possible by centering intersectional queer experiences instead of cis-hetero responses to queerness.

For example, in Gustavson and Schmitt's (2011) examination of the Swedish LGBTQ+ parents' experiences at their children's schools, core assumptions and definitions of the project were critiqued at the outset. Researchers questioned their own ability to talk about their families with their participants "without limiting them with references to existing norms of who and how family should be" (p. 164)—a move that did not emerge in the majority of the work that centered cis-hetero-parents.

Researchers found that LGBTQ+ parents were often very strategic in the ways they entered and engaged with schools. Parents were careful to select schools for their children that were viewed as more diverse or personally hired consultants to educate teachers about diverse family structures (Gustavson & Schmitt, 2011), or very purposefully made choices about when to remain silent and when to disclose their family configuration (Streib-Brzic et al., 2011). Practical applications of this research can be found in bulletins and briefs that offer recommendations to schools on how to welcome and celebrate diverse family structures into schooled spaces. For example, Canada's Best Start program

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for early childhood education publishes a guide to LGBTQ+ parental inclusion that encourages early childhood educational providers to reconsider how they use gendered language, reconceptualize common activities such as creating a family tree, or celebrating special days like Father's Day or Mother's Day (Best Start Resource Centre, 2012).

What the research on parents and parental involvement makes clear is that queering of educational spaces with regards to parenting and parental involvement remains largely aspirational, even as this intersection of parenting and education becomes more widely researched. Heteronormative and homonormative discourses continue to dominate discussions of parenting LGBTQ+ youth, suggesting that research that centers queerness instead of straightness as the point of inquiry might be more beneficial in loosening discursive figurations that are harmful for both LGBTQ+ youth and LGBTQ+ families.

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CHAPTER 87

Performativity

Jonathan M. Coker

1 Overview

Performativity is a theory explaining reality as a product of repeating discourses rather than a product of nature. Within the social sciences, performativity is used as a theoretical tool to deconstruct essentialized categories such as gender, race, ability, and even objects. Most frequently, it is cited in reference to gender. Gender performativity explains that gender is performative, thus it exists only as a social reality that lives solely in the act of the performance. Gender is, therefore, a "doing" rather than a "being." Judith Butler, the originator of the theory of performativity, describes it in her own words by saying, "to say that gender is performative is to say that nobody is a gender from the start" (Big Think, 2011).

2 Origins of Performativity

The concept of gender performativity was most famously introduced in Judith Butler's book *Gender Trouble* (1990). Judith Butler is an American philosopher and gender theorist, and her theory of gender performativity drew upon continental philosophy. Notable scholarly influences from continental philosophy on Butler's work include psychoanalysts (Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan), French feminist philosophers (Simone de Beauvoir, Luce Irigaray, Monique Wittig, and Julia Kristeva), post-structuralist thinkers (Lois Althusser, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida), existentialist philosophers (Frederick Nietzche), and phenomenologist philosophers (Georg Hegel) (Lloyd, 2007).

Performativity first appeared in 1955 in a series of lectures by J. L. Austin, a British philosopher of language. Austin's use of the term "performative utterances" referred to his idea that language can perform an action—e.g., the words pronouncing someone married perform the act of marrying two people. Austin stated that conditions were required for "performative utterances" such as the authority of the speaker and a specific context like a priest in a church in the marriage example above (McKinlay, 2010). Decades later, Austin's concept of performativity was critiqued in 1988 by French philosopher Jacques

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Derrida. Derrida replaced Austin's conditions with repetition as the necessary condition for performativity to function because repetition produced social norms that conditioned people to accept the power of those words—e.g., the repetition of the social norm that you can marry someone by saying, "I now pronounce you…" is what provides the power needed for what those words can do. Derrida's critique placed the power of performativity in repeating social norms rather than specific individuals (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006).

Butler applied the concept of performativity to the topic of gender in order to create her theory of gender performativity. Gender performativity invokes the linguistic performativity of Austin by asserting that words have the power to perform not only actions but also identities, like genders. Gender performativity also relies on repetition, as originally conceived by Derrida, because gender is inscribed through repeating norms. Butler builds upon these ideas and further develops gender performativity via her focus on the body. According to Butler, bodies are gendered through repetition of speech actions and physical actions, both of which are governed by social conventions (Salih, 2007). In Bodies that Matter, Butler uses the example of a doctor interpreting infant genitalia and then proclaiming, "It's a girl!" as a speech act that sets into motion "girling," whereby that "girl" will now be expected and trained to stylize her body to conform to all the norms of femininity as defined by her arrival into a socio-cultural-historical context (1993). Therefore, performativity posits gender as something that can be done rather than a natural truth about the body. Butler combines all of these components from Austin, Derrida, Foucault, and others, as well as her own ideas when she states, "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory framework that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being." (Butler, 1990, p. 43).

3 Evolution of Performativity

Over time, the term performativity has been further clarified by Butler in large response to misconceptions with regard to using such a theatrical model. From the beginning, Butler has drawn a distinction between her own theory and the scholarship of Erving Goffman, who also used a theatrical model (Butler, 1988). While Goffman's theory imagines individuals as performers consciously choosing their way of being to manage the impressions of others, Butler's theory shows the performance as compelled and often unconscious (Lloyd, 2016). Similar to Foucault, Butler describes the powerful discourses at work regulating choices and limiting agency (Butler, 1988). Butler often locates human

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agency in acts of resisting or refusing social norms (McKinlay, 2010). Her most famous example of this refers to **drag** queens violating the normative script of gender in an act of gender subversion (Butler, 1990).

Despite Butler's more middle-ground position on the structure versus agency debate, one pervasive misconception of her work is that the socially constructed nature of gender means that gender is selected freely, like a performer choosing a role. This eventually led Butler to emphasize the important distinction between saying that gender is *performative* rather than performed. Saying that gender is performed places the spotlight on the individual doing the performance rather than the act of performance itself because it is the act, not the individual, which creates gender (Butler, 1993). In later clarifications, Butler draws a parallel between gender and capitalism, with both being identified as socially constructed realities. This parallel illustrates the limited agency we have within social realities. In other words, Butler asserts that we cannot choose our way out, but we still have choices, however limited, within the system, whether it be capitalism or gender (Zero Books, 2020).

4 Impact on Feminism

Performativity's definition of gender departs from the gender/sex distinction found commonly in second-wave feminism, where sex refers to biological attributes and gender to social roles and norms (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). The gender/sex distinction was originally made by psychologist Robert Stoller (1968) to describe his work with "transexuals" and was later adopted by second-wave feminism. Second-wave feminists used this distinction as an attempt to move away from essentialist views of gender, which is the belief that people or things are inherently male/masculine or female/feminine, often based on their sex assigned at birth. The limitation of this distinction was that it was still predicated on a natural or biological link between sex and gender (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006).

Performativity's definition of gender departed from this gender/sex distinction through two central claims: (1) Gender does not have a substance, and (2) Gender does not have an interior reality like an identity. For claim one, the analogy of the performance implies that the substance of gender is an illusion rather than being a natural fact of the body. Repeated acts that conform to gendered conventions are what create the illusion that gender has a substance (Butler, 1990). For example, someone wearing a certain type of clothing may lead to the assumption that they have certain genitalia (Butler, 1999). For claim two, the analogy of performance implies that gender is a character with no

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actual internal reality beyond the performance. As Butler has said, removing the mask of gender would reveal that there is nothing underneath, no deeper **gender identity** hiding behind the mask (Butler, 1993).

Transgender studies has critiqued this aforementioned second point, contending that it does not account for the lived experiences of trans people, who experience an authentic gender identity that does not match with their physical body (Prosser, 1998; Namaste, 2000). Other trans scholarship rejects the wrong-body-narrative as a story of a gender binary and thus finds more alignment with post-structural understandings of gender like Butler (Stone, 1987; Bornstein, 1994; Stryker & Whittle, 2006), while others make a call to embrace conflicting narratives of trans experiences (Vipond, 2019). Butler acknowledged this tension and attempted to be more inclusive of trans and **intersex** people in her later book *Undoing Gender* (2004). The impact of gender performativity helped to foreground trans issues and marked a significant shift into third-wave feminism as well as post-structural feminism (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006).

5 Catalyst for Queer Theory and Educational Research

Performativity is also a critique of second-wave feminist scholarship that had privileged heterosexuality as the norm (Lloyd, 2007). Building on Foucault's discussion of **sexuality** as socially constructed (Foucault, 1990), Butler's theory of performativity articulated that the link between sex, gender, and sexuality was socially constructed through something called the heterosexual matrix. The heterosexual matrix categorizes people into a gender binary of male and female, assigns masculine and feminine expectations based on that **gender binary**, and then expects everyone to participate in compulsory heterosexuality. The heterosexual matrix is what often compels our gendered performances, so we can be "intelligible" (i.e., perceived as normal) to others with regard to our gender and sexuality. Those who violate this heterosexual matrix risk being misunderstood, discriminated against, or even having violence done to them (Butler, 1990). In her own words, Butler explains this by saying, "for bodies to cohere and make sense there must be a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality" (Butler, 1990, p. 206). Ultimately, Butler's contributions to the field of gender and philosophy led to the creation of **queer theory** (Turner, 2000).

Performativity continues to be a foundational concept for any research seeking to discuss various facets of gender and/or sexuality in education

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(Youdell, 2020). Performativity has often been used as a theoretical framework to explore a range of educational topics such as bullying among students (Ringrose & Renold, 2010), recruitment of male teachers (Weaver-Hightower, 2011), trans student experiences (McGlashan & Fitzpatrick, 2018), and more. Performativity also continues to expand its influence on other areas of educational research as well, such as disability studies, race/ethnicity scholarship (Youdell, 2020), and feminist new materialist research on the performativity of objects (Barad, 2007).

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CHAPTER 88

Political Organizing

Travis H. Olson

Political organizers work to preserve, alter, or abolish laws, social norms, and institutions. The collective nature of political organizing differentiates it from an individual protest. Within the colonized United States (see Two-Spirit entry), queer and trans peoples have faced surveillance, incarceration, and physical violence (Faderman, 2015). In response, queer and trans organizers have utilized a mix of three reinforcing strategies: (i) cultivating communities of similarly marginalized individuals to raise group consciousness; (ii) outreach, civil disobedience, and agitation; and (iii) claiming spaces within dominant institutions and building alternative institutions.

1 Cultivating Communities

The first academic works on non-normative genders and sexualities equipped otherwise-privileged individuals with the language necessary to redefine themselves as a part of new sexuality and/or gender-based minority groups in the early 20th century (e.g., Cervini, 2020; D'Emilio, 1992; Faderman, 2015; Stryker, 2017). Under this emergent schema, leaders organized the first lasting organizations dedicated to their emergent communities. Harry Hay founded the cis-male-focused Mattachine Society in 1950 (D'Emilio, 1992; Faderman, 2015). In 1952, Virginia Prince organized trans acquaintances into the Foundation of Personality Expression (which later became the Society for Second Self or Tri-Ess; Stryker, 2017). Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon founded the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) in 1955 for cis-women (Faderman, 2015). Soon after, all three groups spread nationally from their founding chapters in California. Today, Tri-Ess still supports cross-dressing men, and Mattachine and DOB are recognized as important organizations of the early struggle for queer rights or the *homophile movement*.

After the Stonewall Riots, the more radical Gay Liberation Force (GLF) and Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) succeeded the homophile movement (D'Emilio, 1992; Faderman, 2015). College students were instrumental to the spread of gay liberation ideology, creating over 175 organizations between 1968 and 1971 (Beemyn, 2003; see also Cervini, 2020). Similarly inspired, queer academics

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and the parents of queer students formed the Gay Academic Union (D'Emilio, 1992) and PFLAG (Faderman, 2015), respectively, in 1973. By the 1990s, adolescents enrolled in public schools had organized the country's first alliances for sexual and gender diversity (Blount, 2005).

Despite queer organizers' mimicry of the Black civil movement, many continued to dismiss the needs of non-White and non-cis-male members (e.g., Beemyn, 2003; Cervini, 2020). In response, trans organizers of Color Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera left GLF to form Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) in 1972 (Shepard, 2013; Stryker, 2017), and feminist leaders Jean O'Leary and Rita May Brown left GAA to explore lesbian separatism (Faderman, 2015). Feeling neither at home in the White-dominated feminist movement nor the men-led Black civil rights efforts, Black lesbians founded groups such as the Combahee River Collective. Similar patterns of exclusion led to the establishment of new organizations in the 80s and 90s, as Black leaders confronted the AIDS epidemic (see AIDS/HIV entry; Royles, 2020; Shepard, 2013) and trans leaders differentiated gender identity from sexuality (Stryker, 2017). In summary, organizations continue to be powerful vehicles to self-definition for many queer and trans people. Yet, discrimination within organizations also led to political fracturing and unequal progress for individuals whose identities sit at the intersections of oppression.

2 Outreach, Civil Disobedience, and Agitation

Homophile organizations also recognized the need to educate the broader society of their constituents' needs. For example, DOB helped form the Council on Religion and the Homosexual at Glide Memorial Methodist Church in San Francisco (Faderman, 2015; Stryker, 2017). The Council was instrumental in recruiting allies in religious communities and supported trans social services and police training programs.

Educating through disruption was another tactic developed by the homophiles and adopted by later organizations. One of the most prevalent methods was *zapping*, where activists took over public spaces and spoke about their experiences. From the 1960s onward, the technique has been used to confront discrimination by businesses and employers, feminist organizations, the American Psychological Association (APA), and government institutions (Beemyn, 2003; Cervini, 2020; Faderman, 2015).

At times of crisis and political opportunity, organizers have also used mass mobilization. Contemporary pride celebrations are descended from these efforts, particularly the Christopher Street protests held on the yearly

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anniversaries of the Stonewall Riots (Faderman, 2015). Inspired by Bayard Rustin's work on the 1963 March on Washington, organizers periodically congregated thousands in D.C. The first 1979 march was intended to show defiance after Harvey Milk's assassination. A second in 1987 was a display of resilience in the face of the AIDS epidemic and included actions of civil disobedience. Jean O'Leary, Rob Eichberg, and others worked to build queer visibility throughout America by organizing the first National Coming Out Day in 1988. Trans organizers, often left out of official actions, have used similar tactics with the *Trans Days of Remembrance and Visibility* (Stryker, 2017).

3 Altering/Alternative Institutions

Although openly queer political leaders Kathy Kozachenko and Elaine Noble were elected to office as early as 1974 (Faderman, 2017), backlash and discrimination have stymied progress in dominant institutions. As a result, organizers' greatest successes have often resulted from creating queer and trans spaces within institutions or establishing new ones to inform, serve, and advocate on behalf of queer and trans people. For example, homophile leaders and Virginia Prince understood the importance of written media to their goals and independently published magazines and newsletters that were essential to the formation of national organizing networks (also see D'Emilio, 1992).

These early publications wrote about confronting legalized discrimination (D'Emilio, 1992; Faderman, 2015), but it was not until the late 1960s that queer spaces within established legal and professional associations were recognized. DC Mattachine leader Frank Kameny successfully pushed the American Civil Liberties Union to challenge federal employment discrimination (Cervini, 2020). John Gish organized the Gay Teachers Caucus in the National Educators Association in 1972, which was similarly instrumental in advocating for queer teachers' rights (Blout, 2005). Through a variety of tactics, queer psychologists helped overturn the APA's stance that homosexuality was a disease (Faderman, 2015) in 1973, upending the basis for many discriminatory policies.

In the same year, Bill Thom founded Lambda Legal (2021) as the first legal organization dedicated to lesbian and gay advocacy. One of the organization's first victories was assuring queer students' right to association at school (Mayo, 2014). Also in 1973, Bruce Voeller and a group of civic leaders established the National Gay Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force) to influence electoral politics (see O'Leary, 2000). Lambda Legal and the Task Force—along with later lobbying groups like the National Center for Transgender Equality (founded 2003)—continue to help queer and trans people recognize, exercise,

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and protect their civil liberties. For example, in 2020, Lambda Legal and others successfully argued at the U.S. Supreme Court that employment discrimination on the basis of sexuality and gender identity is illegal. Like earlier periods, however, those in control of the most powerful contemporary queer and trans institutions have often failed to address the concerns of the most marginalized (i.e., those who are young, disabled, homeless, Black, and/or Latinx). In response, groups such as Gay Men of African Descent (Royles, 2020) and the Sylvia Rivera Law Project (Shepard, 2013) continue to advocate for and with those who have been excluded from queer and trans political organizations.

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CHAPTER 89

Poststructuralism

William Terrell Wright and Maverick Y. Zhang

Poststructuralism is a broad term for the philosophical movement that emerged in France in the 1960s as a response to structuralism, the prominent theoretical model that preceded it. Although varied in their critiques, early poststructuralists came to be recognized for their efforts to challenge the core assumption of the structuralist project: namely, that a working understanding of underlying *structures* (e.g., language, culture, cognition) could be developed to account for the ways humans think, feel, and behave (e.g., Lacan, 1988; Levi-Strauss, 1963; Saussure, 1966). While the initial ideas and strategies of poststructuralist thinkers have gone on to inspire a wide range of intellectual projects (e.g., new materialism, posthumanism, queer theory), several patterns remain consistent amongst scholars whose work extends from or is influenced by its destabilizing ethos. These patterns include an overarching call to question binary thinking (e.g., male/female, speech/writing, self/other), a close scrutiny of the co-determining relationship between knowledge and power, and a broadscale accounting of the dangers of intellectual projects bent on coherence, categorization, representation, and clarity.

As Brinkmann (2017) noted, the general aim of poststructural thinking is to "make the obvious dubious." It is this active critique of normativity, of calling established meanings into question and provoking new possibilities, that has inspired broad and lasting generativity between poststructuralism and the development of queer theory. Notable glimpses into the potential of this relationship can be seen in the works of prominent poststructural scholars Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) and Michel Foucault (1926–1984), who developed interrogative strategies to expose the overriding habits of thought that systematically "blind us to what we see" (Butler, 2010, p. 100).

Derrida's (1967/1974) *deconstructive* ethic of critique, for one, is often drawn upon by queer theorists as a strategy to expose the essentialist tendencies, binary logics, and everyday enactments of **heteronormativity** that permeate human societies (Namaste, 1994; Sullivan, 2003). Although Derrida was notoriously wary of providing a definition of the term, *deconstruction* is generally interpreted as a subversive act that dismantles the taken-for-granted relationships between meaning and text. Here it is important to note that, for Derrida (1972), the word *text* goes beyond written language; as he indicated, *everything*

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is open to deconstructive scrutiny, and "*nothing* [emphasis added] is outside the text."

In a related challenge to the presumed legitimacy or "naturalness" of conventional thought, Foucault conducted *archaeologies* into the historical constructions of madness (1961/1965), criminality (1975/1979), and sexual deviancy (1976/1978) in order to unmask how knowledge is inherently bound within power relations that enable and constrain possible ways of living. The purpose of these archeological projects was to trace how the privileged production of conceptual systems, or "grids of intelligibility" (Foucault, 1976/1978), have allowed various and often violent cultural formations to take root (e.g., patriarchy). By examining who gets to decide, how knowledge claims are legitimated and distributed, and how those who would contend otherwise are relegated and cast aside as aberrant or perverse, Foucault's archaeologies continue to inspire scholars as they work to reveal the contingency and underlying configurability of schemas, classifications, and prevailing discourses that remain in operation today (e.g., capitalism, colonialism, racism, datafication, etc.).

The anti-foundationalist tendencies of Derrida, Foucault, and other poststructuralists are not without controversy, of course. As poststructuralism has grown in popularity, scholars from across the intellectual landscape have increasingly heralded what has been called a "crisis of representation" (Jameson, 1984): fallout from the idea that humans cannot meaningfully posit a real, steadfast, or objective reality outside of their subjective attempts to describe it. Poststructural thinkers would argue, however, that it is the presumption and subsequent pursuit of these certainties, these ruts, that are most dangerous. This is not only because calls for clarity are often harmful to those who fall outside the normative boundaries of the status quo, but also because representation—as a project of fidelity and accuracy—tends to foreclose the very possibility for thinking otherwise, of conceiving what Deleuze (1968/1994) called "difference in itself."

Poststructural explorations of taken-for-granted categorizations, power and knowledge, and the possibility of difference inevitably lead toward the study of institutions, disciplines, and individuals, particularly in the field of education. Since poststructuralism refuses prescription, it does not tend to offer clear-cut methods or implications that can be readily applied in educational contexts. Instead, it provides educators with ways to challenge the traditions, institutions, status quos, and assumptions of "common sense" that marginalize, alienate, and otherwise prevent the "the new" or "not yet" from taking shape (St. Pierre, 2021). The work of poststructuralism is thus always and already political and ethical, as shown in Derrida's view on deconstruction as justice (1992) and Foucault's take on the Self as always formed in relation to others (Foucault,

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1984/1987). As such, poststructural critiques necessarily remain partial and unsettled, as there is nothing that is automatically good or bad, right or wrong, true or untrue—at least not permanently. Instead, everything is "dangerous" (Foucault, 1984/1983), a particular adjective that Foucault employs to suggest an attending need for vigilance: "If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do" (p. 343).

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CHAPTER 90

Pride Festivals and Parades

Amy Keating

1 What Are Pride Parades and Festivals?

Pride parades and festivals are events that occur around the world in order to acknowledge, celebrate, and express gender and sexual identities that fall outside of cisheteronormative expectations: identities falling under the categories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual, Two-Spirit and others (LGBTQ+). In some places, they are widely celebrated and accepted, and in others, they are met with hostility or prohibited by law. Local Pride organizations will hold Pride events usually over the course of one week or one month that center these identities. Typically, there is a parade that hosts floats and participants who embrace a wide range of gender and sexual identities (McFarland Bruce, 2016). Floats in the parade may include local community groups and have, over the years, extended to businesses and corporations. Pride week or Pride month celebrations often feature drag shows, film festivals, sober events, circuit parties, family-friendly events, etc. This list is, of course, non-exhaustive but highlights common Pride events seen across the globe.

In many places, this Pride week or month will occur in June, marking Pride's connection to the Stonewall Riots of 1969 in which BIPOC queer and trans people protested the continued queerphobic violence facilitated by police officers during bar raids in New York (McFarland Bruce, 2016; Armstrong & Crage, 2006). In 1970, the "first" Pride Parades were recorded, occurring in New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago commemorating the resistance in 1969 (McFarland Bruce, 2016). The history of Pride is widely recognized as having its roots in protest and activism for 'gay rights.' However, this perspective has shifted over time. Whereas some participants see Pride as a political protest, others wish to see it as a celebration of authentic self-expression (Formby, 2017). Given the vast diversity of the LGBTQ+ communities, there are many different perspectives of Pride parades of festivals.

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2 A Continued History of Racism

Pride is often seen as a cornerstone of LGBTQ+ communities, but events in the 2010s have highlighted that despite its initial efforts to advocate for queer acceptance, many groups under the broader LGBTQ+ umbrella have been excluded. In 2016, Black Lives Matter Toronto staged a sit-in protest that halted the Pride Parade to make demands in support of Black queer and trans people (Furman et al., 2018; Greey, 2018). This event highlighted the prevalent racism that occurs during many of these festivals and events, not only in Canada but in Pride celebrations throughout the world (Greey, 2018; Smith, 2020; Squires, 2019). Black Lives Matter Toronto presented a list of demands that included that Pride Toronto prioritized racial diversity in their hiring practices and demanded that there no longer be a police presence during the celebrations. This is due to the atrocious and violent history of police officers targeting Black populations and particularly Black queer populations (Greey, 2018). As Furman et al. (2018) show, this event highlighted the white supremacy within queer populations in Canada, as some white queer community members denounced BLM's act of resistance, and the media worked to vilify BLM (2018). Given that the first Pride Parade was in response to police brutality against queer populations and community gatherings, specifically queer and trans people who were Black and People of Colour, the presence of police officers at Pride events has always been contentious. As trans and queer people of Color are more likely to face police brutality, the elimination of the police presence was a demand made by Black Lives Matter Toronto in 2016. The year following this protest, Toronto, Canada, saw the first recorded Pride Parade without police officers (Andrew-Gee & Bascaramurty, 2017). The presence of police officers at Pride events has been resisted in other North American contexts, as well. In 2016, Black Lives Matter refrained from participating in San Francisco Pride, as the event organizers increased police surveillance in the aftermath of the Orlando Pulse Nightclub shooting that targeted queer and trans People of Color (Wong, 2016). Yet, members of BLM San Francisco commented on how police presence only protects white participants and puts BIPOC queer and trans participants at the risk of harm and violence (Levin, 2016).

3 Commodification and Tourism

Larger pride events are not only seen as overwhelmingly white but increasingly corporatized. Banks, alcohol brands, and various other corporations use the parades and festivals as an opportunity to advertise their products while

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seemingly appearing accepting and supportive of LGBTQ+ rights overall. In tandem with brand corporatization, Pride events around the world have been utilized as a tool for increasing tourism in an attempt to boost local business (Waitt & Markwell, 2006). Hartal (2019) provides an argument suggesting that Tel-Aviv has used Pride and Pride Related events for not only increasing tourism but mitigating a "poor image" of Israel on the world stage, in an effort to appear "accepting," an act that Jasbir Puar (2007) calls "homonationalism." Many theorists argue that Pride events are used solely to increase economic income in a given spatial geography and/or work to create an image of acceptance (Binnie & Skeggs, 2004; Coston et al., 2020; Ward, 2003). Increasingly, over the decades since the influx of pride festivals around the world, many theorists, activists, LGBTQ+ members have been critical of Pride for the prioritization of economic and capitalist purposes without using the influx of funds to support the LGBTQ+ movements and communities (Hartal, 2019; Kaygalak-Celebi et al., 2020; Ruiz, 2019; Ward, 2003). Often, this capital is gained at the benefit of tourism or corporations rather than queer communities' needs and demands (Hartal, 2019)

4 Pride as Community

For decades many people falling under the broad category of LGBTQ+ have found pride to be a celebration of one's authentic self and a space to connect to other like people. However, given that it has such an extensive history of excluding other marginalized groups while often prioritizing capitalism and white bodies, this has not always been the case. It is important to recognize the misgivings while acknowledging the benefits it has brought into the life of some queers for a space for self-expression. Despite being seen as a 'party,' 'protest,' 'both,' or something else entirely, Ellen Formby (2017) argues that "Pride events can offer time-limited and spatially specific feelings of safety and freedom to some people, but not necessarily all" (p. 153). It is also imperative to acknowledge that BIPOC queer and trans communities are continuing to work tirelessly to forge anti-racist and police-free spaces in Pride events and parades (Coston et al., 2020). This work seeks to 'queer' the current iteration of Pride, as it is commodified and militarized, in order to make room for the safety and participation of identities that have been marginalized by the homonormativity, racism, and capitalism demonstrated throughout the development of Pride parades and events (Coston et al., 2020; Da Costa, 2020).

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CHAPTER 91

Pronouns

Robin Sudanan Turner

1 Introduction

The first day of class often entails self-introductions to help break the ice among new classmates and instructors. Generally, students share information about their hometown, hobbies, and potentially a unique personal factoid. During these introductions, it is not uncommon to hear instructors and students mention the pronouns they wish for others to use when referring to them in the third person: "Hi. My name is Robin. I am a French major, and my pronouns are she/her/hers."

The use of pronouns outside of the conventional binaristic gendered English pronoun system (e.g., he/she; him/her; his/hers) is incorrectly viewed as optional rather than requisite. This optionality is also present in general reference to pronoun use, in which an individual's pronouns are "preferred," seemingly likening it to a person's nickname. The term "preferred pronouns" is falling out of disuse in favor of "personal pronouns" or simply "pronouns" to avoid subscribing to the notion that a person's chosen pronouns are illegitimate, nonnormative, or optional. Dismissal of personal pronoun as illegitimate is, by extension, a dismissal of a person's identity and compromises student inclusion in the classroom. Such marginalization and systematic erasure imposed by instructors, classmates, and broader communities can cause queer, trans, and non-gender-conforming students to experience increased feelings of anxiety, isolation, depression, and self-harm (Spade, 2018).

While gender-neutral pronoun usage has been characterized as contentious in public media (Clifton, 2019; Steinmetz, 2019), it underwrites an important discussion in education regarding how language changes and linguistic ideologies play a role in students' learning experiences (Wentling, 2015). Educators must be conscientious of how language affects the structures of their courses and their classrooms as welcoming environments for their students.

2 English Pronouns Past and Present

Pronouns are linguistic structures that take the place of a noun or noun phrase. Pronouns rely upon a contextual antecedent in order to acquire meaning and

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be understood by interlocutors. For example, in the phrase "Robin completed her work while she was waiting for the bus," the pronouns "her" and "she" refer to the subject—the antecedent— "Robin," giving the pronouns meaning.

The conventional English pronoun system is based on a dichotomy of masculine and feminine grammatical genders. Grammatical gender assigned to English pronouns does not effectually express social **gender identities** that do not conform to the masculine-feminine binary. Table 91.1 illustrates some of the more frequent gender-neutral and nonbinary pronouns currently used in English. Among these pronouns, singular "they" is the most frequently used. The Oxford English Dictionary has traced the earliest use of singular "they" to 1375, documented in medieval lyric poetry (Baron, 2018). Written language rarely innovates linguistics forms but, rather, documents language as it is used. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that the singular "they" was already being used by English speakers before its appearance in the 14th century (Baron, 2020).

Common contemporary arguments against gender-neutral pronouns revolve around claims that using gender-neutral pronouns corrupts the dignity of the English language system, making for unnecessary confusion and miscommunication.

This argument is erroneous in two ways. First, to argue against the adoption of "new" or "transformed" forms of speech (e.g., singular "they") is to argue against the nature of language. Language evolves and varies because of numerous factors connected to the needs and surroundings of its speakers in given times, places, and cultures (Bybee, 2015). English, as it is used today, is not English as it was used a century ago or even a decade ago. Introducing different forms of pronouns to address gender identities is not a new phenomenon.[1]

Second, the argument that gender-neutral pronouns go against "standard" English and are therefore illegitimate reflects a larger issue regarding language

TABLE 91.1 Gender-binary and gender-neutral pronouns

Subject	Object	Possessive	Reflexive
she	her	her/hers	herself
he	him	his/his	himself
they	them	their/theirs	themself
ze	hir	hir/hirs	hirself
ze	zir	zir/zirs	zirself
xe	xem	xyr/xyrs	xemself

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ideologies. Notions of standardized language systems like English are "treated more as ideological process than as empirical linguistic fact" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 64). Language does not exist as a prescribed communication framework but rather results from being molded by its speakers' experiences, necessities, and beliefs. Notions that gender-neutral pronouns are illegitimate are not rooted in grammaticality or comprehensibility but, instead, in attitudes and prejudices related to race, socioeconomic class, age, and gender.

Despite these arguments against gender-inclusive language practices, there is evidence of growing consciousness among the general public about gender-neutral pronouns. In 2019, the Pew Research Center conducted a study that found that 18% of adults in the United States know someone who uses pronouns outside the binaristic he/she system. About 60% of adults have heard about the use of gender-neutral pronouns generally (Geiger & Graf, 2019). Raised awareness of pronouns outside of the gendered binary facilitates the use of gender-inclusive language practices in educational settings.

3 Practices for Educators and Students

Instructors are key to fostering a learning environment that is welcoming and respectful of queer, trans, and gender-non-conforming students. The disclosure of personal pronouns at any time is more than a disclosure of personal identity. Personal pronouns disclose a high-stakes vulnerability for queer, trans, and gender-non-conforming people. Pronouns can lead to a larger conversation about politics of gender, sexuality, and identity that may make students susceptible to judgment, discrimination, and potential mental and physical harm by others. To address these potential threats, instructors can be proactive in creating inclusive spaces for their students.

Some students may not be in a position where they feel safe or able to disclose their pronouns due to personal circumstances such as living situations or political climates unreceptive to queer identities. Students may also choose not to disclose their pronouns because they are in the process of figuring out their identity as they understand it. Furthermore, some people use multiple sets of pronouns, dependent on context (e.g., a student uses he/him in class but uses they/them when speaking in more intimate contexts; Conrod, 2021). The disclosure of personal pronouns is at the student's discretion and should never be obligatory.

Instructors can create opportunities for students to share their pronouns in a safe manner in a variety of ways. Being able to omit their pronouns and other personal information grants student agency in deciding how their identity

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and inclusion in the classroom are formed. Instructors can further foster the creation of space for non-cisgender people through modeling their own introductions with their pronouns. By normalizing the practice of including their pronouns, instructors and students help to disrupt **cis-normative** attitudes that single out trans, queer, and non-gender-conforming students who are viewed as people who *must* disclose their pronouns because they identify in ways that fall outside what is conventionally considered "normal." Prior to verbal introductions or roll call, instructors can also consider passing around a sign-in sheet where students can note names and pronouns that they use (Spade, 2011). In virtual classroom settings, volunteering personal pronouns can be complemented by including pronouns in participant display names, again eliminating the obligation to verbalize pronoun choice should students be uncomfortable. Instructors and students may also include their pronouns in email and letter signatures to encourage standard practice. These options help discourage reliance on prejudgments based on physical appearance or information on the class roster. Furthermore, while creating supportive learning environments, instructors must also keep in mind that disclosing pronouns is not always a safe or feasible option for everyone (Marine, 2021; Nicolazzo, 2018). Precautions like advanced notice of pronoun disclosure before class allow for students to consider and prepare how they wish to take part in the classroom and help them to avoid stress and additional pressure (Beemyn, 2019, 2021).

People are often hesitant to recognize gender-neutral pronouns or adopt gender-inclusive language practices in part due to fear of offending or misgendering people. To prevent discomfort or anxiety caused by the error of misgendering someone, the mistake can be swiftly identified and resolved by an apology to the misgendered person, using the correct pronoun in the same phrase, followed by a continuation of speech. In this way, the misgendered person and the speaker will not feel tension brought on by drawing attention to the mistake. In the case that a speaker uses the incorrect pronoun in reference to a classmate but does not recognize their error, the instructor should intercede by recasting the phrase using the correct pronoun to refer to the classmate. Permitting for such mistakes to go unrecognized or uncorrected can cause students to feel ignored or excluded from participating in class.

These practices can also be adapted to the foreign language classroom where English is not the dominant interactional language. Gender-neutral pronouns and other gender-inclusive practices in foreign language courses not only promote student engagement with their target language but also provide a chance for the class and instructor to have discussions related to social practices in foreign cultures as well as their own respective languages.

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4 Gender-Neutral Pronouns beyond the Classroom

The significance of gender-neutral pronouns and broader gender-inclusive practices within and beyond educational settings has acquired growing attention from scholars of various disciplines.

Jen Manion (2018) argued that volunteering personal pronouns, in what she calls the "pronoun go-round," has run its course. Founded originally in methods of advocacy and awareness-raising, practices like the pronoun go-round "have amplified binary thinking unwittingly by centering on pronouns" (para. 9). Moving away from pronouns, Manion contended, will eradicate beliefs that gender-inclusive pronouns exhaust the needs of trans, queer, and non-gender-conforming students and return focus to larger issues for non-cisgender people.

Dean Spade (2018) agreed with Manion that there is a lot of work to be done in advocating for transgender rights but also insisted that the pronoun go-round is not defunct as a classroom practice. He identifies the pronoun go-round as "merely an attempt to create a practice of not assuming we know what someone goes by just by looking at them" (para. 5). Practices like volunteering personal pronouns on the first day of class can alleviate anxieties that are frequently associated with how personal identities are treated in educational environments.

Both Manion and Spade wrote about the pronoun go-round centering on larger contexts that pertain to the lived experiences of non-cisgender people. Instructors must remain mindful that teaching and education are always political acts. Students' learning experiences travel with them as they engage with communities beyond the classroom. Pronoun disclosure and other gender-inclusive practices can contribute to larger efforts to confront and dismantle systemic issues of gender privilege, transphobia, and discrimination that disadvantage, oppress, and endanger trans, queer, and non-gender-conforming people.

Note

1 In *What's Your Pronoun? Beyond he & she*, Dennis Baron (2020) provided a detailed chronology of gender-neutral and nonbinary pronouns in the English language beginning in the eighteenth century.

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CHAPTER 92

Psychoanalytic Theory

Kathleen Emily Hurlock

1 Defining Psychoanalytic Theory

Psychoanalytic theory is a set of specific ideas that seek to explain human thought and behavior at three levels: consciousness, or the thoughts people are actively aware of having and can control, preconsciousness (also known as subconsciousness), or deeper thoughts that people can easily bring to their consciousness, and unconsciousness, or the deepest thoughts and memories that cannot easily be brought to consciousness. Psychoanalytic theory comes from psychoanalysis, a certain way of practicing psychotherapy to assist people with trauma and mental disorders. Psychoanalytic theory refers to ideas about how the human mind works that undergird the practice of psychoanalysis, but it is not only used in the field of applied psychology. Rather, social scientists, humanities scholars, and others have used psychoanalytic theory to support their analysis and other work, often in ways that are disconnected from its therapeutic uses.

2 Origins of Psychoanalytic Theory

Generally, scholars of psychoanalytic theory attribute the field to three major thinkers, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), and Carl Jung (1875–1961). Freud coined the term "psychoanalysis" in 1896, and he is responsible for developing several concepts in psychoanalytic theory, like the Oedipal drama and the breakdown of the id, ego, and superego, as well as popularizing other psychoanalytic concepts, like the death drive (Pick, 2015). Freud, who actively practiced psychotherapy and often used his encounters with patients in his writings, could be considered the founder of psychoanalytic theory.

Lacan took the ideas that Freud established and built upon some while challenging others. For example, Freud interpreted childhood sexual development based on literal material bodies by developing his Oedipal drama theory through the ways children identified (or not) with the parent who has the same sexual organ as them. Lacan based such identification more on symbolic structures of power, ones that aligned in a gendered way, but were not

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as literally grounded in bodies. For example, Freud was concerned with how children interpreted their relationship to the penis, the literal organ, whereas Lacan was concerned with whether individuals desired the "phallus," a symbol of power (Pick, 2015.)

Jung began his career as a disciple of Freud, but he later distanced himself due to the latter's strong focus on sexuality, believing that other aspects of a person's life were just as central to psychoanalysis (Taylor, 2002.) Jung is best known for founding the school of thought known as "analytical psychology," a form of psychotherapy that "[focuses] on the role of symbolic and spiritual experiences in human life," helping patients to become more aware of various aspects of their experience that influenced who they are. (Hogenson, n.d., paras. 1–2.) Jungian psychoanalysis, though crucial to the founding of psychoanalytic theory, rarely arises in queer theory.

3 Major Concepts in Psychoanalytic Theory

Practitioners of psychoanalytic theory have developed many theories, too many to be detailed here. This section will focus on three recurring concepts in psychoanalytic theory taken up by queer theorists: (1) the way psychoanalysts think of human thought, (2) the Oedipal drama and psychosexual development, and (3) the death drive.

Human thought, in terms of consciousness, preconsciousness, and unconsciousness, forms the foundation of psychoanalytic theory, and Freud (1933) theorized that it has three components: the id, the ego, and the superego. The "id" is the unconscious part of the human mind that drives human decisions. It is based on, at times, illogical drives and desires, also known as the "pleasure principle," in which one is always oriented to do what feels immediately gratifying and avoid unpleasant actions (Freud, 1933, pp. 104–106). What keeps humans "on track," so to speak, and not solely driven by what is immediately gratifying and pleasurable is the "ego," which Freud states is "a part purposefully modified by its proximity to the dangers of reality" (Freud, 1933, p. 107). The ego undergirds all the choices humans make, but, unlike the id, the ego has a grasp on "the dangers of reality," or how if humans were to act solely based on gratification, most relationships and societies would collapse. So, the ego does not completely elide the pleasure principle; rather, it allows individuals to still seek out the most gratifying choices possible for themselves in ways that are rational. The ego is the part of consciousness that individuals are more aware of, as it helps people consciously mediate choices. Thus, the ego can be considered a part of the preconsciousness, with the capacity to be brought

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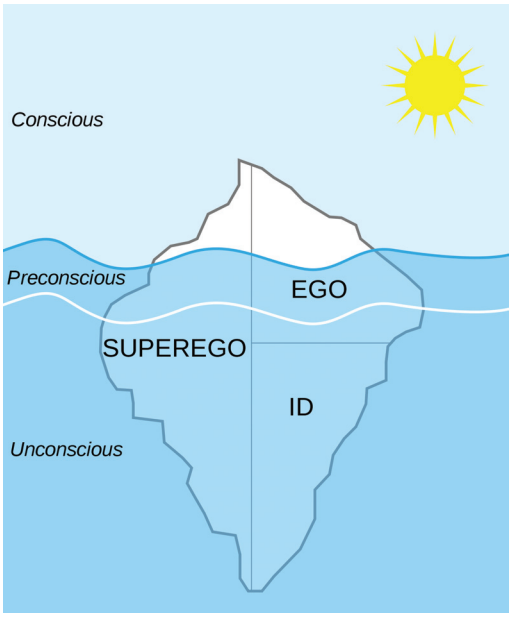

FIGURE 92.1
The id/ego/superego iceberg (from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=36132066)

to consciousness. The superego, in contrast, lies more—but not entirely—in the unconsciousness, and it is the internalization of all social rules. Think of the superego as the opposite of the id; it is one's innate sense of morality that pushes an individual to always do what's right, at the expense of their own pleasure. The ego works to balance the superego and the id to allow someone to function (Freud, 1933). See Figure 92.1 for further explanation of these three concepts and how they relate to the different levels of human thought.

The second concept commonly associated with Freud and taken up frequently by queer theorists is the Oedipal drama, from Freud's The *Interpretation of Dreams* (1899/2010). The Oedipal drama is a **cisheteronormative** way to describe the means by which children come to understand their gender. The Oedipal drama is part of a larger scheme of childhood sexual development articulated by Freud, in which children move toward what he calls a "mature" sexuality, which many characterize as **heteronormative**, as he describes children moving through stages of being fixated on the mouth, the anus, the phallus/penis, and, eventually, latent sexuality until puberty. During the "phallic stage," which takes place when children are approximately ages 3 to 6, children acquire an understanding of gender, per Freud's estimation. The father, with a penis, serves a central role in this drama. Boys, upon starting to realize they are boys, feel an unconscious sexual desire for their mothers and, in turn, a sense of competition with their fathers, whom they fear may castrate them due to being older and stronger. Boys who successfully complete the Oedipal drama

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turn this into a form of bonding with their father, realizing that they should be like him. Instead of castration anxiety, girls feel "penis envy," or the realization that, because they do not have a penis, they cannot "please" their mother, who they start off feeling latent desire for; in turn, they switch to feeling that desire for their father and ascend to heterosexual femininity. Freud believes that, when children do not successfully complete this stage, they become homosexual or otherwise sexually non-normative.

Lacan rearticulates some of Freud's theories to be more discursively based (Pick, 2015). For example, Lacan considers all human thought and interaction to fall into three specific "orders," or categories: the "Imaginary," or "who and what one 'imagines' other people [and oneself] to be," the "Symbolic," or the ways we understand how to communicate with one another in an intelligible way, and the "Real," or the "elusive" idea of a material truth that humans can never consciously access since they interpret everything through their "Imaginary" perception and "Symbolic" language (Johnston, 2018, sec. 2.1.1–2.1.3). Similarly, Lacan's theory of child development focuses on how children come to understand power through language. A central concept in Lacan's theory is the "mirror stage," which refers to the moment when infants are developed enough to recognize themselves in a mirror, thus understanding that they are, like all humans, an individual subject who can be perceived by other subjects, not merely, in Lacan's heteronormative understanding of the world, an extension of their mother. Such an understanding allows infants to enter the "Imaginary" and "Symbolic" orders of language and perception (Gallop, 1982/1983).

Lastly, a concept in psychoanalysis that comes up in queer studies is the death drive, or death instinct, an idea developed by Spierlrein in "Destruction as the Cause of Coming into Being" (1912/1994) and taken up by Freud in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920/1961). The death drive refers to impulses that go against what would seem like a natural human instinct to stay alive, such as compulsive behaviors and self-destructiveness (Spierlrein, 1912). Unlike the id, which is based on the pleasure principle, the death drive is not based on rational self-gratification (Freud, 1920). Instead, humans tend to participate in certain behaviors and thoughts that are not at all pleasing to them, but, at the same time, they do compulsively and repetitively, like participating in self-injurious behavior (Freud, 1920).

4 Psychoanalytic Theory in Queer Studies

Psychoanalytic theory is problematic for the queer theorist due to its reliance on heteronormative ideas of development and relationships. Nonetheless,

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queer theorists have appropriated aspects of psychoanalytic theory to understand the queer experience and theorize from where heteronormativity and gender roles emerge. One example of such reappropriation is Tim Dean (2000), who uses Lacan's ideas about the phallus as a symbol of power to articulate a theory of sexual desire that is separate from traditional ideas of binary gender, demonstrating psychoanalytic theory's capacity for theorizing queer existence.

Another scholar who offers a strong example of how psychoanalytic theory can inform queer theory is Lee Edelman (1998). Edelman uses Lacan's ideas about child development to articulate his theory of "reproductive futurism," in which politics is overly focused on the future of developing children, a paradigm that, according to Edelman, can exclude queer people (p. 287). Edelman argues that part of the political potential of queer identities lies in the fact that they can be considered a function of the death drive and, in turn, are able to problematize what many consider to be "progressive" today. In both cases, psychoanalytic theory gets turned on its head, removed from its heteronormative origins, and reinterpreted to understand various aspects of queer existence.

5 Psychoanalytic Theory in Queer Studies and Education

Several scholars of educational theory and practice have worked at the intersection of psychoanalytic theory and queer studies. Such scholars include Pinar's (2003) work about queer theory in education to challenge compulsory heterosexuality in education, Lapointe's (2015) theories of psychoanalytic inquiry in secondary school Gay-Straight Alliances, Novack's (2017) use of psychoanalytic theory and queer theory together to problematize "affirmative consent" policies in higher education, and Dyer's (2017) work regarding the ways racialized and gendered ideas of childhood impact sex education policies.

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CHAPTER 93

Psychological Identity Development Models

Kamden K. Strunk and Hyun Sung Jang

1 Psychological Models of Queer Identity Development

In this entry, we will briefly define and explain the most prominent psychological models of queer identity development. It is worth noting that many of these models were not created by psychologists, per se, but by higher education and student affairs researchers or education researchers. However, they all borrow heavily from ideas found in other psychological identity development models, including racial identity development models (Bilodeau & Renn, 2005; Poynter & Washington, 2005), and follow a similar flow and pattern. Importantly, all of these models are stage models. That is, they proceed in a series of 'stages' which are defined by some fundamental conflict or task, and which are theorized to occur in a particular order. Stage models are subject to much queer critique (Langdridge, 2008; Rust, 2003). Notably, researchers have documented ways that queer people's narratives do not tend to neatly map to these progressions and models (Eliason & Schope, 2007; Rosenberg, 2018). Furthermore, given **queer theory**'s rejection of stable and knowable identity categories and embrace of fluidity and uncertainty (as described elsewhere in this volume), these models are poorly aligned with much of queer scholarship. Nevertheless, they remain influential in how scholars in many fields write about queer theory. For example, a Google scholar search at the time of this writing showed over 1,300 citations to the Cass (1979) stage model (among the earliest and by far the most influential model) within the past five years and over 4,100 in total. The models have been influential in part due to the ways they simplify identity development and provide normative 'stages' against which an individual's development can be compared. This enabled a 'diagnosis' of normal versus pathological identity development while providing prescriptive advice on how to 'mature' in queer identity development. As such, while critiquing these models from queer theoretical perspectives, they remain important models to understand due to the frequency of their use in various fields of research.

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2 Stage Models of Queer Identity Development

Within work on queer identity development, psychological researchers have primarily focused on stage models. Perhaps the first and most influential of these models is Cass' (1979) six-stage model. In that model, the first stage is identity awareness/confusion, followed by identity comparison, identity tolerance, identity acceptance, identity pride, and finally, identity synthesis. Later stage models that saw less uptake in the literature, but that are still relatively heavily cited, include Troiden's (1989) four-stage model (sensitization, identity confusion, identity assumption, and identity commitment) and Coleman's (1982) five-stage model (pre-coming out, **coming out**, and self-admission, exploration testing and contact, first relationship, and integration). More recently, Di'Aguelli's (1995) six-stage model has seen broad uptake in the literature. It includes existing heterosexual identity, followed by developing LGB persona identity, developing LGB social identity, becoming LGB offspring, developing LGB intimacy, and entering LGB community. Others have expanded on or added to these models, such as efforts to adapt the models for lesbian identity specifically (Degges-White et al., 2000; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996).

TABLE 93.1 Sexual identity models

Stages	Cass (1979)	D'Aguelli (1995)	Troiden (1989)	Coleman (1982)
1	Identity awareness/ confusion	Exiting heterosexual identity	Sensitization	Pre-coming out (preconscious)
2	Identity comparison	Developing LGB personal identity	Identity confusion	Coming out and self-admission
3	Identity tolerance	Developing LGB social identity	Identity assumption	Exploration, testing, and contact
4	Identity acceptance	Becoming LGB offspring	Commitment	First relationship
5	Identity pride	Developing LGB intimacy		Integration
6	Identity synthesis	Entering LGB community		

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TABLE 93.2 Gender identity models

Stages	Bilodeau (2005)	Lev (2004)
1	Exiting assigned identity	Awareness
2	Developing personal trans identity	Seeking information
3	Developing social trans identity	Disclosure to significant others
4	Becoming trans offspring	Exploration, self-labeling
5	Developing trans intimacy	Exploration, transition
6	Entering trans community	Integration and acceptance

In **gender identity**, the available models have largely mirrored those in **sexual identity.** For example, Bilodeau's (2005) gender identity model closely mirror's D'Aguelli's (1995) sexual identity development model, with stages that are essentially the same, though slightly modified to emphasize gender. Similarly, Lev's (2004) model follows the form of Cass' (1979) model with the same basic six stages adapted to fit gender exploration and commitment. These stage models all have prescribed progressions of identity development that imply stages that proceed in a relatively orderly and predictable manner. In other words, these models often suggest that identity development happens in a particular sequence. While some models acknowledge that actual identity development is seldom so clean and orderly, perhaps even cyclical (Fassinger & Miller, 1996), the application of those models still proceeds as if the process follows prescribed series, sequences, and rules. This may be because of the ways these models simplify understanding, measuring, and researching identity, particularly for quantitative research. Often missing in such conceptualizations is a robust consideration of contextual factors, supports, and constraints.

3 Contextual Factors in Identity Development

However, some researchers have documented contextual factors that influence processes of identity development. In particular, researchers have documented difficulties in navigating identity development processes for queer people in rural settings (Hulko & Hovanes, 2018; Stone, 2018), different geographies (Fisher et al., 2014), highly religious contexts (Bailey & Strunk, 2018), and in unsupportive family environments (Fish et al., 2020; Kuper et al., 2018). Others have written about the complexities introduced in identity development

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for queer youth who are forced to conceal their sexual or gender identities in work settings (Riggle et al., 2017; Sedlovskaya et al., 2013; Tatum et al., 2016) and around family members (Orne, 2012; Pastrana, 2014, 2015). Others have documented the ways that supportive contexts can open and facilitate identity development processes (Kuper et al., 2018). While most identity development models, especially staged models, propose a primarily intrapsychic process that occurs mostly within an individual, the available evidence suggests sexual and gender identity development are profoundly social and interpersonal processes as well. Moreover, the same contextual factors that might constrain or facilitate sexual and gender identity development processes also influence mental health outcomes.

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CHAPTER 94

Quare Theory

Raphael D. Coleman and Darris R. Means

1 Foundations of Quare Theory

Developed and coined by E. Patrick Johnson, a performance and African American studies scholar, quare theory is "theory of and for gays and lesbians of Color" (Johnson, 2005, p. 127). Specifically, Johnson centers the lived experiences and knowledges of Black lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) people (Johnson, 2001, 2016). Johnson (2005) attributes the word "quare" to his Southern roots and his grandmother's pronunciation of the term queer. Quare theorists resist white supremacy and heterosexism by drawing attention to and focusing on the often disregarded histories, contributions, and experiences of Black LGBTQ+ people (Johnson, 2005; Johnson & Henderson, 2005). Quare theorists have argued that while Black studies and queer studies have offered important theoretical and historical understanding of Black and LGBTQ+ people, Black studies and queer studies have also historically contributed to Black LGBTQ+ erasure (Johnson, 2005; Johnson & Henderson, 2005). Thus, quare theory seeks to integrate Black studies and queer studies to study, disrupt, and transform systems and structures of power embedded in anti-Black racism, heterosexism, white supremacy, patriarchy, cderson, 2005). In education, scholars have employed quare theory or Black queer studies to examine how the intersection of racism, specifically anti-Black racism, heterosexism, cisgenderism, and/or other forms of oppression have created inequitable and unjust educational experiences of Black queer and transgender students, while examining the resources, networks, and resistance of Black LGBTQ+ students and educators (Blockett, 2018; Coleman et al., 2020; Means, 2017; Means et al., 2017, 2018; Means & Jaeger, 2013, 2015; Mobley et al., 2020; Nicolazzo, 2016).

2 Key Elements of Quare Theory

In this section, we discuss the key elements of quare theory, by highlighting quare theory's philosophy of knowing and knowledge construction (epistemology), approaches to research and inquiry (methodology), and commitment to social transformation (praxis).

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2.1 *Quare epistemologies*

Similar to intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989), quare theory focuses on how the intersection of interlocking systems of oppression create and reinforce racial, class, gender, and sexual inequities (Johnson, 2005). Quare theorists not only seek to study, disrupt, and transform systems and structures of power, they also seek to "critique the concept of 'race' as historically contingent and socially and culturally constructed/performed" (Johnson, 2005, p. 135). Specifically, quare theorists seek to examine "performance strategies" of Black LGBTQ+ people's resistance to oppressive systems and structures (Johnson, 2005, p. 139). Johnson (2016) calls for an application of elements of performance studies, critical reflexivity, problematization of identity labels and queer visibility rhetoric, and resistance through praxis.

Quare theory resists the notion of "coming out" as an end goal posited in (white) queer liberation movements (Johnson, 2016; Brockenbrough, 2012). Similar to Brockenbrough's (2016) queer of Color critique, quare theory intentionally distinguishes between sexual desire, sexual practice, and sexual identity, acknowledging that they are not always the same (Johnson, 2016). To this end, quare theory interrogates queer visibility politics, which often stigmatizes LGBTQ+ individuals of Color for not "coming out."

Taking an intersectional approach, educational researchers applying quare theory should engage in critical reflexivity , whether they share some social identities with Black LGBTQ+ people or have largely divergent identities (Johnson, 2016. Although it may be possible for scholars to share some social identities with LGBTQ+ individuals of Color they are studying, Johnson (2016) asserts a moral and ethical imperative for researchers to constantly examine the identities within which they experience privilege and minoritization. They must become aware of the power dynamics at play within the contexts of their study and beyond, and work through those dynamics with their research participants (Johnson, 2016). The process of critical reflexivity and examination of power dynamics calls for a collaborative approach to inquiry between researchers and research participants. This approach is a slight distinction from queer of Color critique work that asserts the notion that perspectives about LGBTQ+ individuals of color has to originate from the perspective of people of color. Instead, quare theory extends the responsibility of resisting dominant ideologies about LGBTQ+ people of color to white people as well.

2.2 *Quare methodologies*

Applying elements of performance to storytelling and collecting oral histories, quare theorists emphasize the "dynamism" of historical accounts of Black LGBTQ+ people's life histories, resisting the static or linear notions asserted by oral history research (Johnson, 2016, p. 63). In essence, the act of engaging in

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storytelling goes beyond the presentation of a snapshot in history but extends to capture the process of developing the account in active partnership between researchers and research participants (Johnson, 2016). Educational researchers employing quare theory have leveraged collaborative approaches to engage in counter-storytelling that centers the lived experiences of Black LGBTQ+ individuals. Researchers have engaged with Black non-Binary trans* collegians to learn how students negotiate and navigate their college and university campuses (Nicolazzo, 2016). Educational researchers also leverage autoethnographies to highlight their experiences as Black queer faculty and students navigating historically white institutions (Means et al., 2017; Mobley et al., 2020). In addition to leveraging narrative approaches to counter-storytelling, educational researchers have leveraged visual methodologies through photography to highlight the lived experiences of Black queer students in higher education (Means & Jaeger, 2013, 2015). Leveraging these approaches to inquiry, educational researchers employing quare theory enter into a collaborative process meaning making, critically reflexivity, and research with research participants.

2.3 *Quare praxis*

Beyond engaging in scholarship, educational researchers applying quare theory prioritize resistance through praxis to affect positive social change and transformation (Wargo, 2016).

> Quare, in contrast to queer, is not only a construct for the academy, but also an enacted and lived experience. Quare is the skin we live in. It is the resistance and the struggle. Quare acknowledges the power in community building and resources inherent in identities of difference. (Wargo, 2016, p. 302)

As such, quare theory calls educational researchers to take action toward affecting positive changes in policies and practices to enhance the experiences of Black LGBTQ+ people. Although literature applying quare theory has focused on higher education, there is potential for extending its application to P-20 educational spaces, broadly. Employing quare theory, researchers have found Black LGBTQ+ students in higher education have to negotiate and resist racism, heterosexism, classism, and cisgenderism and have a lack of affirming spaces on their college and university campuses (Means, 2017; Means & Jaeger, 2013, 2015; Means et al., 2017, 2018; Nicolazzo, 2016). While negotiating hostile campus environments, Black queer students found support through affirming peers, student organizations, faculty, staff, and family members and by creating their own affirming spaces on campus (Means, 2017; Means & Jaeger, 2013,

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2015; Means et al., 2018). While there has been an increasing amount of educational scholarship over the past decade that has engaged quare theory as a theoretical and conceptual framework, it has the potential to be engaged more broadly to address educational inequities and injustices for Black LGBTQ+ students and educators in P-20 educational spaces. As quare theory is engaged more broadly across P-20 educational spaces, educational researchers and practitioners can leverage their work to catalyze social transformation toward cultivating educational spaces that affirm Black LGBTQ+ people.

3 Summary

In this entry, we described the foundations of quare theory, reviewed the key elements of quare theory, and provided examples of how educational researchers apply quare theory to scholarship. Quare theory is a critical and intersectional conceptual framework that centers the lived experiences and knowledges of Black LGBTQ+ people. Applying elements of performance studies, quare theory highlights the ways in which researchers and research participants engage in a dynamic and collaborative approach to inquiry. Finally, quare theory emphasizes resistance through praxis, by positioning the conceptual framework as a means to addressing educational inequities and injustices for Black LGBTQ+ students and educators.

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CHAPTER 95

Queer

Jessica A. Weise

Scholars have shown the difficulty in defining queer because its very meaning rejects stable categorization of identity categories, typically along sexual and gender identities (Graves, 2015; Love, 2013; Mayo, 2007). Conceptually, queer's meaning(s) are situated in historical and contextual moments which make the term queer temporal, affective, and political (Amin, 2016). The term queer, once used as a derogatory slogan, gained recognition and acceptance in the public sphere in the late 1980s to 1990s largely due to gay and lesbian activist campaigns around gender and sexual freedom and the AIDS crisis (Love, 2013). In the 1990s, queer was associated with identity politics, specifically gay, lesbian, and feminist politics.

In the following quote, Butler (1993) described the relevance of queer as a term that must not become fixed in historical nor current positions:

> If the term "queer" is to be a site of collective contestation, the point of departure for a set of historical reflections and futural imagining, it will have to remain that which is, in the present, never fully owned, but always and only redeployed, twisted, queered from a prior usage and in the direction of urgent and expanding political purposes and perhaps also yielded in favor of terms that do that political work more effectively. (Butler, 1993, p. 19)

There must be a continual queering (*v.*) of queer itself if it is to be mobilized as a political tool. Within this context, ideologically speaking, the continual contestation of queer's meaning as a political tool beyond its historical context to identity, "promises a cutting-edge political intervention" (Amin, 2016, p. 176). For example, Eng, Halberstam, and Muñoz (2005) conceptualized 'queer' as a theoretical and political tool to critique categorizations of identities beyond gender and sexuality to include race, class, religion, and nationality. Their work was an important example of queer's theoretical utility.

As discussed above, queer rejects stable categorization of identity labels, so it would seem epistemologically antithetical to define queer along grammatical categorizations. In the remaining sections of this entry, rather than define queer by what it is, I will describe queer by what it does and the possibilities

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of what it can do. I will engage in this dialogue by discussing queer as a noun, adjective, and verb. Again, organizing and discussing queer along categorical lines is antithetical to the ways that scholars have proposed queer's political potential (Anzaldúa, 1987; Butler, 1990; Eng et al., 2005) and its epistemological leaning. To limit the reductionist potential of discussing queer through exclusive categorizations of noun, adjective, and verb, I will discuss queer as being these things simultaneously.

1 Queer (*Noun, Verb, Adjective*)

> To avow, however, the tacit consensus that queer scholarship does in fact reference sex, gender, and sexuality would be to pin the field down, exposing it as defined not by whatever is most radical, urgent, and cutting-edge, but rather by the ordinary vicissitudes of the politics of gender, sex, and sexuality in social context. (Amin, 2016, p. 179)

Queer is often associated with the "Q" in LGBTQ—lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (and sometimes the "Q" is queer/questioning). Queer is considered an identity or position that encompasses gender and sexual identities that do not align with dominant gender and sexual cultural expectations. Shlasko (2005) summarized the dominant gender and sexual expectations to be "maleness = masculinity = attraction to women, or femaleness = femininity = attraction to men" (p. 124). As an identity (*n.*), queer describes (*adj.*) people who hold gender and/or sexual identities such as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, non-binary, and gender nonconforming. Typically, in higher education, queer is categorized in questionnaires and other survey work methods as exclusively a sexual identity *or* gender identity (See Garvey et al., (2015) for queer's usage in survey work). Though it makes sense to pin queer as a sexual identity *or* a gender identity for the purposes of quantifying those who hold a queer identity, ideologically it does not fully capture queer's (adj., v.) unstable meaning. Rubin (1989) also suggested that sexual behaviors not exclusively limited to gender but related to eroticism like BDSM, sex work, non-monogamous relationships, and fetishes also occupy a queer identity. It is at this intersection of describing a queer subject position (*n.*) where queer is mobilized as a political tool to trouble 'normative' sexual behaviors, acts, and identities.

Normative sexual identities (married, cisgender, and heterosexual) are rooted in meanings (re)produced by Western religions (Christianity, including Catholicism; Foucault, 1978). Foucault (1978) theorized that the policing of (queer) sexuality came from confession, specifically

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> It is no longer a question simply of saying what was done—the sexual act—and how it was done; but of reconstructing, in and around the act, the thoughts that recapitulated it, the obsessions that accompanied it, the images, desires, modulations, and quality of the pleasure that animated it. (p. 69)

Verbal and written discourse on sex shaped what could be considered acceptable sexual acts and identities. In "The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction," Foucault (1978) outlined how queer sexual identities (*n.*) and queer sexual acts (*v.* and *adj.*) became political tools for the bourgeois, capitalist societies. Queerness operated as a discursive political tool to identify the power of heteropatriarchal, capitalist, and religious systems in shaping acceptable identities and acts. Please see the "Confession" entry for a detailed discussion on the role of confession in shaping sexual identity.

Beyond gender and sexual identities, scholars have shown the political utility of queer as a social critique of race, class, nationality, ethnicity, and religion (Anzaldua, 1987; Eng et al., 2005; Foucault, 1978; Hollibaugh & Moraga, 1981). Through a series of conversations, Amber Hollibaugh and Cherríe Moraga (1981) discussed women's sexuality, specifically butch lesbianism, in relation to the second-wave feminist movement. In their conversations, Hollibaugh and Moraga (1981) advocated for a sexual theory that could mobilize queer women of Color sexual experiences and desires. In this essay, Hollibaugh and Moraga (1981) critiqued queerness within and beyond sexual and gender identities to illuminate some of the challenges that queer women, specifically butch lesbians of Color, faced during the feminist movement. They mobilized queer (*n.*) to draw attention to their own sexual desires as queer women of Color and to critique concerns about women's sexuality during the second wave feminist movement that centered on the experiences of wealthy, white lesbians with college degrees:

> If you have enough money and privilege, you can separate yourself from heterosexist oppression. You can be sapphic or somethin, but you don't have to be queer. It's easier to clean up your act and avoid feelin like a freak if you have a margin in this society because you've got bucks. (Hollibaugh & Moraga, 1981, p. 61)

In response to the dominant representation of white women in the feminist movement, Hollibaugh and Moraga (1981) utilized their own queer position (*n.*) to queer (*v.*) sexual theory and critiqued the white homogenization of sex-related issues. Queer is a way to describe the interplay of race, class, gender, and

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sexual identity as a political tool to critique and advocate for sexual thought that includes an array of backgrounds and experiences.

Similarly, in "Borderlands/ La Frontera: The New Mestiza," Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) used personal narratives, poetry, and prose to queer (*adj.*, *v.*) nationalism, immigration, and Eurocentric notions of sexuality. Anzaldúa used the metaphor of border/lands to describe the unnatural physical border between lands and nations and arbitrary borders between identities. Within the borderlands live *los atravesados*, "the squint-eyed, the perverse, the queer, the troublesome, the mongrel, the mulato, the half-breed, the half-dead; in short, those who cross over, pass over, or go through the confines of the 'normal'" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 3). Borders force people to choose one thing over the other, which ultimately places the individual that exists at a border, a space in between worlds in the shadows (Anzaldúa, 1987). Anzaldúa (1987) showed that queerness is bound up in nationality, class, ethnicity, and race through her personal narrative as a queer person, "two in one body, both male and female" (p. 19). Anzaldúa (1987) mobilized queer (*v.*) as a political critique of white, colonial, heteropatriarchal systems that inhabit Indigenous lands and wrote from her personal queer position (*n.*) to describe her queerness (*adj.*) as *una cultura mestiza*, a new culture of resistance to colonial, heteropatriarchal ideologies, a departure from dichotomous thinking, and an oppositional knowledge to hegemonic power (Martinez, 2005; Vargas-Monroy, 2011).

In sum, queer (*n.*, *v.*, *adj.*) is used to challenge normative knowledges, structures, and ways of being. The meaning of queer can often be messy and unclear because of its theoretical positioning as ambiguous and rejection toward fixed categories.

2 Queer Education

The application of queer (*n.*, *v.*, *adj.*) in education led to the emergence of queer theory and queer studies (Graves, 2015; Mayo, 2007). In education, early research and teaching practices centered on LGBT identity politics, namely issues related to visibility, bias and discrimination, LGBT histories, and LGBT sexualities (Graves 2012; Mayo, 2007; Renn, 2010; Shlasko, 2005). Queer theory and queer studies programs shifted the field of LGBT-related studies moving toward action and queering (*v.*) identity politics. 'Queering' (*v.*) theory provided a theory to understand and critique the world within and beyond the limits of sexuality and gender (Shalsko, 2005). For example, queering theory provided a theory to 'undo' normalcy (i.e., heteronormativity, nationalism, colonization, imperialism, and capitalism). A richer discussion on queer theory

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can be found in the "Queer Theory" entry in the Encyclopedia of Queer Studies in Education, but within education, 'queer' (*n.*, *v.*, *adj.*) served as a tool to reconsider situated knowledges, histories, and structures that (re)produced normalcy.

Shalsko (2005) offered the emergent possibilities of queer as a subject (*n.*) and as a politic (*v.*) in the formation of queer pedagogy. Queer pedagogy is the application and interrogation of queer theory in progressive pedagogy (Spurlin, 2002). Rather than define or describe what queer pedagogy is further than the application of queer theory, Shalsko (2005) described what queer pedagogy does and what it can do for students, educators, and education systems. First, a queer pedagogy can better address the needs of LGBTQ students by aiming to understand, critique, and identify sites of resistance within the oppressive systems that LGBTQ students face. Queering (*v.*, *adj.*) pedagogy moves education into action by identifying the structural barriers that LGBTQ students face. Second, queer pedagogy may lead to increased representation of LGBTQ people, histories, and knowledges in the curriculum. Queer representation in the curriculum goes beyond the expected norm of inclusion and tolerance of queer people, history, and knowledge and instead can push the boundaries of what 'queer representation' can mean. Lastly, queer pedagogy can mobilize within and beyond normalized queer (*adj.*) topics such as AIDS education and identity, to identify more than 'the facts' and push the possibilities of knowledge.

Queer theorists are reluctant to define queer because "to pinpoint queer is to dilute its essence and curtail its possibilities" (Allen, 2015, p. 681). Shlasko (2005) suggested that perhaps the role of queer (*n.*, *v.*, *adj.*) in education is to respond with questions rather than answers. Queer (*n.*, *v.*, *adj.*) is a paradox—it operates under the tension of "radical unknowability" (Jagose, 2009, p. 158) and validity as a legit knowledge. Within this tension, however, queer can illuminate the possibilities and resistances to knowledge.

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CHAPTER 96

Queer Archives

Roland Sintos Coloma

Queer archives can have two distinct meanings: the first constitutes collections of historical documents or records related to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) individuals, organizations, cultures, and movements; and the second conveys analytical and methodological approaches to uncovering evidence of LGBTQ+ lives, non-heteronormative sexualities, and non-binary gender identities and expressions. In other words, queer archives function both as a noun (what) and as a verb (how), delineating possibilities for documenting, collecting, interpreting, narrating, presenting, and even reimagining LGBTQ+ life in the past and present (Murphy et al., 2014; Stone, 2015).

An archive, as a noun, is generally a repository of primary source materials for documentation, preservation, research, exhibition, and dissemination. For individuals, it may consist of diaries, letters, correspondences, personal papers, photographs, artworks, financial records, and other personal artifacts. For organizations, it may consist of administrative, business, and financial files and reports, memos and other correspondences, manuscripts, meeting minutes, periodicals, pamphlets, posters, photographs, ephemera, and other institutional artifacts. Other archives may include recordings and transcriptions of oral histories as well as unique secondary source materials, such as rare books, media, and other materials (Berger, 2014; Ritchie, 2011). More recently, digital or online archives have been developed to house digitized or scanned files and images, audiovisual recordings and materials, emails, and other electronic communications (De Kosnik, 2016).

Queer archives have emerged as an affirmation of queer lives and histories and as an intervention into the absence, silence, neglect, and even refusal to address non-normative sexual and gender diversities in mainstream histories and archives (Murphy et al., 2015). Since history is generally the domain of the prevailing dominant mainstream, queer archives work to counter LGBTQ+ erasure, invisibility, and marginalization in public records and narratives. Through individual, community, and institutional initiatives, they have been created by LGBTQ+ activists, archivists, historians, librarians, educators, and allies. For example, the ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives in Los Angeles (founded in 1952), the Lesbian Herstory Archives in New York City (founded in 1974), and the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco (founded in 1985)

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contain some of the world's oldest and largest collections on LGBTQ+ history, culture, and arts (GLBT Historical Society, n.d.; Lesbian Herstory Archives, n.d.; ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives, n.d.).

Many queer archives began as individual and community collections. For example, in the United States, the LGBT Community Center National History Archive (n.d.) in New York, the Stonewall National Museum and Archives (n.d.) in Florida, the Gerber/Hart Library and Archives (n.d.) in Illinois, the LGBT+ Archives Project of Louisiana (n.d.), Invisible Histories Project (n.d.) in Alabama, and the Q Educational Archives (n.d.) in New Mexico were initially developed by visionary and courageous individuals who enlarged the scope of their collections and partnered with other individuals and organizations to institutionalize their community archives. With their research and teaching mission, dedicated faculty, staff, students, and community partners established queer archives in colleges and universities. Two of the earliest institutions of higher education that collected LGBTQ+ materials were the Kinsey Institute (n.d.) at Indiana University and the Labadie Collection (n.d.) at the University of Michigan. A select number of universities have become stewards of LGBTQ+ archival materials for their respective states, such as the Arizona Queer Archives (n.d.) at the University of Arizona and the Queer Omaha Archives at the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Moreover, there are specialized queer archives that focus on race and on digital materials. For example, in the United States, the In The Life Archive (n.d.) at the Schomburg Center for Black Cultural Research in New York City has the largest collection of artifacts on Black LGBTQ+ social, cultural, and political life. The Queer Asian American Collection (n.d.) in Chicago offers another intersectional collection on race and sexuality. For internet-based collections, the LGBTQ Religious Archives Network (n.d.), Queer Music Heritage (n.d.), Queer Zine Archive Project (n.d.), and Wearing Gay History (n.d.) provide accessible materials for research, teaching, and dissemination on LGBTQ+ spiritual and cultural matters.

To my knowledge, there is no existing archive focused on queer studies in education. Historians of LGBTQ+ education have drawn from various archives and collections to examine educational policies, programs, curriculum, co-curricular activities, campus climate, and the experiences of educators, administrators, and students (e.g., Graves, 2009; Lugg, 2016). However, there is no specific archive on LGBTQ+ individuals and issues in PK-12 schools and higher education.

Consequently, researchers, educators, and activists need to queer the archives or to consider queer archives as a verb. To queer archives, in this sense, includes: inquiring into dynamics of sexuality and gender; reading into

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the silences, gaps, and ellipses regarding sexual and gender diversities; and asking questions about heteronormativity as well as about homonormativity and homonationalism (Coloma, 2006; Coloma, 2018). To queer archives is to uncover what has been erased or hidden, to connect unexpected dots, and to reimagine possibilities. Ultimately, it becomes an opportunity to rewrite histories and to transform the narratives and interpretations of communities and institutions for inclusion, equity, and social justice.

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CHAPTER 97

Queer Children's Literature

Jill M. Hermann-Wilmarth

Because children's literature with LGBTQ+ characters has long been limited, queer readers have frequently, historically, and currently searched for—and found—reflections of themselves in children's books without explicitly named LGBTQ+ characters (see, for example, Horning, 2005). This makes defining queer children's literature difficult, so for the purposes of this entry, I will consider books written with an intended audience of children from birth to age twelve, that have clearly identified gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or other queer characters. Queer, of course, is a word and concept that is malleable and expansive, but this entry, when contextualized by the others in this encyclopedia (see Queer Reading entry) will give readers a sense of the history and constant evolution of queer children's literature with LGBTQ+ characters.

While there are several books which collect and annotate titles of LGBTQ+ books for children and young adults (Cart & Jenkins, 2006; Day, 2000; Dorr & Deskins, 2015; Naidoo, 2012), the parameters used by the authors of these volumes, naturally, differs. Some are concerned with mere representation of LGBTQ+ people, while some consider the diversity of stories, people, and ideas. For example, Dorr and Deskins (2015) are particularly concerned that they don't merely include lists of books with LGBTQ+ characters but consider "quality pieces of literature and nonfiction" that "pass the literacy tests for engaging stories and factual, intriguing nonfiction. Characters are realistic, settings are believable, even when they're imaginary, and stories offer a wide variety of themes" (pp. XXV–XXVI). These authors invite readers into conversations about queerness through the texts, providing a more nuanced entry into LGBTQ+-inclusive books. Likewise, scholars whose work is centered on LGBTQ+ children's literature take a range of stances. Scholars who take a more English Studies approach to queer children's literature tend to detail the shifts in how LGBTQ+ people and topics have been represented or included over time via content analysis or literary critique with less of a focus on the importance of these texts on young readers, or how these texts might be used in school settings (see for example, Abate & Kidd, 2011; Crisp & Hiller, 2011; Crisp et al., 2018). These literary analyses help establish patterns and draw connections across literary movements. Other scholars consider the ways the literature impacts readers or is situated within and by the educators and educational systems in which the

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books are included, or more often, excluded (see for example, Crawley, 2020; Möller; 2020; Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018; Smolkin & Young, 2011; Thein, 2013). Not only do these scholars provide portraits of practice of reading queer children's literature with children, but this body of research has created a foundation of justification for the inclusion, analysis, and discussion of queer children's literature in K-12 classrooms.

What is clear about the history of LGBTQ+ books written for children is that, while the numbers of publications increase alongside cultural expansions in the acceptance of queerness, there are still relatively few queer-inclusive books available for young readers. Since the first, groundbreaking, publication of Leslea Newman's (1990) picture book *Heather Has Two Mommies* and the attempt to normalize same gender parents, the content of queer children's literature has both expanded and remained the same. For the first time in 2021, the Lambda Literary Awards has created a category for children's and middle grades fiction separate from that of young adult fiction, which helps highlight that the publication of queer children's literature has expanded. Themes in LGBTQ+ picture books are often, as in *Heather Has Two Mommies*, of normality, and to show that, indeed, LGBTQ+ people exist, often in the form of an adult. An exception to this rule of queer adults is when the protagonist is transgender, such as in *10,000 Dresses* (Ewert, 2008) and *I am Jazz* (Herthel & Jennings, 2014). This focus on representation of "just like straight people" queerness was true of earlier LGBTQ+-inclusive middle grades books. Earlier LGBTQ+-inclusive middle grades books often featured queer characters who were either adults or secondary characters. In these early chapter books, the queer character is most often an adult or secondary character rather than the protagonist whose story is the focus of the book. James Howe's *Misfits* series (beginning with *The Misfits* [Howe, 2001]) is an exception. This series of four books has Joe, an out gay seventh grader with an occasional romantic interest. There were few, if any, other out LGBTQ+ children in middle grades fiction until the publication of Alex Gino's (2015) middle grades novel *George* about a transgender fourth grader. Excluding Jacqueline Woodson's (2008) *After Tupac and D Foster*, the characters in these early novels were white (Hermann-Wilmarth & Ryan, 2016). More recently, Callender's (2020) National Book Award winning, *King and the Dragonflies*, is a coming-of-age story of both queerness and race.

While this entry is not the place to list every title that could be labeled queer children's literature by those searching for the words gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender within the text of a children's book, it is the place to note that queerness abounds in children's literature, even if some cannot find it. When reading children's literature through a queer lens (Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2013), one can find characters of all genders crossing boundaries that

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traditionally reinforce notions of hetero- and cisnormativity, thus creating a much larger canon. That said, useful lists of queer children's literature can be found in the following places: The Mombian Book Data Base,[1] the Welcoming Schools Book List,[2] the American Library Association's Rainbow Book List,[3] Children's Book World,[4] and LGBTQ Reads.[5]

Notes

1 https://mombian.com/2021/01/11/announcing-the-mombian-database-of-lgbtq-family-books-media-and-more/
2 https://www.welcomingschools.org/resources/books/
3 https://glbtrt.ala.org/rainbowbooks/
4 https://www.childrensbookworld.com/lgbtq-pride-month-june-middle-grade-ya-fiction
5 https://lgbtqreads.com/middle-grade/

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CHAPTER 98

Queer Composing

Ryan Schey

1 Composing: One Aspect of Literacy

Composing, or writing, is one aspect of literacy (see also **Queer Literacies**). Literacy is not a singular set of decontextualized autonomous skills; instead, literacy is ideological (Street, 1995), meaning that the forms, uses, and meanings of literacy change across time and space. They are embedded in broader sociocultural practices, goals, and relationships, including power relations. For instance, a queer youth writing about their day in a text message to a friend is a qualitatively different experience than writing an argumentative essay for a teacher. As Freire (1987) explained, literacy entails reading and writing the word and world. Thus, composing is "not…simply a communicative technology or transparent process of encoding fixed meanings" (Blackburn & Schey, 2018, pp. 336–337). Instead, writing entails a complex, recursive series of actions through which people accomplish action, construct relationships, and negotiate meaning and ideologies.

This view of composing – one that foregrounds the sociocultural and the political – complements queer theoretical perspectives, in which ***queer*** is not a signifier with a singular, stable, fixed referent but rather one that emphasizes fluidity, multiplicity, variability, and movement and attends to the construction of normative identity categories through power relations (Jagose, 1996). Queer vantage points interrogate how normativities are produced and circulated and thus invite ruptures and liberatory transformation (Eng et al., 2005). In extending **queer theories** to literacy generally and composition specifically, literacy education scholars have taken up concepts such as fluidity and normativity to examine phenomena such as who composes, what, and how. Below, I organize these scholarly conversations according to the topics of selves, action and relationality, and finally, form and textuality.

2 Composing Selves

In the field of writing studies in the 1990s, there was an interest in documenting the voices of queer and trans students and teachers in writing classrooms

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(e.g., Malinowitz, 1995). However, this work focused primarily on gay and lesbian people, and scholars (e.g., Inayatulla, 2015) have interrogated the implicit whiteness in notions of **visibility** used in this early work. Nonetheless, this focus on queer and trans writers continues to be of significance. For instance, some recent scholarship explores queer youth, particularly queer youth of Color, writing with, to, or for the self (Blackburn, 2002–2003; Cruz, 2013; Johnson, 2017; Wargo, 2020). As an example, Johnson (2017) documented the importance of Black queer youth using writing to accomplish identity work, which she connects to Yagelski's (2011) description of writing as "a way of being in the world…an ontological act," meaning that "when we write, we enact a sense of ourselves as being in the world" (p. 3).

Yet, so too can queer selves and subjectivities be in tension with composition. As Alexander (2015) explained: "Learning to 'compose' is about becoming disciplined, even normed to particular ways of communicating and knowing" (n.p.). He continued, arguing that be(com)ing normed, disciplined, and ultimately composed are "goals [that] are essentially *un*-queer" (n.p.). Thus, Alexander recognized a fundamental tension between composing and queerness, primarily because queerness proliferates in excess beyond what is easily composable (see also Alexander & Rhodes, 2004). Rather than composition being queer, there are possibilities for queering composition, which Rhodes and Alexander (2015) described as "acts of de-composition, of un-composing and re-composing dominant narratives of sexuality, gender, and identity" that are "aimed at disrupting how we understand ourselves to ourselves" (n.p.). Such composing of selves point to queer writing being about experiences of process and creation, writing acts that Barker (2020) queers by questioning the norms of consent and mutuality among writers, audiences, and publics.

Despite these layered discussions of the value and complexity of (de-/un-/re) composing of queer selves, too often opportunities for writing for the self are absent from schooling. Instead, writing instruction tends to emphasize instrumentalist functions, and many studies exclusively describe writing about queer and trans topics as limited to students responding to teacher-selected LGBTQ-themed texts (e.g., Athanases, 1996; Helmer, 2016).

3 Composing Social Actions and Relationships

In other studies of queer composing, scholars have emphasized social actions and relationships. Particularly in educational contexts beyond schools, queer and trans youth have used writing as an empowering act of self- and community-advocacy (e.g., Blackburn, 2003; Halverson, 2007; Lopez, 2015; Varney, 2001).

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For instance, Varney (2001) documented youth in the Mandarin Asian Pacific Lesbian Bisexual Network writing and collecting letters about Mandarin lesbians coming out to their families, using writing as a form of advocacy that carefully recognized yet subverted cultural norms about not speaking about **sexuality**.

However, in other studies, the social actions enacted through composing became constrained, particularly when public audiences became larger and more uncertain (e.g., Blackburn, 2005; Blackburn & Schey, 2018; Craig, 2017; Pritchard, 2017). For instance, Craig (2017) discussed Black queer students negotiating rhetorical relationships with Black masculinity and vernacular languages and literacies, relationships that matter in the writing classroom but are hardly limited to that classroom (see also, Pritchard, 2017, on ancestor and fictive kin relationships).

4 Composing Texts

Still other researchers have considered texts in their discussions of queerness and composition. Early work focused on the content of student writings, such as debates on how to respond to homophobia in writing assignments (Miller, 1994). More recent work, while still considering ideational content, significantly explored questions of form (Jack, 2016; Schey, 2022). For example, VanHaitsma (2014) described how the conventions and norms of genres, such as the romantic letter, teach writers structures, including structures such as **heteronormativity**. Genres are not deterministic, even as they do influence writers, and thus VanHaitsma has pointed out that they remain open to being queerly adapted.

Other compositionists (Barker, 2020; Rallin, 2019; Waite, 2017) have considered how queer fluidity, variability, and multiplicity have significance for form, such as Waite's (2017) discussion of queer writing structure as "thin, wet, queer ice, temporary and unstable" (p. 10) or Rallin's (2019) description of queer of Color writing as "fissured," "always cracked and cracking," "fracturing," "destabilizing," "unsettling," and leaking across boundaries (pp. 2–4).

Moving beyond print-based, alphabetic texts, other scholars have examined digital, multimodal composing, particularly as a site of queer worldmaking and resistance (Cho, 2015; Pritchard, 2017; Smilges, 2019; Wargo, 2018). For instance, Wargo (2018) described one youth Andi, a proud Latina lesbian feminist, using sonic cartography as a tool for composing resistance and survivance in relation to places, people, and herself. Andi's creative labor emphasizes that composing queerly entails writing oneself into the world, taking actions, navigating

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relationships, and doing so through textual forms that unsettle, ultimately decomposing and recomposing communities so that they are more just.

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CHAPTER 99

Queer Critical Theories

Esteban Francisco López Medina

Critical Theories as a school of thought started in the context of the Frankfurt School in early-20th-century Germany. The first to use this label were Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse in two articles they published in the journal of the Institute for Social Research, *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science,* in 1937: *Traditional and Critical Theory* and *Philosophy and Critical Theory*, correspondingly (Best et al., 2018).

This Institute gathered scholars from different fields of knowledge who shared Marxist perspectives. As a result, Critical Theory, despite its core Marxist analytic perspective, was born with a multidisciplinary interest, rendering its original representatives difficult to classify: Fromm (psychology), Marcuse (psychology, philosophy, sociology, aesthetics, social technology), Horkheimer (psychology, philosophy, sociology), Adorno (philosophy, sociology, culture, musicology, aesthetics) or Neumann (political economy, state formation, law, constitutional theory, political science), among others (Best et al., 2018).

It seems logical, then, that "the conceptuality of critical theories defies definition" (Best et al., 2018, p. 10). Still, beyond all the different points of view they apply, critical theories, inspired by Marxist theory, aim to unearth the hidden exercise of power in society through the study of, for example, relationships, language, or corporations. Contrary to uncritical traditional or positivist theories, which regard society as objective given data, critical theories attempt not only to describe and classify social phenomena, but to understand their genesis and to criticise society from inside. In their view, the social world is subject to criticism because its appearance as "natural" hides the ideology that shapes it. As a result, critical theories combine theory and practice to understand and subvert "a world that is 'hostile to the subject'" (Best et al., 2018).

Throughout a century, the founders' critical standpoint has spread its scope, and more critical approaches have emerged (Meyer-Emerick, 2005). Among them, it is worth mentioning critical social science (Fay, 1987), Paulo Freire's (2005) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and Nancy Fraser's (1989) feminist critical theory, all of which draw from Marxism in their own particular way, similarly to what the Frankfurt School had done before.

In fact, the historical development of critical theories is not linear but characterised by "discontinuities and drastic shifts" (Best et al., 2018, p. 10). However,

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Habermas, a major later critical theorist, who has applied it to communication and the study of discourse, has brilliantly described critical theory's common traits: "an *empirical-analytical interest* in potential control, a *hermeneutic-historical interest* in understanding; and a *critical-emancipatory interest* in freedom and autonomy" (Habermas, 1971, p. 308).

In general terms, all critical analyses, regardless of their specific kind, have attempted to unveil the oppression exercised by the powerful over specific social groups by means of tools like discourses or institutions. It was just a matter of time that queer theories and critical theories would merge to shape a new field of critical studies: Queer Critical Theories.

Queer Theory (de Lauretis, 1991) made its formal appearance after Teresa de Laureti's speech at the University of California in 1990, which emphasised "the necessary critical work of deconstructing our own discourses and their constructed silences" (p. IV). She urged gays and lesbians in the USA to broaden their discourse so as to challenge the notion of identity itself, which can't just be the result of the combination of different binary options (man/woman, heterosexual/homosexual, normal/abnormal, for example) and must necessarily embrace countless other factors too, like class, ethnic culture, age or geographical and socio-political location.

De Laureti's call to overcome the notion of identity was crucial because, as Nelson (1999) points out, this paradigm can be used both to include and to exclude, according to how much individuals conform to those supposedly ideal identities. In other words, the former paradigm of heterosexual and homosexual identities could lead not only to reinforcing the sexual hierarchy which privileges heteronormative people but also to creating another scale of oppressions within the LGBTQ+ population, which some authors label as homonormativity (Moreno & Pichardo, 2006).

Built upon these premises, "what makes Queer Theory [...] distinct across the spectrum of critical academic paradigms is the fact that the realm of sexuality is used as a starting point for its questioning practice" (Motschenbacher & Stegu, 2013, p. 520). In short, queer critical theories reveal the hidden work of cisheteronormativity (Werner, 2009): while it privileges cisheteronormative individuals, some gender and sexual realities have been socially constructed as non-normative, implying their loss of rights and their lower position in the gender hierarchy.

Queer critical theories have revealed how the gender and sexual realities signified as non-normative by society are systematically silenced and excluded through cisheteronormative standards. They have also blurred categories and boundaries by questioning the idea of an essential, innate, stable sexual or gender identity, which is contrarily argued to be daily performed (Butler, 1990,

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1993, 2004). Thus, it can't be surprising that queer critical theories don't aspire to jugde how queer some behaviours might be but, instead, to "view certain behaviours in a non-heteronormative light or from the perspective of the sexually marginalised" (Motschenbacher & Stegu, 2013, p. 520).

To achieve better understanding of how cisheteronormativity shapes society, coherently with the history of critical theory, queer critical theories welcome contributions from other critical paradigms. A good example of these hybrid approaches, among many more, are queer critical discourse studies because, as Giffney (2009) states, "queer theory is an exercise in discourse analysis" (p. 7). Another remarkable contribution comes from educational studies, with queer pedagogies claiming for a radical change not only in teaching methods and the explicit inclusion of sexual and gender diversity but for a radical change in the notion of education itself (Sánchez Sáinz, 2019).

In a nutshell, queer critical theories aim to discover the social mechanisms that construct "traditional and entrenched binaries of identity formation" (Hall, 2003, p. 99), fiercely challenging them and opening up spaces for the effective acknowledgement of queer existences: from gays and lesbians to trans, genderfluid or non-binary persons, among others.

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CHAPTER 100

Queer Ecology

Carlson H. Coogler

The term 'queer ecology' refers to a diversity of ways of thinking and practicing queer theory and ecological studies together (Sandilands, 2016). Within this panoply, many ways of defining, exploring, and performing the intersections of 'queer' and 'ecology' exist (e.g., Gaard, 2016; Garrard, 2010; Mortimer-Sandilands & Erickson, 2010). In light of this, this chapter does not aim to encompass or overview all of what queer ecology has to offer. Rather, it is oriented towards developing a foundational understanding of what queer ecology offers, particularly to and within education.

As Weise's and Pennell's chapters in this volume explain, '**queer**' and '**queer theory**' have a number of possible meanings and applications. Guided by these discussions and Britzman (1995) 's assertions that queer "can be thought of as a verb" (p. 153, italics original) in the process of "mark[ing] the repetitions of normalcy as a structure and a pedagogy" (p. 153), I approach queer ecology by asking the following questions: (1) *What is queered in queer ecology, and what new understandings are produced as a result of this queering?* (2) *How might this queering matter for and in education?*

1 What Is Queered in Queer Ecology, and What Understandings Are Produced as a Result?

Asking what is queered in queer ecology first requires a definition of ecology. Ecology, however, has multiple referents. For instance, it can mean the systems of interrelated living and nonliving things on Earth (e.g., an ecology) or the discipline that studies these systems (e.g., ecological studies) ("Ecology," n.d.). These two referents frequently overlap in practice and in education. For instance, understanding the mechanisms of ecologies, such as "the processes influencing the distribution and abundance of organisms" (Cary Institute of Ecosystem Studies), can produce material changes to ecologies. This is apparent, for instance, when ecologists, policymakers, and educators, employ ecological knowledge as they pursue "how we can use Earth's resources in ways that leave the environment healthy for future generations" (The Ecological Society of America, n.d.). Because the two are intertwined in education and

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practice, I will think of the two referents as intertwined in this exploration of queer ecology. Therefore, by ecology, I mean the systems of interrelated living and nonliving things on Earth, including the human practices of inquiry and action that affect these relations from within.

This definition provides trajectories for considering what is (or could be) queered in queer ecology: a) the relationships that compose ecologies, b) the study and practice of these relationships, and c) how this study and practice impacts ecologies. This is not an exhaustive list but rather a way to think about what sorts of aspects might become visible as a result of thinking together ecologies and/through queer theory. In what follows, I draw on examples of queer ecological studies that explore these factors. However, it is important to add the caveat that this exploration is partial by design and necessity: even if I filtered out the ways that species and non-living entities such as water and pesticides interact, how these interactions matter for the study of ecologies, and how that knowledge, in turn, affects ecologies, the possible pool for inquiry is incomprehensibly enormous. Therefore, I strategically narrow on one specific topic, the queering of sexual relations.

1.1 *Queering Sexual Relations*

From its inception, queer theory has been used to critique practices that replicate sexual and gender normativities, especially **heteronormativity** and **cisnormativity** (see Pennell's and Weiss's chapters). Accordingly, some queer ecologists are especially interested in examining the ways that nature and culture matter together in producing so-called 'neutral'/'natural' expressions and performances of gender and **sexuality** (Cipolla et al., 2017; Mortimer-Sandilands & Erickson, 2010; Wesner, 2019). For example, in their introduction to *Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire*, Mortimer-Sandilands and Erickson (2010) examine "the powerful ways in which understandings of nature inform discourses of sexuality, and also the ways in which understandings of sex inform discourse of nature" (p. 160) by interpreting scenes from the film Brokeback Mountain. Drawing on historical, environmental, literary, and filmic ways of thinking, they analyze how 'nature'—as setting/environment (e.g., landscape), and as the collection of ideas of what is 'natural'—influence how the characters imagine and perform their sexualities (Mortimer-Sandilands & Erickson, 2010).

By revealing and critiquing how nature and culture intersect in the construction of heteronormativity, queer ecological analyses like this one reveal some of what queer ecology can do as an analytical framework. Importantly, Mortimer-Sandiland and Erickson's (2010) analysis of sexuality happens at a crucial convergence—between what is termed 'nature' (e.g., animals, plants, land) and what is termed 'culture' (e.g., humans, communities, art). Because sexuality is

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indeed constructed at and in turn constructs this juncture, what is imagined as 'nature' and therefore 'natural' is inseparable from this web (Mortimer-Sandiland & Erickson, 2010). That is, queer ecological approaches reveal how conceptions of what is 'natural' are not, in fact, natural; what nature and culture (and for that matter, what gender and sexuality are, too; Wesner, 2019) are also constructions.

In addition to problematizing the naturality of nature, queer ecology also can challenge normativity by identifying how queer (meaning non-heterosexual and non-**cisnormative**) reproductive practices are as 'natural' as normative practices. The matsutake mushroom, for instance, employs both sexual (e.g., with an 'other') and **asexual** (e.g., with the self) reproduction strategies (Tsing, 2015). While this is already queer in comparison to human reproduction, matsutake spores sometimes join with non-sex cells; as Tsing (2015) memorably notes, this is akin to "*if I decided to mate with* (*not clone*) *my own arm: how queer*" (p. 237, original emphasis). The result is a strange "mosaic" (Tsing, 2015, p. 237) of genetic material, a fluid self-other-mating-production. Other species are hermaphroditic—every clownfish, for instance, begins its life as 'male' and develops 'female' sexual organs depending upon the sexual composition of its familial unit (Audubon Nature Institute, n.d.). Importantly, looking at these examples should not aim to re-articulate what is natural as given or divide any identities and practices into natural and unnatural (Wesner, 2019). Rather, the point of such examinations is to challenge the assumption that what is constructed as natural (e.g., part of the typical life cycle of a species) is actually not exclusively heteronormative/cisgender. In this way, attending to the queer existence of other species can provide important counterpoints to "unsettle some of our cherished givens" (Cipolla et al., 2017, p. 5). Whatever 'natural' and 'normative' mean in relation to gender and sexuality, it is clear that they are neither given nor do they exclusively overlap.

Before moving on to the last question—of how queer ecology thereby matters for and in education—I want to summarize these points as a way to explicitly answer the first question posed. Queer ecology is expansive and diverse, and this means that many concepts and relationships can be queered. One of these is the production of sexuality. Queer ecological frameworks provide the opportunity to examine how sexuality is produced at the intersection between nature and culture. Because nature and culture produce sexuality, and sexuality, in turn, produces nature and culture, queer ecological thinking challenges what is meant by, and included in, terms like 'natural' in the first place.

2 How Might Queer Ecology Matter for and in Education?

There are many ways that queer ecology might matter in and for education, including in how sexuality is portrayed in science classrooms. However, for the

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purposes of this chapter, I will focus on one: how queer ecology suggests the need for a crucial reformulation of ecoliteracies (and, by association, ecological and environmental literacies).

2.1 *Queering Ecoliteracy*

There are many articulations of ecoliteracy (e.g., Kahn, 2010; Mitchell & Mueller, 2011; Orr, 2004). Similarly, there are many ways to understand ecoliteracy in relationship to ecological literacy and environmental literacy (McBride et al., 2013). Despite the variation within each concept, ecoliteracy, ecological literacy, and environmental literacy frequently overlap in emphasizing two components: "ecological knowledge" and "socio-political knowledge" (McBride et al., 2013, p. 7). While it is certainly a good thing to include the socio-political with the ecological, the queer ecological approaches discussed challenge the capacity to divide the world and its study into 'nature' and 'culture.' As a result, I am guided to ask, What ideas about nature are suggested by dividing knowledge into 'ecological' and 'socio-political'?, and How does that convey/produce the world and its many relational systems, including the complexities of sexuality and gender? And, how is queerness understood as a result?

I leave these questions as prompts for further exploration into what queer theory is and what it can do. For instance, I imagine the conceptualizing of a queer ecoliteracy, one that better accounts for the interconnected ways that disciplines, bodies, and practices matter, including in how they produce the categories they are divided into. Queer ecology does and can do this work. Furthermore, in so doing—in helping students and educators see, critique, and participate in relationships, and thereby understand how they make up the world—it is thoroughly ecological.

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CHAPTER 101

Queer Ethnography

Stephanie Anne Shelton

1 What Is Ethnography?

The term "ethnography" is derived from Greek words "Ethnos," meaning "people," and "Graphein," which refers to the action of writing; the combination roughly translates to "writing about people" (Madden, 2017, p. 15). It refers to both a research methodology and the written accounts produced from the methodology. Researchers using this methodology work to understand and create detailed narratives focused on particular cultural communities or groups of people. It usually features an iterative-inductive research design (O'Reilly, 2012), which means that ethnography tends to have a flexible and constantly-evolving research approach, including adjusting research questions or researcher focus based on what researchers observe and experience in "the field" (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 2). A core aspect of ethnography is "fieldwork," a term that refers to both a primary data collection method and the physical location(s) for some ethnographers' research (Adler & Adler, 2011; O'Reilly, 2012; Willis & Trondman, 2000). While ethnography can include a range of methods, such as interviews and surveys, fieldwork is the core component of the methodology (Hammersley, 2006). Fieldwork situates researchers in "the field" (a specific setting or context) to observe and interact with people within their everyday contexts (Atkinson et al., 2001), often for an extended period of time, to foster in-depth engagement with and understanding of a particular group, setting, or interaction. This observational fieldwork strives to produce "fieldnotes," which are detailed accounts of how people in a specific social setting engage in the every day, with emphases on sociality, culture, and behaviors (Madden, 2017). These fieldnotes are used to produce the written form of ethnography: richly detailed, descriptive nonfiction narratives derived from those notes (Emerson et al., 2011; Geertz, 1972).

2 Ethnography's Past

With foundations in both anthropology and sociology, (Faubion, 2001; O'Reilly, 2012), ethnography's origins span centuries, though contemporary engagements with ethnography are generally traced to the late 19th and early 20th

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centuries (Adler & Adler, 2011). Originally, ethnography emphasized months-, or more commonly, years-long longitudinal fieldwork in what were understood to be "exotic" settings (Atkinson et al., 2011; O'Reilly, 2012). This approach, now heavily critiqued as colonizing and oppressive, regularly presented indigenous communities and cultures in inaccurate, patronizing, uninformed, and offensive ways, while positioning researchers' Westernized cultures and perspectives—often based in white cisheterosexual patriarchy—as monolithically "civilized" and indicative of "high culture" (Madden, 2017, p. 30; see Mohan, 2002; Pel, 1997 for discussions and examples).

Ethnographers began to actively critique and address these issues of ethnographic colonization in the 1960s, corresponding with the Civil Rights Movement, Women's Movement, and LGBTQ+ Movement happening in the U.S. and globally (Adler & Adler, 2011; Madden, 2017). A significant shift was explicit interrogation of the degrees to which ethnography had historically centered outsiders' perspectives of cultural groups and communities (Atkinson et al., 2011; Mohan, 2002; Pel, 1997), effectively engaging in "scientific racism" and "imperial hegemony" (Mohan, 2002, p. 827). This shift in the field emphasized the real-world trauma that white Western cisheterosexual ethnographers' work perpetrated on numerous communities and cultures, as this research had served as the basis in many instances of justifying political, educational, and social violences, including assimilationist schooling, destruction of religious and spiritual practices, and genocide (Pel, 1997).

A key aspect of ethnographers examining and critiquing ethnography—as a process and product of research—is the explicit consideration of how decades of ethnographers had presumed to speak for cultural groups, while ignoring or silencing communities' members' efforts to write for, to, and about themselves and their own communities. This shift in the field has led to increased expectations for researcher considerations of subjectivities, reflexivities, and the natures of their relationships (or lack thereof) with the communities and people being researched (see the entry on **Queer Qualitative Research** in this book for additional discussion of subjectivity and reflexivity).

3 Queer Ethnography

Queer ethnography, like much queer scholarship, is not easily defined, but most queer ethnographers apply key tenets of queer theory to their research approaches and regularly center queer cultures, spaces, and/or people. As in the case of **queer theory** (see the entry in this book for more discussion), queer ethnography does not have a single approach or definition. Instead,

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ethnographers work to "interrupt" more traditional and historical approaches to ethnography (Haver, 1997, p. 284) and "to think differently about subjects and objects of knowledge and what research can do" (Talburt, 1999, p. 537). This approach relies heavily on queer theory's emphasis on antinormativity, and in doing so, highlights that ethnographic research is not a pursuit of "truth" by a researcher, but instead is an effort to queer ethnography by making "apparent the normative logics of ethnographic practices and [undo] conventions that construct the ethnographers' gendered and sexual subjectivity as unproblematically stable" (Rooke, 2009, p. 153). In other words, queer ethnography should work to challenge longstanding and taken-for-granted elements of ethnography and of **sexuality** and gender norms, including conventional data collection methods that treated genders and sexualities as binary and stable (see the entries on both **Queer Qualitative Research** and **Queer Quantitative Research** for additional discussion). The effect of this queering of ethnography "is to bend the established orientation of ethnography in its method, ethics, and reflexive philosophical principles" (2009, p. 150). Thus, queer ethnography often features novel and creative methodological approaches while actively reckoning with the method's historically entrenched connections to **cisheteropatriarchy** and colonial **hegemony** (e.g., Hobbs, 2011; Talburt, 1999).

4 Queer Autoethnography

An important and related methodology is autoethnography. An established approach by the 1970s, autoethnography is also both a form of writing and research that connects ethnography to autobiography and works to consider the ways that personal experiences relate to the cultural, social, and political (Ellis, 2012). In autoethnography, "the life of the researcher becomes a conscious part of what is studied" (2021, p. 49). In answer to longstanding critiques of ethnography's colonizing effects, autoethnography is an approach that regularly features researchers who have "full membership" within the examined cultural phenomena (p. 49), or in other words, the research is written by people who are a direct part of what is being studied.

Queer autoethnography, like queer ethnography, often incorporates queer theoretical concepts into research approaches and centers queer people's experiences and perspectives (Adams & Jones, 2014; Plummer, 2005). In terms of queer theory informing queer autoethnography, both "refuse received notions of orthodox methodologies and focus instead on fluidity, intersubjectivity, and responsiveness" (Adams & Jones, 2014, p. 382). Thus, queer autoethnography—and queer ethnography—adopt key tenets of queer theory to reject positivist

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and traditional approaches to research and center the elasticity and politicization of personal experience *as* research.

Queer theory has proven valuable to shaping both ethnography and autoethnography. Queer theory asserts a "political commitment" that actively deconstructs taken-for-granted norms (Yep et al., 2003, p. 9) and "focuses on how bodies both constitute and are constituted by systems of power" (Adams & Jones, 2014, p. 383). Ethnography and autoethnography's longstanding emphases on examining people's and communities' cultural norms work well with these theoretical aims—particularly in recent years as ethnography has worked to critique and address its colonialist past. Centering personal perspectives, everyday experiences, and rich, detailed narratives situates this research approach to offer important opportunities for traditionally silenced or ignored queer perspectives. Rather than being written for or about, ethnography and autoethnography offer methodological means for marginalized people and communities to write for themselves.

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CHAPTER 102

Queer Futurity

Mark E. Helmsing

1 Imagining a Queer Tomorrow

The concept of queer futurity allows educators and students to consider a possible world beyond the present, or a way of living that is "not here yet," a key phrase used by one of the central thinkers of queer futurity, José Esteban Muñoz (2009). Queer futurity is a concept that draws attention to the need queer people have historically had in working towards a future world that would allow **queer** people and queer communities to thrive and live in ways that cannot be imagined in the present (McCann & Monaghan, 2020). In this sense, it is important to note how a queer *futurity* functions as a possible condition of being that which opens up "queer relationships to time and space" (Halberstam, 2005, p. 1).

As a theory of how one imagines and conceives of unrealized potential yet to unfold, queer futurity is a concept within the larger concept of queer temporality, which argues notions of the past, present, and future can feel differently to queer people than is normative conceptions of the past, present, and future (Coviello, 2013; Dinshaw, 1999, 2012; Freccero, 2006; Freeman, 2010, 2019; Luciano, 2011). For example, the "good old days" as a construct of the past is a normalizing way of thinking about the past. Queering what "the good old days" means could include pointing out that legal entitlements to marriage and cohabitation have only been recently enjoyed by some same-sex couples in the United States since the 2010s. Queer temporalities work outside of or against heteronormative temporalities centered around "institutions of family, heterosexuality, and reproduction" through markers such as marriage, parenthood, anniversaries, and so forth (Halberstam, 2005). Queer temporalities ignore, reject, and unfollow the patterns of heteronormative time in part because many queer lives do not follow heteronormative "temporal logics," in which "the same milestones are often not celebrated" (Monaghan, 2016, p. 14). For example, some lesbian, gay, and bi youth are unable to date and have romantic relationships with persons of the same sex that their straight peers often have during adolescence. Therefore, marking adolescence as a time period in one's life may mean delaying dating and romantic relationships altogether until later in adulthood. Likewise, heteronormative time often suggests that the normal

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life-course for adulthood is courtship, marriage, reproduction, parenthood, and retirement. What life-courses in adulthood might a queer future imagine? Perhaps a queer future imagines a far different life-course in which group or communal living is more customary. Queer futurity is a condition that allows queer youth to open up new ways of imagining possible lives their future selves can live that are perhaps more complex and difficult to imagine in the present given the constrictive and sometimes repressive conditions governing what is possible to do within queer life in the present (Eckstein, 2018; Gill-Peterson, 2018).

2 Approaches to Queer Futurity

Queer futurity has been a longstanding theoretical feature of queer theory and queer studies in general, as Berlant and Warner (1995) described queer theory in its early days as "radically anticipatory, trying to bring a world into being" (p. 344). Similarly, in an introductory text providing an overview of queer theory, Hall (2003) suggests queer studies is a field "devoted to working very hard to queer our *future*" (p. 12, original emphasis). For queer studies in education, considerations of queer futurity are important because, as Greteman (2013) discusses in a theorization of the pedagogy of barebacking, education is "always concerned with the future" (p. S26). The central question of thinking about queer futurity is what kinds of futures can queer peoples and groups have, and what can queer peoples and groups do in the present to work towards the futures they imagine?

As with other concepts that function within queer theory, queer futurity is often approached from competing perspectives. Some perspectives are doubtful or skeptical towards the potential of a queer future, viewing queer futurity as a futile project that can never actually come about. Edelman (2004) exemplifies this perspective in his argument that queer life has "no future" in the sense that many facets of queerness are opposed by a heteronormative society championing the biological reproduction of children within a family as the gold standard for living. Because of this, some in heteronormative society view gay and lesbian life as 'selfish' or 'irresponsible' for its inability to biologically reproduce through normative structures such as the nuclear family. Queer futurity is seen by heteronormative society as "responsible for the undoing of social organization, collective reality, and inevitably, life itself" (p. 13). Although queer individuals do marry, plan families, and raise children through a variety of means, Edelman maintains that anything deemed queer is seen as a threat to the figure of the Child, for even when queer people "work for

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the right to marry, to serve in the military, to adopt and raise children of their own," some parts of society refuse to acknowledge and accept this queered contribution to reproducing society (p. 19). Other perspectives hold a hopeful orientation to the future, associated with sociability and community, which is affirming towards a particular future's potential (Halberstam, 2008; Snediker, 2009). In other words, some queer theorists regard queer futurity with pessimism, others regard queer futurity with optimism, and some regard queer futurity with a less certain mixture of pessimism and optimism at the same time (Dinshaw et al., 2007).

2.1 *Does Queer Life Get Better?*

In 2010 an internet phenomenon known as the "It Gets Better" Project was launched by Dan Savage, a gay author and advice columnist, and Savage's husband, Terry Miller. The project was launched as a response to a highly publicized series of youth suicides by young persons, many of whom disclosed before their death that they were the victims of anti-queer and anti-trans bullying. The conceit of the project was in posting a series of autobiographically reflective video posts recorded by prominent gay and lesbian individuals who would describe the unhappiness of their childhood in an effort to promise the viewer that life "gets better" with age, implying that as a queer person grows older through adulthood, the person ostensibly engages in several homonormative temporal milestones, such as coming out, finding requited love, and being accepted in ways that translate to professional success and a better life than what they may be able to imagine in the present.

Savage and Miler's vision of queer futurity, however, has been challenged and critiques because of its claim to a misleading universality as life does not always get better for every queer person and can, in some cases, get worse (Goltz, 2013). Further, the "It Gets Better Project" reinscribes some of the logic of heteronormative futurity that thinks of childhood as something to grow out of, that one grows up and outward into a presumably better state of matured adulthood. For example, Halberstam (2010) notes how the "It Gets Better Project" uses a heteronormative perspective of the future to characterize "adolescence as a treacherous territory that one must pass through before the safe harbor of adulthood," which is a "sad lie" that Halberstam argues has problematic consequences (n.p.). Similarly, Dyer (2017) questions the project's vision of queer futurity through "its inability to submit that maybe things don't get better" (p. 298).

The "It Gets Better Project" does accurately identify how many queer children have "more readily had a future with a word—*homo*, *faggot*, *gay*, or *queer*—words so frequently used by kids—than with the objects or subjects

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of one's dreams" (emphasis original) (Stockton, 2009, p. 3). Thus, growing up with being called queer, but without having actually having or enjoying that which makes someone queer (i.e., an experience of forming healthy same-sex relationships), makes one's life history out of sync with the heteronormative conceptions of growing out of childhood. Instead, a queer youth's future can be seen as growing sideways, a movement that is not the same as "the vertical, forward-motion metaphor of growing up," which is often "a short-sighted, limited rendering of human growth" (Stockton, 2009, p. 11).

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CHAPTER 103

Queer Indigenous Studies

Marcos de R. Antuna

Connections between queerness—or difference, especially in terms of gender and/or sexuality (Halperin, 2003)—and Indigeneity—or original cultural expression, related to place (Merlan, 2009)—are complex and many. These connections are further enriched when experienced through the lenses of pedagogy and education. In an effort to sufficiently introduce these connections, this entry on queer Indigenous studies will proceed in three sections: attention to Indigeneity as a concept in its own right, particular sources of Indigenous queernesses and queer Indigeneities across various world traditions, and then moments of queer Indigeneity as practiced and experienced specifically within contemporary education. (See the encyclopedia entries on 'Queer' and 'Queer Theory,' as well as Eng et al., 2005, for more on queerness itself.) Throughout the entry, the relevance and vitality of queer Indigeneity in and of education will be visible and ultimately celebrated.

1 What Is Indigeneity?

Indigeneity is concerned with feelings of "originariness" (Merlan, 2009, p. 304), asymmetric power relations with colonial settler states (Dyck, 1985; Maybury-Lewis, 1997), perceptions of intentional pedagogies of erasure (Dyck, 1985), historical continuity with precolonial societies (Martínez Cobo, 1982), and unsanctioned, unilateral inclusion in colonial settler polities (Anaya, 2004). Indigeneity is even contested as a universal experience across any of these connections, with local experiences, histories, and environments possibly superseding a purported Indigenous commonality (Merlan, 2009).

Given the wide variety of perspectives on Indigeneity, a constellational approach—or one that weights various connections separately, allowing Indigenous identities to be defined and expressed as communities themselves establish—might be a fruitful way of describing Indigeneities (Timperley, 2020). In this sense, Indigeneities and queernesses have much in common; they both allow for conceptual and lived differences but also harken back in the broadest sense to precolonial 'originariness' and gender and sexuality, respectively. Indigenous and queer people both experience discrimination.

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LGBTQ+ and Indigenous folk have their cultures misappropriated, as well as their histories distorted (Coates, 2004; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Murphy & Bjorngaard, 2018). That being said, the struggles of queer folk and Indigenous communities have also been different. The latter have contended for centuries, for example, with colonial aggression, territorial erasure, linguicide (intentional linguistic death), and other forms of racialized violence. There is certainly a strong potential for queerness and Indigeneity to pursue common goals for social justice—but this will require a conscious effort on the part of LGBTQ+ folk to respect uniquely Indigenous struggles and appreciate Indigenous queer traditions. Indigeneity has the opportunity to reveal how queer many of its traditions have long been and continue to be. Queerness, in turn, must make space for a full expression of Indigeneity.

Indeed, Indigenous queer scholars and activists are strongly advocating for the careful and deliberate re-introduction and respect of Indigeneity within queer frameworks (Driskill, 2016; Smith, 1999). A key example of disconnects between queer frameworks and Indigenous frameworks—and a renewed respect—is the steady replacement of *berdache*, a term originally adapted by non-Indigenous folk to explain perceived sexual and gender 'deviance,' with Two-Spirit, a term that several Indigenous communities associate with activism from within (Driskill et al., 2011). A similar replacement of colonialized terms for sexually minoritized folk with takatāpui and asegi can be respectively seen in Māori and Cherokee queer frameworks (Aspin, 2011; Driskill, 2016). There is also the concern that, despite commonalities between queerness and Indigeneity, minoritized queer frameworks ignore and even erase Indigenous traditions and experiences. These scholars sometimes contend that while Latine/@ and African American queer perspectives are represented, those of Indigenous queer people are still an afterthought (Driskill, 2016). While the past few decades have witnessed a growing Indigenous presence in queer thought and communities, a conscious application of specifically Indigenous terminologies and experiences must continue to be considered (Justice et al., 2010). Part of that conscious application must involve the rediscovery and propagation of queerness as specifically envisioned within Indigenous histories, worldviews, and lives.

2 Queernesses within Indigenous Traditions

Queernesses, or at least 'unconventional' views on sexuality and gender by Western standards, are embedded in many Indigenous philosophies and ways of life. A few will serve to illustrate the richness of Indigenous traditions, thus

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countering the narrative that authentic Indigeneity is hostile to queerness and providing context for interested teachers, students, and researchers to develop and launch their own educational projects on the intersections of queer and Indigenous frameworks. (Any omissions are functions of space limitations and not due to lack of examples.)

Conceptualizations of gender and sexuality are routinely explored in Indigenous contexts through reference to the term 'Two-Spirit'—whether this term should be generalized towards all indigenous peoples in North America or not is a point of contention—as well as the purposeful mixing of role labels (e.g. 'female husbands,' across various languages). [For more on Two-Spirit lives, see the relevant entry.] Gender and sexual orientation expression outside of heterosexism and the Western gender binary have been documented among the Apache, the Iroquois, the Crow, the Zuni, the Osage, and the Diné, among many others (Chiñas, 1995; Gilley, 2006; Jacobs et al., 1997; Roscoe, 1998; Zotigh, 2020). The Māori and native Hawaiians sometimes use the terms *takatāpui*, and *aikāne* and *māhū*, respectively, to describe both existences outside of the Western gender binary as well as non-heterosexual identity and behavior (Besnier & Alexeyeff, 2014; Hutchins & Aspin, 2007; Young, 1998). The Inuit use and the Itelmen used the terms *sipiniq* and *koekchuch*, respectively, to designate people living outside of the Western gender binary (Murray, 2002; Walley, 2019). Every major cultural region of Africa had documented queer behavior and identity before the arrival of colonialism (Murray & Roscoe, 1998). Queer gender and sexuality frameworks are certainly in plentiful evidence for the indigenous peoples of the world.

3 Indigenous Queernesses within Pedagogy

Several examples of a queer Indigenous pedagogy are apparent within the past couple of decades. In particular, intersections of queerness and Indigeneity in education largely center on narrativity, place, and anti-silence—as well as re-orientations through these constructs.

Nichols (2018) proposed a decolonial queerspace pedagogy, one that counters "a visual and ideological horizon upon which the settler gaze is fixed" (p. 42). For Nichols, queerscapes trend towards opposition, accustomed as they are to reclaiming and subverting areas engineered for heteronormative needs. Living out decolonial queerspaces, therefore, requires an oppositional (to colonialism) recovery of the histories of Indigenous territories through chronic, revivifying expression of that legacy and continued research on its contexts. Decolonial queerspaces are, according to Nichols, also avenues for

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contestation of the concept of the classroom itself; spaces, whether mundane or pedagogical, need to be opened for renegotiation, much as many Indigenous cultures have done in their own precolonial and non-colonial manners. This same debate may also extend, according to both queer and Indigenous worldviews, to human bodies themselves. Nichols states that Indigenous and queer means of self-actualization are not inherently binary, and decolonial queerscape classrooms can honor those multifarious self-actualization processes explicitly.

Perhaps one example of a decolonial queerscape pedagogy can be seen in Antuna (2016), who discusses using Aztec metaphysical concepts as tools for queer-oriented social justice and redress in classroom settings. Aztec ontology states that all entities are constructed from teotl, a foundational energy-stuff that, through different motions and arrangements, makes up the entire universe (Antuna, 2018). Antuna (2016) talks about establishing understanding of queer differences within and outside of indigenous communities by emphasizing the unity of teotl across all beings. One of these specific *teotl*-motions, *malinalli*, is considered 'twisted' or queer in the Aztec tradition. Malinalli, like many characterizations of queer theory, is also associated with performative and linguistic tradition. One practical recommendation that stems from *malinalli* foundations is encouraging youth and faculty to 'twist' themselves away from usual frames of thinking by asking empathetic questions (e.g. 'Do I love? Can someone queer love?'). Another practical recommendation from *malinalli* foundations includes purposeful naming and reifying; creating a ritual wherein queer contributions can be stated and inscribed (e.g., small Mesoamerican pyramids covered in facts about queer lives) can honor Indigenous tradition while acknowledging difference within that.

For more examples of queer Indigenous pedagogies, see Dozono (2017) and Osinubi (2020). Queer Indigenous pedagogy can also be approached through specifically practitioner lenses. Navigations of Indigeneity and queerness for education workers can be complex. For more on these possibilities, see Bennett et al. (2015) and James (2020).

4 A Call to Action

Queer Indigenous studies is an exciting, burgeoning field, and this is especially true when pedagogy is its focus. With so much queer and Indigenous history, culture, and ontology currently being highlighted and re-contextualized, the next generation can make novel, invigorating connections between queerness and Indigeneity. Possible fruitful areas of study in the near future include

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queer linguistics within Indigenous languages, queer semiotics within Indigenous spaces and temporalities, and queernesses within Indigenous re-conceptualizations of traditional classroom subjects. Honoring and expanding the synergy between queerness and Indigeneity is both necessary and desirable—and will make a difference for posterity.

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CHAPTER 104

Queer Literacies

Jon M. Wargo

1 Introduction

The constellation of literacy theories is vast. Categorized as "situated literacies" (Barton et al., 1999), "new literacies" (Lankshear & Knobel, 2011; Street, 1984), "social literacies" (Gee, 1996), or "multiliteracies" (New London Group, 1996), the communicative processes and presumptive practices enabled by the word "literacy" are complicated. Hence, in this entry, when I use the term literacy (in its singular form), I am referring to "the reading and writing of written texts, with the acknowledgment that reading and writing are always acts situated in social practices, purposes, and contexts (cf. Scribner & Cole, 1981) and that texts can encompass many forms" (Moje, 2000, p. 655). My decision to limit literacy, like Moje, who draws from Scribner and Cole, is intentional. It draws attention to the indexed systems of codified meaning that symbol systems and print extend to reproduce power and privilege. In the singular, literacy often underscores a set of autonomous skills with deterministic consequences (see, for example, Collins & Blot, 2003). However, using literacy in this way is limiting. It exemplifies what Pritchard (2017) calls a "literacy normativity" and does not account for the numerous ways minoritized communities modify literacy to detail the many social and discursive practices of reading, writing, and resisting the world.

Queer literacies, in contrast, are the discursive practices, lived realities, and diverse communicative processes that queer people and queer communities advance in their resistances to normative regimes of gender and sexuality. Queer literacies, from this perspective, are not relegated to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) people or communities. Rather, they are inclusive of those who leverage literacies as a tool to critique and be critical of the ways social and politically accepted categories of gender, **sexual identity**, and indeed **heteronormativity**, advance projects of imperialism, white supremacy, ableism, and **cis-hetero-patriarchy**. Although the uptake of queer—as pedagogy and as a modifier to the concept of literacy—is varied in the field, several scholars use it to describe both teaching frameworks and to trace particular practices (e.g., signifying, throwing shade) within queer communities.

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2 Queering Literacy/ies: Frameworks for Teaching Gender and Sexual Justice

A range of pedagogical frameworks seeking to incite educators to *queer* literacy practices exist. Invoking queer to suggest a reorientation to otherwise rigid categories of gender and sexual orientation (Jagose, 1996), Miller (2015) advanced a queer literacy framework (QLF) through a series of teaching principles. From understanding gender and sexuality as flexible to advocating for equity across categories of (a)gender and (a)sexual orientation, Miller's framework serves as a "critical interventionist and political strategy to challenge the taken-for-granted value of hegemonic demarcations of gender and sexuality assumed under patriarchy and hidden within and by curriculum" (p. 40). Comparatively, Helmer (2016) combined tenets from critical literacy, anti-oppressive education, and **queer pedagogy** to forward her queer literacy framework. Like Miller's, this framework reads against the social, cultural, and historical contexts in which sexual and **gender identities** are produced. Underscoring six dimensions of a queer literacies framework (e.g., focusing on the stories, histories, and politics of LGBTQ+ people, understanding oppression, troubling harmful knowledge, deconstructing discourse and text, engaging and creating counternarratives, and entering and working through crisis), Helmer used the secondary English language arts classroom space to disrupt, trouble, and counter normative understandings of gender and sexuality. Apart from Miller and Helmer, Lin (2017) forwarded a queer literacy pedagogy for young learners. Guided by a number of instructional principles, Lin's queer literacy pedagogy seeks social transformation in the elementary classroom. Although not explicitly tied or linked to the project of "queer literacies," a host of other scholars (see, for example, Alexander, 2008 and Waite, 2015) locate their pedagogical goal of teaching towards gender and sexual justice by contributing to the ongoing rhetorical practices queer—as a verb—makes possible in reparative readings of the word and the world.

3 Queer/ing Literacy with LGBTQ People and Communities

Apart from its utility as a teaching framework and heuristic, queer literacies are also quite visible in research by and about LGBTQ+ people and communities. Forwarding the goal of LGBTQ+-inclusion, numerous scholars in literacy studies have anchored their work in queer theorizing. From examining the way children's and young adult literature can queer normative readings of gender and sexual identity (Blackburn & Smith, 2010; Clark & Blackburn, 2009; Ryan & Herman-Wilmarth, 2018) to underscoring how elementary learners (Ryan &

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Herman-Wilmarth, 2018) and secondary students (Blackburn & Buckley, 2005; Blackburn & Schey, 2018; Vetter, 2010) navigate **heteronormativity** and homophobia, queer literacies highlight school-sanctioned ways of disrupting inequity.

Comparatively, a range of scholarship interested in examining the lived realities and queer literacies of LGBTQ+ people and queer communities outside of schools also exists. Although too numerous to name here, these scholars (e.g., Brockenbrough, 2016; Cruz, 2013; Johnson, 2017; Love, 2017; McCready, 2010; Pritchard, 2017; Wargo, 2018) highlight the many ways that queer literacies are what Anzaldúa (1987) names a "theory in the flesh." Documenting the many ways queer people, and queers of Color, in particular, navigate interlocking systems of oppression (e.g., leveraging performative aspects of ball culture to reinforce a shared sense of community among youth in an HIV/AIDS prevention/support center), queer literacies—as these scholars contend—amplify the communicative capacities and contributions made by LGBTQ+ communities in confronting intersectional injustice.

4 On Not Defining Queer Literacies

Although poised to provide a working definition of queer literacies here, there remains something antithetical to this project. Indeed, queer, by its very nature, is amorphous and porous. Queer is unstable. It is transient. As such, the various registers, modes, and technologies through which "queer" literacies might become enmeshed and entangled with queer lives cannot be so easily classified nor contained.

In equal measure, I find the field's obsession to continue to insert other adjectives before the word "literacies" delimiting. Although I recognize how these prefixes may, at first glance, seem quite liberatory, the literacy metaphor continues to be static. It is as if the prefix (e.g., digital) was somehow meant to upgrade the noun (literacies). Indeed, as Wysocki and Johnson-Eiola (1999) suggest, "no single term—such as 'literacy[ies]'—can support the weight of [the] shifting [and] contingent activities" (p. 366). Thus, perhaps the queerer project to engage is to not define queer literacies but to articulate the relational dimensions queer—as a concept—brings with it.

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CHAPTER 105

Queer of Color Critique

Durell M. Callier

1 Tracing Queer of Color Critique Genealogies

Queer of Color Critique (QOCC), is a comparative method of analysis which critiques and reveals racialized, gendered, and sexualized realities as they inform social life and practice. As an analytic, QOCC provides an explicit lens to address the erasure of race from educational usages of queer theory while decentering whiteness. Further, it foregrounds relationships of power, illustrating the ways that race, sexuality, class, empire, and gender identity inform our understanding of normativity, non-normativity and the subsequent exposure to various forms of violence and exclusion. Fundamental to queer of color critique is the understanding that race, class, and gender are constitutive of one another. Accordingly, QOCC works against analytical siloing. As an analytic QOCC assumes that race, class, gender, and sexuality are often times in alignment with the project of queer theory/studies, QOCC challenges heteronormativity and denaturalizes identity categories to highlight social formations and the operation of power at the site of racialized gender and sexuality (Brockenbrough, 2015; Eng et al., 2005; Jagose, 1996; Sedgwick, 1993; Somerville, 2007; Warner, 1993).

What has formally become known as queer of Color critique (QOCC), was initially named by Roderick Ferguson (2004) in his pioneering text, *Aberrations in Black: Towards a Queer of Color Critique*. In *Aberrations*, Ferguson traces the absence of sexuality and specifically racialized sexuality and gender within and beyond the field of sociology. Ferguson's strident analysis, illuminates the ways that African American culture sits at/as the site of (US) gender and sexual formation "that have historically deviated from national ideas" and as a site of gender and sexual transgression and effusiveness (p. 2). An epistemological intervention, Queer of Color Analysis as Ferguson (2004) defined, "interrogates social formations as the intersections of race, gender, sexuality, and class, with particular interest in how those formations correspond with and diverge from nationalist ideals and practices" (p. 149).

Building upon, *Aberrations,* and expanding conversations about the connections between sexuality, gender, race, and the nation state, Hong and Ferguson (2011) in *Strange Affinities* further delineate how QOCC is an analytic

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and a method rooted in the analyses, intellectual labor and contributions of (lesbian) women of Color feminisms. Hong and Ferguson (2011), make two important moves in *Strange Affinities*. First, by narrating QOCC as *emerging* from women of Color feminisms, it provides a distinguishing genealogy that is different than the "white-Euro-American, gay, lesbian, and queer theory tradition" (Hong & Ferguson, 2011, p. 2). Secondly, in situating both QOCC and women of Color feminisms as projects which "profoundly question nationalist and identitarian modes of political organization," Hong and Ferguson (2011), illuminate how these projects provide comparative analytics which demonstrate the ways that racialized sexuality and gender set the stage for "human value, legally universalized as normative, is made legible in relation to the deviant, the non-American, the nonnormative, and the recalcitrant: the legally repudiated 'others' of U.S. value" (Cacho, 2011, p. 27).

2 Queer of Color Critique in Education & Future Directions

Well documented, education stands as a site of social reproduction conferring value vis-à-vis policies and practices which stratify learners, minoritized knowledges and communities (Apple, 2017; McCready, 2004; Sanya et al., 2018). Queer of Color critique's application to the field of education has helped to advance our understanding of these processes of valuation and devaluation while also attuning to the transformative power of education to change our society. Moreover, queer of Color critique provides an avenue to understand both queer of Color experience, but also the queering of Black and non-white persons as they are violently disciplined through regimes of normalization within and beyond schools.

Accordingly, QOCC in Education has been taken up as a pedagogy (Brockenbrough, 2013), a curriculum (Cruz, 2013), a politic and praxis within research (Duran, 2019; Mobley Jr. & Johnson, 2019), and as an analytic to understand the devaluation of queered youth of Color via ideological and state apparati (Callier, 2018; Marquez & Brockenbrough, 2013). Education scholars have deployed QOCC as a way to highlight agentive practices of queer youth of Color providing critical counterbalance to youth victimization narratives (Blackburn, 2005; Brockenbrough, 2015; McCready, 2010, 2013).

To forecast a future of Queer of Color Critique and Analysis in general, and how it has been taken up in education specifically, looking to past scholarship provides glimpses of what else we might be able to do with QOCC. On the one hand, queer of Color analysis and critique (QOCAC), as McCready (2020) denotes is "a mode of analysis grounded in the struggles and worldmaking of

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LGBTQ peoples of Color," mobilized "to interrogate the intersections of race, gender, sexuality, class, nation, and diaspora as a response to the inherent whiteness of mainstream queer theory and persistent heterosexism in ethnic studies" (n.p.). On the other hand, QOCC can also work within education to underscore analyses and practices which attune to the ways that sexuality orders the life experiences and chances of youth of Color. Whereas in the discipline, it has turned to QOCC to illuminate queer life as in—lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or questioning, intersex, and asexual identities—it is useful to return to Cathy Cohen's (1997, 2011, 2019), strident analysis and the ways she articulates how sexuality, race, and gender as mutually constitutive impacts subjects who are ostensibly heterosexual marking them as queer subjects within US settler colonial logics. The importance of the latter in QOCC analyses helps to elucidate how anti-queer violence in terms of homo/transphobic bullying for example targets not just those who identify as or who have yet to identify as LGBTQ+, but also casts a wider net to discipline and punish nonhegemonic performances of gender and sexuality.

At a precipice where we are besieged by multiple pandemics, it is sobering to recognize that the "radical potential of queer," has neither been fulfilled and perhaps never will be as the window for a politics based on a position to power versus identitarian personal politics is closing (Cohen, 2019). What was transformational about queer politics as Cohen (1997) articulated, and has rearticulated in subsequent work (Cohen, 2011, 2019), is its ability to represent a coalitional politics that is not based upon identity, but rather upon shared marginalization in relationship to power. Such a project would actualize politics, analyses, and practices that centers those marginalized at the intersections of racialized gender, sexuality, (non)citizenship, and nonnormativity. This would mean thinking differently about the queer subject in education, and how educative practices—formal, informal, and nonformal—and educative spaces create and sustain the queering of Black, Indigenous, youth of color. This is part of the unfinished work of QOCC, to hold how individuals like Michael Brown and Rekia Boyd

> are important queer subjects not because of their sexual practice, identity, or performance but because they, as well as other young and poor folks of color, operate in the world as queer subjects: the targets of racial normalizing projects intent on pathologizing them across the dimensions of race, class, gender, and sexuality, simultaneously making them into deviants while normalizing their degradation and marginalization until it becomes what we expect — the norm — until it becomes something that we no longer pay attention to. (Cohen, 2019, p. 142)

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To resituate the queer subject in education, would allow for a more robust set of practices, theories, policies, and analyses which would understand the making of anti-Blackness within the making and confining of (Black) sexuality and gender. Such coalitions could move us closer towards a "re-imagined queer politics," beyond marriage equality, the military and issues of representation to consider then issues related to violence that might center youth of Color and wrestle with "queered bodies," and processes of queering in order to imagine and actualize a more just world. A world in which Rekia Boyd, Michael Brown, Sakia Gunn, Carl Joseph Walker Hoover, Jaheem Hererra and countless other youth who were the targets of normalizing logics—anti-Black, anti-queer, xenophobic, patriarchal violence—might still be alive.

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CHAPTER 106

Queer Pedagogy

Summer Melody Pennell

Queer pedagogy takes queer theory, a post-structuralist approach that questions and challenges normativity, into the realm of education. Like queer theory, queer pedagogy is a conceptual framework with a focus on confronting the norms of how we structure and conceptualize teaching and learning (e.g., Britzman, 1995). Teachers and researchers employing queer pedagogy take these concepts and put them into practice (ex. DePalma, 2010; Pennell, 2019a). While queer pedagogy is often used to teach about queer people and issues, it can be used to push against any norms. Educators, students, and researchers use queer pedagogy to interrogate the norms surrounding their disciplines, school policies, teaching practices, student learning, and all other structures in education. Many of these structures are followed unconsciously and so become normalized. Queer pedagogy is then integral to questioning, as Britzman (1995) famously wrote, "what we cannot bear to know" (p. 165) in terms of how these normalized structures affect learning. Through a lens of queer pedagogy, educators question the very foundations upon which our field stands.

1 Queer Pedagogy vs. Queer-Inclusive Curriculum

It is important to note that the conceptual framework of queer pedagogy is not the same as the curricular practice of queer inclusion, though the two can overlap. Queer inclusion practices use the word 'queer' in reference to people, not the practice of questioning norms. In a classroom setting, practices may encompass the explicit inclusion of queer people in history courses, learning about movements for queer rights, or including queer sexuality in sexual health curricula. If these elements are incorporated into the curriculum without also critically questioning norms, particularly heteronormativity and cisnormativity, then the teacher is not using queer pedagogy. Queer inclusion practices are always concerned with queer people; queer pedagogical practices often concern queer people, but this is not a requirement. Given queer pedagogy's ties to queer theory, which has connections to activism, there is often overlap between queer pedagogy and socially just teaching practices, although this overlap is not a given (Pennell, 2019b). For example, queer pedagogical

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practices may be used within a single classroom, and not necessarily include direct action, such as advocating for change with administration or other governing bodies.

2 Elements of Queer Pedagogy

Britzman's (1995) foundational article outlined several elements for queer pedagogy, all revolving around questioning: of limits, norms, boundaries, reading practices, and ignorance. Britzman applied these elements to her consideration of pedagogy as a construct, rather than discussing how they would work in teaching practices in a classroom space. Other scholars have since applied these tenets to classrooms and discovered additional elements of queer pedagogy in practice. Quinlivan and Town (1999) pointed out that queer pedagogy should include examining heteronormativity and heterosexuality as fixed states. Scholars have also written about the need to question how school as an institution upholds heteronormativity (ex. Meyer, 2007) and how teachers and students uphold societal norms in relation to gender, sexuality, and teaching (Britzman, 2012; Luhmann, 1998). Researchers also continue to call for intersectional work within queer pedagogy, such as interrogating race (Brockenbrough, 2016; McCready, 2010; Rasmussen & Allen, 2014; Misibi, 2016; Pennell, 2016; Wargo, 2016). Brockenbrough's (2016) work, for example, explores how using a Queer of Color Critique centers the experiences of queer People of Color and can be used to research "QOC encounters with and resistance against multiple systems of power" (p. 287), including racism, cissexism, and homophobia.

3 Queer Pedagogy in Practice

Researchers working directly in classrooms use queer pedagogy to rethink practices and recognize that queering teaching necessitates increased flexibility and openness. DePalma's (2010) work in primary classrooms, for example, discusses purposefully questioning norms (such as gender-based clothing) with young students. A more philosophical suggestion from her work is to let questions "hang," or in other words, let students grapple with difficult questions without ready answers, rather than following the normative teaching practice of providing closure to questions. This practice works with generalized critical pedagogical practices, such as encouraging dialogue in the classroom.

Researchers also interrogated education conceptions, such as "safe," "risk," and "stability," to examine how they can be queered in practice (Goldstein et al.,

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2017; Payne & Smith, 2016; Pennell, 2019a). Goldstein et al. (2017) researched coming out panels in schools and found that a focus on safety and positivity led to an individualized understanding of homophobia as singular events, rather than audience members understanding the systemic nature of heteronormativity. They suggest a queered version would focus on systemic issues, demonstrate that coming out stories are constantly evolving and occurring, and encompass other marginalized identities that impact queer people. Payne and Smith (2016) similarly advocate for an end of individualization within their context of researching queer-focused anti-bullying programs to instead focus on how gendered behavior is regulated and oppressed systematically. Pennell's (2019a) work in a middle school classroom led to conceptualizing queer pedagogy through a kayaking metaphor, using the concepts of primary stability (a student's comfort zone) and secondary stability (when a student is pushed out of their comfort zone but still learning). Queer theorists often describe identity as fluid, in opposition to the normative idea that it is stable. In Pennell's (2019a) model, mobility, or fluidity, is posited as a necessity for stability. Both mobility and stability are necessary for student learning and do not exist in opposition.

There are also discipline-specific examples of queer pedagogy, including English language arts and literacy (Hermann-Wilmarth et al., 2017; Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018; Helmer, 2016; Miller, 2015; Shelton, 2018) mathematics (Baker et al., 2020; Rands 2019), music (Gould, 2013), physical education (Larsson, Quennerstedt, & Öhman, 2014), science (Fifield & Letts, 2014; Snyder, & Broadway, 2004), and social studies (Lapointe, 2016). These studies indicate that examining heteronormativity and other societal and systemic norms is possible and necessary across grade levels and subjects and that queer pedagogies are trans- and interdisciplinary.

4 Conclusion

Queer pedagogy is necessary for the field of education to interrogate itself. Though it can be difficult to implement, and teachers may feel conflicted between approved "best practices" and newer, looser queer practices (Whitlock, 2010), the rewards for student learning are shown through educational research. Students who learn to question norms about their school subjects and systemic practices, in general, become informed, critical, inquisitive citizens. Using "queer pedagogy…can help us to see what isn't there, but might be" (Mayo & Rodriguez, 2019, p. 4) as we examine the norms within educational institutions, practices, and other structures.

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CHAPTER 107

Queer Phenomenology

Travis L. Wagner

1 What Is Phenomenology?

Phenomenology explores how one experiences the world and makes sense of their consciousness within these experiences. Prioritizing the role of the body within experience, phenomenology understands one's consciousness to inform how they exist within space and time and subsequently make meaning of the world. Methodologically phenomenology prioritizes lived experience at the individual level working to make sense of how one understands and engages with the world prior to, but nonetheless within societal discourse. Phenomenology, not unlike other philosophies and methods of inquiry finds troubling roots within practices of racism, colonialism, and, important to queerness, heteronormativity and cisnormativity.

2 Early Phenomenological Ideas

Edmund Husserl (1900/2001) deployed the term phenomenology as an attempt to bring about a deliberate understanding of the subjective role of naming experience, which was then still an objective study of human consciousness. To do so, Husserl prioritized the "intentional" within experience by asking not what a person experiences, but how they make sense of that experience (p. 188). Phenomenology became a process of understanding one's sense of the world and how their body exists within in it, through the notion of embodiment. Maurice Merleau-Ponty's (1962/2005) *Phenomenology of Perception*, in particular, extended Husserlean phenomenology by noting that one learns to embody and live within a space to achieve a desired or optimal embodiment. Optimal embodiment is found and affirmed through those things that add value-positive experiences to one's life or help to deter challenges or stressors. Overtime certain positive and negative experiences become learned and orientations towards or away from these experiences became normalized and routinized. However, cohesively naming experience proves fraught with contextual elements and philosophers sought methods with which to name larger structures impacting phenomenological orientations.

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3 Phenomenology as Orientation to Space

Michel de Certeau (1988) considered one's orientation to space as the pre-eminent factor of phenomenology, arguing that "space occurs" by how one "orient[s]" themselves within it and that such orientations shift as a space becomes familiar to a person (p. 117). Using de Certeau's framework imagine a student whose trek between classes is habitually routed. Their route as understood by them is a way of sensing and experience the world, wherein their body moves through space in a ritualized and repeated manner all their own, objects and other things occupying that space cease to become experiences in relation to what is normal, blurring into their everyday life. However, one day a leak occurs and the student is forced to change their route. As a result, the student then sees the familiar hallways of their school in a new way as they engage with the school in an unfamiliar way during an alternative route. This act of navigation provides insight into how space informs one's phenomenological experience. The student is not in a new space, nor encountering school as a new experience, but is merely experiencing their sense of normal space anew and redefining the space of school as a result. Just as space produces and reproduces one's phenomenological orientation, so too does time inform phenomenological experience.

4 Phenomenology as Orientation to Time

Martin Heidegger (1962/2001) argued that time operates to inform how a body "dwell[s]" in space over time. Foreshadowing de Certeau's idea of orientation, time for Heidegger informs both were a body is "at" within space and how it involves itself within a space (p. 111). For Heidegger rumination on experiences with time, or the dwelling as he called it produced a further sense of the embodied self, one that often shifts and alters with perspective. For example, the sense one has as a child of what it means to understand adulthood proves markedly different than that very same meaning when they are themselves an adult, just as their sense of childhood shifts when viewed from their experiences as an adult. The body is still that of the individual in a time, but they have quite simply accrued additional experiences which require them to reevaluate and redefine their sense of the world. A phenomenology of time offers insight into how individuals embody ever-shifting temporal phenomenological orientations. Combined with a phenomenology of space, these ideas produce what becomes one's phenomenological self.

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5 The Phenomenological Self in Space and Time

Self as a construct within both time and space are how phenomenological orientations become social reality, but importantly this reality does not exist outside of larger discursive markings about what bodies can look like, whose bodies are allowed in space, and further, which bodies deserve space to orient and reorient themselves. Bodies within space and time then become subject to *normal* phenomenological experiences, and so long as these experiences remained unchallenged by social ideologies, they remain unquestioned. The *normal* body of phenomenology becomes routinized and normalized through valuing particular experiences as those universally shared by others. Importantly these experiential values appear easily understood and translatable to those outside of the self. However, if a body challenges these normative ideas their phenomenological experiences become sites of disruption or disorientation. A noteworthy use of this is idea is Judith Butler's (1988) deploying of phenomenology to understand gender as a performance as an "anxiety" and "pleasure" that occurs within and against aggressively cisnormative rules around what gender ought to look like based on one's sex-assigned-at-birth. Butler's theorizing of gender is useful as it provides insight into how orientations of gender illuminate the spatiotemporal elements that make gender phenomenonologically invisible. For many, gender remains unchallenged or phenomenologically neutral unless they experience gender identities whose expression challenges these invisible strictures. Alternatively, seeing a gender performance that undoes this notion of a *natural*, cisgender identity also produces disorientations. Butler famously juxtaposes drag performed in theaters with seeing a trans person on a bus, a telling example to which queer phenomenologists have since returned. In this example, Butler also anticipated a queering of phenomenology

6 Queer Phenomenology

To ***queer*** phenomenology is to confront a sense that there exists a universalized method of orientation to the world. This is phenomenology proliferated as a means to essentialize and control bodies defined as non-normative. Phenomenology, perhaps more than most philosophical inquiries, ties directly to nationhood and meaning-making. This linkage operated twofold. First exists phenomenology's ties to Heidegger's affiliation with Nazism. Nazism's Aryan ideal normalized the eugenic-driven genocide of Jewish bodies, queer bodies, and bodies of Color amongst others with the aim of producing a nation

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of 'pure' bodies (Neumann, 2009). Though Heidegger never outright affirmed this, his works use invited and fueled Nazi Germany into a practice of achieving racial and heterosexual purity through the genocide. The second implication of phenomenology's exclusionary vision comes in Sara Ahmed's (2006) critical deployment of a "queer phenomenology." Confronting Husserl, Ahmed examines how notions of orientation inform phenomenological theories. She cites Husserl's reliance upon "an object" (here a table) as a site on which one might intentionally think about their experience (p. 4). Using this latent and unspoken emphasis on neutrality, Ahmed observes Husserl's equally unspoken privilege by noting that he overlooks the labor which went into the table's existence arguing that the table did not simply come into being for the philosopher. Taking up this idea, Ahmed then builds on how tables in particular become sites of phenomenological exploration in so much as they exist as domestic objects, one's with historical ties to feminine labor. Ahmed reminds us that one's phenomenological orientation to objects in space is always one tied what is taken for granted as normal within that space. Ahmed parallels Husserl's own personal meaning making and Western philosophy's attempts to define value in an increasingly globalized world without understanding how that globalization occurred through the exploitation of feminized labor, and as she further observes racialized labor. Utilizing this idea, along with the actualities of phenomenology's roots within Nazism, Ahmed argues that orientation, while foundational to phenomenology, fails to attend to a simple point: Not all bodies are given a chance to orient to time and space. Some bodies exist already within moments of disorientation. This idea of disorientation becomes, for Ahmed, the queer of queer phenomenology. She notes that migrant bodies, queer bodies, and myriad othered bodies possess an "orientation" best "described as facing at least two directions" and that their movement through time and space occurs in an often circular, manifold, and even illusory ways (p. 10).

Queer phenomenology confronts normative presumptions of linear or universal experiences and prioritizes those experiences whose existence undoes these presumptions. Ahmed extends Butler's idea and notes that "bodies are gendered, sexualized, and raced by how they extend into space" and, importantly, what allowances they are given to extend in spaces. Such acknowledgments require a "model of how bodies become oriented by how they take up time and space" (p. 5), which as Ahmed notes consistently privileges white, cisgender, heterosexual men. A reading of queer phenomenology thus far, might suggests that the onus for difference is one in which non-normative bodies seek ways of orientation in normalizing spatiotemporal contexts. However, it is equally true that the bodies who reify notions around normativity through

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their invisible experiential privileges can also seek to correct and regulate bodies that become visible by challenging such normativity. For queer bodies in particular this can have dire results.

Gayle Salamon's (2018) *The Life and Death of Latisha King: A Critical Phenomenology of Transphobia* argues just this idea as she explores the court case following the murder of black trans woman Latisha King at the hands of her classmate. In the text, Salamon notes that King's visibility as a trans woman produced gestures that challenged her classmates' unconscious presumptions about gender as an invisible performance resulting in their understanding of how her body existed within time and space as an incorrect one. As Salamon notes it was her "power of gesture" that allowed her "body to exceed itself and its circumstances in the world," but also resulted in her being seen as a challenge (pp. 84–85). Salamon's analysis of the case notes multiple teachers affirming that King acted in such a way, whether through the "clicking of her heels" or through her dressing feminine that forced her to "stick" out [sic] and become the subject of "negative attention seeking" (p. 54). Salamon deploys the use of the term "sticking out" not to blame King for the violence that befell her but to show that King's murder occurred due to the unconscious and biased presumptions around gender that saw King's visibility as different than the invisible, yet oppressive framings of cisgender identity as normative. Here a queering of phenomenology works to illuminate the realities of transphobia. King's death, one of a seemingly countless and growing set of deaths of trans women of color, shows how this phenomenological orientation towards transgender identities from the position of cisheteronormative society frames the queer experience. Queer bodies force the viewer to question their own normative identity within a time and space, and in the case of King the viewer decided to react negatively rather than "dwell" on the disorienting implications for worry of being queer themselves. Ultimately, queer phenomenology 's goal is not to orient towards a fixed experience but to understand how experience itself produces a disorientation and in doing so asks us to think closely about what we both know and can unknow as a result.

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CHAPTER 108

Queer Qualitative Research

Stephanie Anne Shelton

Qualitative research is a broad field that is designed to explore humans and humanity, especially everyday events and experiences, across multiple social science, health science, information science, and humanities fields (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Given, 2008; Leavy, 2014). It often involves the study of others, through methods such as document analysis, interviewing, focus groups, and ethnographic observations (Brinkmann, 2018; Roulston, 2010), but can also focus on the self through methods such as autoethnography and reflective writing (Spry, 2018), or on complex relationships between individuals, groups, and/or communities through these and other methods (Leavy, 2014). Qualitative approaches are typically well suited to consider "Why?" and "How?" aspects of research topics and "are typically used to explore new phenomena and to capture individuals' thoughts, feelings, or interpretations of meaning and process" (Given, 2008, p. xxix).

Historically, scholars often associate core understandings and implementations of qualitative research with the U.S.-based Chicago School in America (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; read more about the Chicago School in this collection's Critical Theory entry) or with the social justice movements of the 1960s-70s (Leavy, 2014). Indeed, these moments were integral to qualitative research's critiques of dominant research practices grounded in positivism and post-positivism (Jovanić, 2011), to be discussed later. However, it is noteworthy that qualitative research's roots can be traced to 15th–17th century implementations of ethnographic research, which regularly involved Western researchers traveling to "primitive" societies to observe societal norms and interactions (Lockyear, 2008; Vidich & Lyman, 2000). These early ethnographies were consistently positivist, racist, colonizing, othering, and assimilationist, and they problematically shaped the ways that researchers carried out qualitative observations for centuries (Lockyear, 2008).

The shift to explicitly critiquing these researchers and research approaches roughly coincided with the Civil Rights, Women's Rights, and LGBTQ+ Rights Movements of the 1950s-70s (Vidich & Lyman, 2000). During these decades, groups consistently marginalized and othered by researchers, including Indigenous, Black, Latinx, feminist, and queer communities in the U.S. began to reject outsiders' perspectives and take control of how their groups engaged in

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and were discussed in scholarship (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2008; Lockyear, 2008; Vidich & Lyman, 2000). Additionally, the 1960s-70s marked the extension of gender and **sexuality** studies into "a political project of redressing the pathologized and stigmatized statue of homosexuals" (Gamson, 2000, p. 349), which included exploring ways that qualitative research might help to reimagine how researchers engaged with queer topics and people.

Following greater involvement from marginalized groups—who had long been researched but rarely been researchers until this shift—the 1980s marked what Denzin and Lincoln have termed "the qualitative-quantitative paradigm wars" (2018). This timeframe marked a "philosophical argument" regarding "how we know what we know," with qualitative scholarship beginning to actively reject the positivist and postpositivist frameworks with which quantitative research is historically associated (Hitchcock, 2017, pp. 3–4), including moving away from concepts such as a measurable, definable reality and the notion that researcher objectivity is possible (Wilding, 2019). For decades, qualitative researchers had attempted to adopt and/or adapt these notions, including advocating for concepts like validity and eliminating bias (Roulston, 2010); however, the paradigm wars marked a definitive shift in the core concepts informing qualitative methods, with both departure from and critique of positivist and postpositivist research approaches. Concerning queer research methods specifically, positivism had been "heavily involved in bolstering the notion of homosexuality as illness or deviance or both" (Gamson, 2000, p. 349). Thus, qualitative approaches centering tenets of queer theory and/or queer topics were often "openly hostile [...] to positivist social research" (p. 349).

These anti-positivist principles continue to shape contemporary qualitative methods. With inevitable exceptions in such an extensive field, qualitative researchers overarchingly reject objectivity as an achievable, or even desirable, research goal (Peshkin, 1988; Preissle, 2008). Instead, they emphasize the importance of researchers examining subjectivities and positionalities so that there is explicit consideration of the ways that who the researcher is shapes the research process. Qualitative researchers, for example, regularly offer subjectivity and/or positionality statements as explicit considerations of how who they are, where they are, and what they believe inevitably shape research—from start to finish. Additionally, emphasis on reflexivity demands that researchers consider themselves in relation to participants and research settings. As most qualitative research is people-based, using methods such as interviews and observations, the research instrument is typically the researcher themself. Reflexivity, along with examinations of subjectivities and positionalities, works to thoughtfully examine how the researcher shapes the research process, from inception through findings (Pillow, 2003; Shelton & Flint, 2018).

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1 Queer(ing) Qualitative Research

It is through these shifts in qualitative research, alongside social justice movements and emphasis on researcher reflexivity over objectivity, that there is meaningful space for queer qualitative research. To clarify, while there are numerous qualitative studies centering LGBTQ+ identities and experiences, a focus on LGBTQ+ topics is not necessarily queer qualitative scholarship (Green, 2002; Talburt & Rasmussen, 2010). Instead, queer qualitative methods "focus less on the constitution of 'queer' topics" and subjects, and focus instead "on queer research's imaginings," disruptions, and political potential (Talburt & Rasmussen, 2010, p. 2). Queer qualitative research, then, is queer not because of its focus on LGBTQ+ topics, but because researchers draw on queer theory's (see the entry in this book) emphases on political and methodological transgressions, using research methods to disrupt societal and research norms.

Qualitative methods also sometimes tap into queer theory's playfulness and imaginings to disrupt research in meaningful ways. These efforts push qualitative researchers to explore what approaches might "count" as research and to consider how they might be troubled or expanded further. In efforts to challenge what has traditionally been accepted as "scholarly," queer qualitative methods include wide-ranging arts-based, narrative-based, and participant-driven approaches (Manning, 2018). For example, a number of established qualitative research journals, such as the *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* and *Qualitative Inquiry,* have adjusted their aims and scopes to include research featuring novel, and often participatory, methodologies that include dance performances, collaging, and narrative writing, in efforts to simultaneously disrupt and expand what research is and can be. Examples are Teman and Lahman's (2012) ethnographic performance script exploring embodied queerness through drama and Callier's (2016) incorporation of musical melody to explore queerness in relation to Blackness.

The political potential is tightly woven into "the constructionist turn" that reshaped queer qualitative methods' engagements with "queer" as a concept and lived identity (Gamson, 2000, p. 352). Previous to and during the paradigm wars, queer scholars critiqued positivist research "for mistaking the social order of sexuality for a natural one" (Gamson, 2000, p. 352). The constructionist shift in qualitative research asserted that "sexual meanings, identities, and categories were intersubjectively negotiated social and historical products—that sexuality was, in a word, constructed" (Epstein, 1996, p. 145). This shift to queerness as construction aligned well with qualitative research's explorations of research and researcher as constantly (re)constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Gamson, 2000). The "profoundly interpretive nature of the questions

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asked by a constructionist framework" offered important opportunities to, for example, challenge taken-for-granted categories, such as sexualized or gendered identities that had long informed research and everyday politics (Gamson, 2000, p. 353). Through this mindset of research being fluid, constantly negotiated, and politicized, qualitative researchers have meaningful opportunities to disrupt entrenched notions of queer identities, queer experiences, and the roles of research in relation to queerness, while shifting the ways that qualitative research can and does engage with queer concepts.

Qualitative research continues to grapple with queerness—as theoretical frameworks, methodological approaches, lived experiences, and productive disruptions. In efforts to arrive at findings and conclusions, researchers often, and perhaps unintentionally, situate queer qualitative methods in static ways that strip these qualitative approaches of their exploratory and political potential (Talburt & Rasmussen, 2010). After all, the tensions and fluidity of queerness make conducting, writing up, and publishing research challenging. However, the creativity, elasticity, and uncertainty are, historically, core aspects of qualitative research as a field and are essential to the disruptive potential of queer qualitative methods specifically.

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CHAPTER 109

Queer Quantitative Research

Cindy Ann Kilgo

Queer quantitative research exists in a paradoxical space straddling the use of queer theory and quantitative methods. While quantitative research emerges from positivist and postpositivist perspectives, queer quantitative research engages in queering the inquiry process by relying on critical ontological and epistemological perspectives within a queer theoretical lens. The combination of these perspectives creates a productive tension. This tension exists between the tendencies of quantitative research to classify and count and the influence of a queer theoretical lens to deconstruct identity as measurable (Browne, 2010; Browne & Nash, 2016). While the very nature of queer is antithetical to quantitative methods, scholars have pointed to several distinct features of queer quantitative research: (1) reflexivity of researcher(s), (2) identity as fluid and becoming, political, and anti-normative, (3) the disruption of categorization, and (4) transformation as an outcome (see Browne, 2008, 2010; Browne & Nash, 2016; Das, 2020). It is important to note that there is no distinct set of rules or regulations for queer quantitative research. As a result, queer quantitative research is always evolving. Within this entry, I outline features, tensions, complexities, and methods and techniques—but acknowledge current and future becomings.

1 Features, Tensions, and Complexities

The role of positionality is paramount yet has often been disregarded by quantitative scholars who claim objectivism within positivism and postpositivism. As Das (2020) stated, however, "a queer perspective necessitates that researchers eschew positivistic paradigms in which the neutral observer comes to know an objective truth" (p. 108). Researchers must understand how their identities and lived experiences influence their analytic and interpretative processes. A queer theoretical lens posits those identities are always becoming and fluid, political, and anti-normative. These elastic, slippery identities illustrate why the concept of bias is flawed in queer(ing) research.

Browne (2008) described queer as "always becoming, inherently critical of norms, and resistant to categorisation that limit sexual identities" (p. 9). This

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description of queer being resistant to categories is at the crux of queer quantitative research. The reliance on categories within quantitative research creates challenges for queer researchers who rely on positivist concepts of reliability and validity (Browne, 2010). Queer approaches are anti-normative, by seeking to "destabilize these [heteronormative] normative understandings and systems of meaning embedded within power relations, rendering visible and knowable that which was unseen and unknown" (Browne & Nash, 2016, para. 4). In other words, queer approaches to research aim to unearth and create rather than limit and restrain. Queer quantitative research, then, must lean on an approach that honors fluidity and reject norms, rather than quantitative research that "other" identities outside clear categories and norms. (Browne, 2010). This becomes a tension point within quantitative research because it inherently is constantly norming.

Every parametric approach in quantitative methods rely on the concept of normal. There must be a point at which to reference other points. Browne (2008) argued that given the subjective nature of research, "the 'normal' that is statistically determined is also created and morally determined through decision making processes, inclusions and exclusions" (p. 8). This perspective is at odds with the positivist and postpositivist concept of objectivity. Reflexivity and identity as becoming, political, and anti-normative build on this feature of the separations and creations of normal and normative ways of being. Queer critique can allow us to "critique categorisation (and invisibilisation that results from such processes), but also explore the normalization of the categorizing act that can solidify into research products" (Browne, 2008, p. 9). In other words, queer critique can lead to an important question for quantitative researchers: *at what point does adding and editing categories* (*re*)*create normative concepts and ways of being?* The tension here is that quantitative analyses involve categorization of categories that queer theory insists are not real. This is an opportunity for quantitative researchers to resist the idea that queerness can exist in categories to instead focus on being thoughtful and deliberate in creating, challenging, and editing instruments and disruptive with data analyses.

While a focus on the analyses is critical, the transformative aspect of queer quantitative research also lies in the interpretation of data and findings. Aligned and like efforts by scholars employing critical quantitative methods, queer quantitative research has the potential to be a transformative approach to studying minoritized populations. Queer quantitative research can highlight populations who have been historically and contemporarily excluded and pushed to the margins. Browne and Nash (2016) stated, "the knowledge produced through queer methods and methodologies renders visible queer

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people and their lives, helping to transform understandings of social relations and social research" (p. 3). In other words, queering quantitative research can allow populations of people who have been historically and contemporarily pushed to the margins to be centered.

2 Queer Quantitative Methods and Techniques

Queer quantitative research is not monolithic nor restricted to one part of any research process. Rather, queer quantitative research is a process in which researchers can explore queer existences and experiences and queer research that is not necessarily or only about queer bodies by resisting the heteronormative and restrictive nature of quantitative methods. Das (2020) referred to this resistance as "necessitate[ing] a queer deconstruction of quantitative tools" (p. 107). Scholars have pointed to the queering of survey design—including reimagining measuring identity (Browne, 2008, 2010; Fish & Russell, 2018; Patterson, 2019; Sumerau et al., 2017), consent processes (Patterson, 2019), sampling and recruitment of participants (Patterson, 2019), and analyses and data interpretation (Browne, 2010; Das, 2020; Fish & Russell, 2018; Patterson, 2019). Sumerau et al. (2017) stated, "making sense of a world where transgender, bisexual, intersex, and other gendered and sexually variant communities have come out of the closet and into increasing mainstream attention will require quantitative sociology to leave its own 'binary closet' behind" (p. 653). While quantitative research should not be immediately excluded from queer methodologies—the tensions and complexities require that researchers move forward judiciously in centering queer theoretical frameworks in all research processes.

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CHAPTER 110

Queer Reading

S. Adam Crawley

1 Introduction

In examining queer issues in schools, Deborah Britzman (1995) directed readers to stop reading "straight"—to refrain from automatically interpreting representations and themes in texts as heterosexual and cisgender by default. An alternative is queer reading, for readers to "exceed their own readings" by acknowledging and considering "discourses of difference, choice, and visibility" (p. 164). More specifically, queer reading is the practice of a reader—regardless of their sexuality or gender identity—to look for aspects in a text (e.g., book, play, television show, movie, or other media) that could be interpreted as queer in sexuality and gender, although the queerness might not be apparent. For example, Joshua Barnett and Corey Johnson (2015) suggested, "one might imagine two women in a mainstream magazine advertisement are lovers and then consider the social and political import of such reading" (p. 582). In this particular example, a queer reading involves moving beyond interpreting the women in the ambiguous image as heterosexual friends and instead considering other relational possibilities. However, it is important to note that queer reading can also occur when heterosexuality is clearly evident. For example, Caitlin Ryan and Jill Hermann-Wilmarth (2013) describe in-depth how the main character in *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003), a chapter book for young readers, can be read queerly. The protagonist, a mouse named Despereaux Tilling, loves a human princess. Although his attraction is for a woman, the mouse is queer (e.g., different) compared to his fellow mice and what they value as "normal." In Despereaux's world, it is unnatural to love a human, and he is publicly chastised for doing so. Despereaux's fascinations (e.g., musical and visual arts, reading) also differ from those of the other mice (e.g., nibbling on paper). For *Despereaux*, queer reading extends beyond simply transposing LGBTQ+ identities onto characters but rather recognizing aspects of difference along with how those differences marginalize due to others' concepts of "normal" and "deviant." In both the magazine advertisement and the chapter book examples, queer reading requires "an impertinent performance: an interest in thinking against the thought of one's conceptual foundations" (Britzman, 1995, p. 215) to consider other possibilities—to transpose difference on characters or to recognize difference and its impact.

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Kubowitz (2012) used a continuum for queer reading possibilities and emphasized the reader's role in such reading and interpretation. On one end of the continuum is "(extremely) non-queer reading" (p. 212), in which readers adhere to default heterosexual, cisgender character assumptions even when other inferences are possible. On this end of the spectrum, readers might be oblivious to or even intentionally avoid and ignore aspects that are potentially queer in a text. For example, returning to the image of the two women in a magazine advertisement, an *extremely* non-queer reading would interpret the two women as only friends and each in a relationship with a man. The reader would imagine the women as strictly heterosexual with no attraction—emotional or physical—to one another or any other women, and if the women have sex with men, it is both monogamous and vanilla. On the other end of the continuum is "(extremely) queer reading" with readers "suspending default settings" (p. 212) of mainstreamness and instead inferring attractions or identities that are non-heterosexual and/or non-cisgender—with any number of interpretations possible in regard to sexual and/or gender identities and actions.

It is also important to emphasize that authors can help facilitate the audience's queer readings. In some instances, authors intentionally employ queer writing strategies (Kubowitz, 2012), including aspects in their writing that allude to queerness. For example, filmmakers during the Hollywood Production Code era of the 1930s-1960s sometimes included subtle mannerisms, costuming, or speech patterns that could be recognized—and thus ready queerly—by LGBTQ+ audiences so they would know they were not alone. (Specifically, a green carnation pinned on a man's lapel, such as used in plays by Oscar Wilde, became recognizable to men who loved other men [Prager, 2020].) Nonetheless, queer reading can occur despite the author's intent. Readers can infer queerness even when an author doesn't intentionally craft their text for such interpretations.

Related to the above descriptions and further discussed in the next sections, queer reading is detailed in scholarship in two ways: reading for self-actualization and reading for reconsideration. Reading for self-actualization is when an LGBTQ+ person reads a text to find a reflection of themselves. On the other hand, reading for reconsideration occurs when a person (regardless of sexuality or gender identity) reads a text with/to others and conducts a queer reading to expand concepts of sexuality, gender identity, and/or gender expression.

2 Reading for Self-Actualization

Using the metaphor of texts as "mirrors" (Bishop, 1990), readers have often described the potential, and actual effects of seeing their queer sexuality and/or

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gender reflected in media, including feeling increasingly validated and less alone (Leventry, 2019; Naidoo & Lynch, 2020; Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018; Young, 2019). Although the production and availability of LGBTQ+-inclusive texts have increased over time, queer representations are still limited compared to heterosexual and cisgender depictions in the larger corpus of media (GLAAD Media Institute, 2021; Naidoo & Lynch, 2020). Even when such texts do exist, readers—particularly youth in schools—may have limited access to queer representations (Kosciw et al., 2020). Therefore, LGBTQ+ audiences—both now and historically—might use queer reading as a way to find potential reflections of their sexuality and/or gender in texts, especially when queer depictions aren't readily clear or available (Benshoff & Griffin, 2006).

Specific to queer studies in education, scholars of children's literature demonstrate—in both fiction and nonfiction—how characters can be queerly read (e.g., Crawley, 2020; Crisp, 2018; Crisp et al., 2018; Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018). However, while there exist possibilities and affordances of queer reading for audiences' self-actualization, the approach can also be problematic in numerous ways.

> Relying on readers to queer relationships or successfully interpret subtextual clues intended to signal a character is gay places the brunt of the work on readers' abilities to recognize and interpret such codes (Crisp, Gardner, & Almeida, 2018). Furthermore, it becomes the responsibility of queer-identified readers and their allies to remain vigilant for hints of possible representations, while the experiences of all other readers remain safely 'undisturbed.' (Crisp, 2018, pp. 358–359)

Further, Crisp (2018) cautioned how queer reading (and writing) frequently relies on and reinforces tropes and stereotypes. For example, readers might interpret a man as a gay character because he is sensitive, has a flamboyant wardrobe, and is emotionally invested in other men (Crisp et al., 2018) rather than recognizing such traits can also be true of heterosexual men. To avoid such pitfalls—to read in ways that question and disrupt stereotypes—connects to the second type of queer reading: reading for reconsideration.

3 Reading for Reconsideration

While some readers aim to find representations of themselves, another possibility for queer reading is for reconsideration: to question and expand understandings of sexuality, gender identity, and/or gender expression through texts.

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In their work with children's and young adult literature and its use in elementary and middle grades classrooms, Hermann-Wilmarth and Ryan (2015, 2018) show the possibilities of applying a queer lens when reading both "straight" and LGBTQ+-inclusive texts. For example, the authors discussed reading *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009), a "straight" fictional children's novel set in Texas in 1899, to identify, compare, and question gender norms both then and now. Ryan and Hermann-Wilmarth also described how elementary teacher-facilitated conversations with students about two gay-identified characters in the middle grades novel *Totally Joe* (Howe, 2005). The class considered how the protagonist (Joe) and his boyfriend (Colin) differed in personality, family support, and (dis)comfort with publicly disclosing their sexuality. Such character exploration imparts a message to readers that not all gay people share the same experiences or perform their identities in the same ways. Similarly, Ryan and Hermann-Wilmarth discussed the importance of *After Tupac and D Foster* (Woodson, 2008), in which the character Tash is Black, queer, and incarcerated—a vital representation since much extant LGBTQ+-inclusive children's literature depicts White, middle-class characters. As these examples show, queer reading can be used to identify and question representations in texts, especially in ways that interrogate privilege and stereotypes.

Queerly reading "straight" and LGBTQ+-inclusive texts helps all readers—regardless of their sexuality or gender identity—to expand beyond what might be initially assumed when reading and question those assumptions. In addition, such queer reading works to disrupt **hetero**- and/or **cisnormative** thinking in "straight" texts, as well as to interrogate stereotypes that might be perpetuated in texts that are already queer-inclusive. Although ideally, readers would learn and be able to conduct queer readings independently with books they self-select, readers can benefit from guided discussions about focal texts to learn such approaches.

4 Conclusion

Although much of the focus in this entry has been on scholarship in children's and young adult literature, queer reading can be fruitful for reading various forms of text: advertisements, plays, film and television, and other forms of media. In addition, it's important to note that the two approaches I describe—reading for self-actualization and reading for reconsideration—are not binaries. Rather, the two approaches overlap. Connecting to reader-response theory that attends to how readers' identities, values, and experiences inform their interpretations and constructions of meaning from texts (Rosenblatt, 1978),

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queer reading involves an active stance of the reader to consider and question representations existing in texts—especially in ways that advance equity and dismantle not only heteronormativity but also homo- and cis-normativity along with privilege stemming from race, ethnicity, language, dis/ability, social class, and other ways of being. Queer reading approaches mirror practices described in other scholarship where people of color have not only read themselves into texts that didn't clearly depict them but also recreated those texts via "restorying" to further narrate themselves into existence (Thomas & Stornaiuolo, 2016). The practice of restorying by queer people is described elsewhere in this encyclopedia (see "Restorying" entry).

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CHAPTER 111

Queer Studies of (Dis)Ability

Adam W. J. Davies and Rsha Soud

1 Queer Studies & Disability Studies: In Conversation

Queer studies of (dis)ability are invested in challenging hegemonic structures and compulsory norms that continue to marginalize queer and disabled people (McRuer, 2006). The question of normalcy is a central tenet of queer and disability theorizations, as both frameworks seek to dismantle the oppressive ways in which normalcy mandates compulsory ways of living and being (Kafer, 2013). The *crip theories* of Robert McRuer (2006) tie queer theoretical traditions and disability studies together to note the unmarked manner in which compulsory heterosexuality and compulsory able-bodiedness function to privilege subjects who are within such norms. Drawing from Adrienne Rich's (1980) classic writing on compulsory heterosexuality, McRuer investigated how compulsory able-bodiedness constructs a situation where queer subjects can approximate normalcy through their able-bodied status, whereas disabled people are othered as 'unproductive' under neoliberal capitalism due to being outside of normative ideas of personhood and productivity. This idea of deviancy from normalcy is central to both critical disability studies and queer theory (Ahmed, 2006; Michalko & Titchkosky, 2009). Importantly, queer theory is the predominant theoretical orientation of queer studies, but there are divergences and similarities between queer theory and queer studies (Kelly, 2009). *Queercrip theories* combine crip theories and queer theories in tandem to speak to "the unique experiences of queer disabled people that were not adequately addressed by queer or disability theories separately" (Santinele Martino, 2017, p. 7).

Sherry (2004) traces the similarities and divergences between queer theory and disability studies, specifically noting how homophobia and ableism as structures overlap and how disabled people are often deemed queer, and queer people are seen as disabled through similar histories of pathologization, stigmatization, and societal exclusion. Without equating the two theoretical fields, Sherry (2004) draws linkages between disability studies and queer theory through the investigation of issues of stigmatization and the hegemony of normalcy, their interruption of liberal universalism, and their deconstruction of identity categories based in power structures that privilege cisnormativity,

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heteronormativity, and ableism. In this sense, as Sherry noted, it is not enough to simply state that, indeed, disabled individuals do identify as queer and/or trans and that these identity categories overlap since queerness and disability are constituted through each other and have shared histories. In a South African context, Chappell (2015) notes how the intersections of disability studies' and queer studies' joint aims to disrupt normalcy can interrupt notions of *disablenormalcy*, or the sole focus on inclusion in disability activism. Disablenormalcy emphasizes normative depictions of disability, such as those with visible physical impairments, while invisibilizing those with disabilities that are not depicted through normative cultural representations, such as mental illnesses or learning disabilities. As emphasized by Chappell (2015), placing queer frameworks and disability frameworks into conversation to address societal exclusion and power structures can disrupt normative and essentialized ideas of identity and representation.

2 Queer Studies, Disability Studies, & Children

Both queer studies and disability studies are invested in dismantling normative ideas of children and disrupting hegemonic developmental theories that construct disabled and queer children as 'Other' (Cooper, 2020; Stockton, 2009). Cultural theorists, such as Cooper (2020), describe how notions of *development*—entrenched in rehabilitative models towards disability and children—seek to reify normative discourses that universalize children under able-bodied logics and cast children with disabilities, who are deemed unable to be rehabilitated, as 'Other.' Stockton (2009) notes how queer children are often considered 'sideways' in their growth; that is, through typical developmental lenses, queer children are presumed to be arrested in their development.

Queer children and disabled children share similarities in terms of being outside of the able-bodied, neurotypical, heteronormative, and cisnormative imagining of the child propagated through developmentalist logics (Ali, 2020). For children who are transgender and gender nonbinary, medical professionals and psychiatric knowledges have focused on pathologizing expressions and identities of gender outside of the gender binary (Davies, 2020). Both queer studies and disability studies ask questions pertaining to life and death (i.e., which ways of living are considered normal and ideal under neoliberal capitalism) (Berlant, 2007; Goodley et al., 2014b), with important questions being asked regarding how to affirm and value the lives of children who are excluded from normative notions of ideal children and childhood (Goodley et al., 2014a).

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Queer studies and disability studies are often used as theoretical frameworks to investigate the experiences of LGBTQ+ and disabled students' marginalization within K-12 school settings (Baglieri et al., 2011; Rodriguez et al., 2016). Importantly, both queer studies and disability studies share different perspectives on the issue of *inclusion* and whether or not LGBTQ+ and/or disabled students should be merely included into the existing school system, or whether the structures of ableism and heteronormativity and cisnormativity that produce these systems need to be deconstructed. Goodley and Runswick-Cole (2010) discuss how queer theory and disability studies offer complementary frameworks for both advocating for the inclusion of disabled students and the promise of queer teaching, or a pedagogical approach that centers practices of creativity and imagination, instead of neoliberal goals of normalization, standardization, and assessment. Queer studies of disability are invested in both the study of LGBTQ+ individuals who are disabled, such as Hazlett et al.'s (2011) study of young LGBTQ+ adults with intellectual and/or physical disabilities usage of young adult fiction, as well the shared theoretical goals of both disability studies and queer theory (Sherry, 2004).

3 Queerness, Disability, and Schooling

Much of what students learn about sexuality in formal school settings is implicit (Jackson, 1968) and through social interactions between peers (Gougeon, 2009). The *hidden curriculum* (Jackson, 1968; Giroux & Purpel, 1983) is the implicit and unwritten lessons, values, and norms learned by students, whereas the *ignored curriculum* (Gougeon, 2009) is the exclusion of students with disabilities from peer-to-peer interactions and therefore from learning social norms and cues that govern social interactions outside of formal instructional time in schools. These social interactions are outside of formal sexuality education curricula and are learned during lunch hours, in-between classes, before and after school, and during work or any form of activity outside of school (Gougeon, 2009). Gougeon (2009) described how the ignored curriculum is complementary to what is learned through social media and school; however, it is often unavailable to students with disabilities due to their segregation from non-disabled peers and the constant surveillance they receive from adults (Gougeon, 2009; Isler et al., 2009). This results in the marginalization of disabled children and youth because the lack of opportunity to develop social relationships and be exposed to taken-for-granted social cues and norms can hinder their ability to explore their respective sexualities (Gougeon, 2009).

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Exposing the effects of the ignored curriculum (Gougeon, 2009) and the hidden curriculum (Jackson, 1968; Giroux & Purpel, 1983) can counter the erasure of LGBTQ+ students with disabilities in school curricula and environments. In particular, for disabled students who are LGBTQ+, sexuality education remains heteronormative and ableist and erases the specific subjectivities of children and youth with disabilities who are non-heterosexual and non-cisgender (Davies & Kenneally, 2020). Addressing both the ignored curriculum (Gougeon, 2009), in terms of how students with disabilities are excluded from everyday interactions with peers due to stigmatization and exclusion in school environments, and the hidden curriculum (Giroux & Purpel, 1983; Jackson, 1968) in regards to the heteronormativity, cisnormativity, and ableism embedded in the structures of school curricula and teaching, is important for queer studies of disability that aim to emphasize the intersections of sexuality, gender, and disability.

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CHAPTER 112

Queer Survey Methodologies

Jason C. Garvey

1 Introduction

Queer survey methodologies are approaches of both survey methodologies and queer epistemologies. Survey research emerged from positivist and post-positivist thought. Survey methodology concerns the design, collection, processing, and analysis of surveys and survey data (Groves et al., 2011). Wiegman (2012) described queer theory as a poststructural critique of sex, sexuality, gender, and identity theories. Three key concepts embody queer theoretical perspectives: critiquing cisheteronormativity, liminality, and performativity.

Queer survey methodologists are concerned with rethinking and reimagining survey data while also embracing post-structural perspectives and advocating for justice through survey research. Queer survey methodologists challenge existing understandings of survey development, design, and implementation through queer perspectives by questioning methodological and epistemological assumptions of how to conduct survey research.

Embodying queer tenets is oftentimes contradictory to the process of developing, testing, and implementing survey designs. Queer survey methodologists embrace the liminality of existing between survey methodology concerns and the fluidly evolving social constructions of identity.

There is an inherent tension between queer perspectives and survey methodologies. Queerness is difficult to succinctly define because "attempting to define what queer is…would be a decidedly un-queer thing to do" (Sullivan, 2003, p. 43). Queer survey research exists within the tension between queer theory and survey design and envisions new methodological and epistemological possibilities as a result. Some may argue that queer survey methodologies cannot exist given the contrasting nature of survey methodologies and queer theory. Yet through this contradiction, queer survey methodologists can imagine new possibilities and simultaneously deconstruct identity while also using data to describe characteristics and patterns. As Browne (2008) discussed, blurring the boundaries between queerness and survey design creates opportunities to critique categorization while also exploring new possibilities for data collection and survey approaches.

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2 Data Collection and Survey Approaches

To embrace queer survey methodologies, researchers must affirm queerness throughout the entire methodological process. From developing research questions to providing implications, a queer survey methodology requires researchers to embrace tenets of queer theory throughout the lifespan of a research project. Although there will be an inherent tension between queerness and survey design, researchers may find important and novel insights within these contradictions.

When employing survey methodologies through queer perspectives, scholars must recognize how queerness shapes both research writing and conducting survey research. Regarding research writing, there are fundamental processes in which queer theory can be embedded. Queer survey methodologists may engage with positionality and how it shapes their work. For example, survey researchers may use queer perspectives to articulate which research questions they pursue, including those that critique cisheteronormative assumptions. Queer survey methodologists may also reject normative publication venues like academic journals and instead opt to share their work via creative and artistic expressions to destabilize dominant academic survey research discourse.

Techniques within survey design may also embrace queer theoretical perspectives, including variable operationalization. Rather than relying on static and fixed categorizations of gender, for example, survey designers may instead choose to develop a measure to operationalize participants' gender performativities across contexts. Doing so will require disrupting identity classifications, understanding the liminal spaces where students (and researchers) may exist, and constructing social identities as performative and socially constructed. Other manuscript components may require a more thoughtful perspective in order to approach queer survey research. Collecting data, coding and cleaning results, and analyzing survey data can also embrace queer tenets. These survey methodological components will require a queer ethos and approach to research that suspends assumptions about the processes and outcomes of survey methodologies.

The intentions for how and why survey methodologists conduct research may also be shaped by queer positionalities. I previously wrote that "survey developers must recognize the politicization of sexual orientation [and gender identity] in education research…and must embrace activism and advocacy as necessary roles within education research and assessment" (Garvey, 2019, p. 500). To fully embrace queer survey methodologies, authors must center community voice and involvement, question assumptions about the intellectual

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merit and broader impact of research, and reexamine the performativity embedded within research collaborations and production.

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CHAPTER 113

Queer Theory

Summer Melody Pennell

Queer theory is a post-structural concept. In its early years of development during the 1990s, it was primarily concerned with sexuality (Hall & Jagose, 2013), but theorists have extended its use to other subjects. One of the main concerns of queer theory is contesting heteronormativity (the construction of heterosexuality as the norm) as well as cisnormativity (the construction of cisgender as the norm). These two concepts are often present simultaneously function as a form of bias throughout society.

Expanding from these core concerns, queer theory is often used to analyze LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and other non-heteronormative identities) people and issues. It is also employed to analyze anything that challenges normative structures, identities, and societies. In the latter sense, queer is used as a verb: to queer something is to question and deconstruct it. As education is filled with normative structures—for example, curriculum guides, learning standards and other policies, the school buildings themselves—it is a vital lens to consider how teachers, students, researchers, and other stakeholders uphold, push against, and circumvent these norms. Queer theory challenges us to reconsider not only what we know, but how we know it, and how our knowledge shapes our world.

1 Origins

Queer theory and queer studies emerged across activism and academic fields, stemming from earlier work on queer issues in areas including postructuralism, "feminism, radical movements of color, the lesbian and gay movements, AIDS activism…postcolonialism and diasporic studies, transgender and disability studies" (Hall & Jagose, 2013, p. XVI). Queer theorists were intentionally branching out from gay and lesbian studies, which scholars felt relied on the gender binary (meaning gender as only men and women) The term queer theory was first used in 1991 by film scholar Teresa de Lauretis, who used the word "queer" to specifically distinguish the field from the older gay and lesbian theory (Turner, 2000, p. 30).

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The works of Foucault, Butler, and Sedgwick were also early influences in the field. Michel Foucault's (1990, 2012) post-structuralist work on gender and the history of sexuality is frequently cited for its influence (Barker & Scheele, 2016; Hall & Jagose, 2013). Judith Butler (2011) was an early critic of the limits of gay and lesbian studies (Hall & Jagose, 2013), like Lauretis, and her work on gender is foundational to queer theory, even before she herself identified her work within this field (Barker & Scheele, 2016). Eve Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* (2008) (detailed in another entry) also questioned binary understandings of gender, as well as being in or out of the closet.

2 Internal Critique as Method

Queer theorists critique each other and the field constantly. As a theory that holds few tenets other than striving for anti-normativity dismantling of binaries, primarily in relation to gender and sexuality, this internal critique is necessary for the field to continue to grow and discover identities and social constructs left out of normative society. Self-critique is also necessary to see what has become normative within queer theory itself, and "be reminded of exclusions [within the field, such as] serious engagement with racism, internal debates of misognynies, or insufficient attention to gender identities" (Mayo & Rodriguez, 2019, p. 2). Queer theory and theorists are also subject to critique for being exclusionary to those outside of the academy.

While the theorists referenced in the earlier section are white and cisgender, in more recent years the field has grown more diverse. Theorists such as E. Patrick Johnson (2001) and Roderick Ferguson (2004) are working to bring **quare** studies and **queer of color critique** to the field, respectively, to represent Black communities. Muñoz' (2006) work on affect and Latinx identities demonstrates the connection between brownness and the existential depression of existing within a racist society. Manalansan's (2006) work encompasses Asian and immigrant perspectives. Scholars who study queer theory and disability (such as McRuer, 2006) and queer theory and intersex people remind us that while much of queer theory is esoteric and philosophical, physicality and lived experience are important. Other scholars have also explored transgender issues (Stryker, 2004) and asexuality (Cerankowski & Milks, 2010) in relation to queer theory. As a group, queer theorists are continuously striving to highlight identities that are excluded and work to avoid mainstreaming and favoring some queer identities over others. Overall, queer theorists strive to recognize norms and binaries so that they can be questioned, critiqued, dismantled, and

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otherwise examined to more towards liberation. This work is crucial and goes beyond, as Rands (2009) described, add-queers-and-stir methods of inclusion.

3 Queer Theory in Education

Within the intersections of queer theory, education, and minoritized identities, theorists and researchers are working to create more inclusive spaces for those on the "margins of the margins" (Kumashiro, 2001). Brockenbrough's (2016) and McCready's (2004) work with Black men teachers illustrates this population's unique strengths and challenges working within not only heteronormativity and cisnormativity, but also racist systems and traditional forms of masculinity. Shelton's (2018) work discussing queering literacy practices demonstrates how considering norms of other commonly used theories, such as reader response, can improve student learning. In higher education research, Gunn and McAllister (2013) examined how queer theory can inform research on college students' orientations towards or away from learning itself, and how pleasure and shame impact these orientations. Talburt and Rasmussen (2010) remind us that queer theory can invite us to question our educational research, of queer subjects and otherwise, for the norms we are unconsciously cultivating.

As queer theorists of any discipline will likely assert, there is not a static definition of what constitutes queer theory and how we apply it to our work, but there is a continuous drive to question normality and to turn that questioning on ourselves as researchers, scholars, teachers, and activists. Much of the work within queer theory and education overlaps with queer pedagogy, which is discussed in detail in a separate entry.

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CHAPTER 114

Queer Worldmaking

Karen Zaino

1 Making Queer Worlds

This entry provides an overview of queer worldmaking as it has been defined by queer theorists (Berlant & Warner, 1998; Muñoz, 1999, 2009; Yep, 2003) and explores its implications for educational research and practice. Queer worldmaking is rooted in the premise that cisheteronormativity is but one possible arrangement of the social world. Cisheteronormativity is a set of assumptions and processes that privilege cisgendered identities and heterosexual relationships, as evidenced in social arrangements as formal as gender-binary bathrooms and as informal as casual questions that presume the gender identity of one's partner. Cisheternormativity is also intimately linked with capitalism and white supremacy: in privileging the biological nuclear family and associated patterns of economic inheritance, cisheteronormativity protects the concentration of wealth among narrowly defined families, particularly white families (Cohen, 1997; Warner, 1991). *Queer worldmaking* names a productive refusal of cisheteronormativity. A fundamentally creative process, queer worldmaking encompasses the social practices, cultural productions, and political activities that are generated from the performative disruption or refusal of state-sanctioned heteronormative reproduction.

Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner (1998) invoked the phrase "queer worldmaking" to describe how queer people create cultures through daily improvisations required by their marginalized statuses. Legally curtailed and socially taboo, queer cultures emerged from "mobile sites of drag, youth culture, music, dance, parades, flaunting, and cruising-sites whose mobility makes them possible but also renders them hard to recognize as world making because they are so fragile and ephemeral" (Berlant & Warner, 1998, p. 561). These transient *counterpublics*—that is, spaces subordinate to the dominate public sphere—comprised queer worlds.

Drawing on Neil Goodman's (1978) conception of worldmaking as decomposition and recomposition, José Esteban Muñoz (1999) used *worldmaking* to describe the transformative potential of queer-of-Color performance. Neither rejecting nor embracing dominant paradigms of (white) queerness and (cisheterosexual) racialized identity, queer-of-color performance instead employs

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disidentification, a process of recycling the raw material of inadequate cultural templates into performances that represent "a disempowered politics or positionality that has been rendered unthinkable by the dominant culture" (Muñoz, 1999, p. 31). Muñoz argued that cultural production can provide "a utopian blueprint for a possible future while…staging a new political formulation in the present" (1999, p. 200). He defined cultural production expansively, extolling the worldmaking potential of poetry, visual art, theatrical performances, and reality TV, as well as performances that often go unmarked as cultural productions, such as anonymous sex (Muñoz, 2009). Ultimately, Muñoz redefined queerness as an ongoing process of *worldmaking*, the material production of worlds that emerge from utopian attachments to a future beyond "the spectacle of the state refurbishing its ranks through overt and subsidized acts of reproduction" (2009, p. 22).

Queer worldmaking thus provides a framework for understanding queerness beyond the limitations of identity categories and/or their deconstruction (Yep, 2003, p. 35). Queer worldmaking demands the "the inhabitation of and living into *otherwise possibilities*" (Crawley, 2016, p. 2; emphasis original), a continual gesture toward and invocation of spaces and times beyond the narrow regime of "normative white reproductive futurity" (Muñoz, 2009, p. 96). As such, queer worldmaking can also be positioned in opposition to *homonormativity*, which Lisa Duggan (2003) defines as a "privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption" (p. 179). Queer worldmaking rejects assimilative cultural and political moves for more expansive visions of queer life.

2 Queer Worldmaking in Educational Research and Practice

As a heuristic in educational research, queer worldmaking invites us to consider the transformative potential that emerges from the everyday lives of queer youth and educators within and beyond schools. The term has rarely been taken up explicitly in educational scholarship (for a notable exception, see Blockett, 2017, on the worldmaking practices of Black queer men at a predominantly white university). However, clear connections exist between queer worldmaking and extant educational literature that focuses on queer agency (Blackburn, 2005; Fields et al., 2014; Gilbert et al., 2018, 2019; Rasmussen et al., 2016) and queer-of-color epistemologies (Boatwright, 2019; Brockenbrough, 2013, 2015; Cruz, 2008, 2011, 2013; Johnson, 2017; Love, 2017; McCready, 2010, 2013). This research refuses tropes of queer victimization (Blackburn, 2005; Gilbert et al., 2019; Rasmussen, et al., 2016), simplified "coming out" narratives

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(Brockenbrough, 2015), and the whitewashing of queer bodies (McCready, 2010). Instead, these researchers attend to the complex multiple identities and agentic practices of queer youth and educators. These identities and practices serve as performative departures from (predominantly white) cisheteronormativity; they are enactments of queer worlds.

Queer worldmaking, as a framework, encourages the scholarly conversation in critical educational research to move from narratives of *resistance* to narratives of *creation*. For instance, Cruz (2011) documents the social performances through which queer youth of Color create humanizing spaces for one another when they hang in the streets, as when one trans girl jokingly calls another a "diva" while paramedics treat her. Cruz notes that this joke shifts the focus from the work of "the cool and almost detached paramedics" back to the surrounding crowd of queer youth, whose gentle humor creates a "space of caring and solidarity" (p. 553). Researchers have also documented the power of queer friendships in educational settings (Fields et al., 2014; Gilbert et al., 2018, 2019), suggesting that, far from only experiencing social stigma, queer youth in schools create deep social networks and develop intimate bonds. Meanwhile, queer youth in schools produce queer cultures through a range of artistic media, including dance and fashion (Venzant Chambers & McCready (2011), video poems (Cruz, 2013), informal journaling, (Johnson, 2017), and multimedia publications that draw on activist legacies to create contemporary queer of color coalitions (Boatwright, 2019). These practices—creating historical archives, performing nondominant identities, and cultivating solidarity—assert the existence of pasts, and the possibilities for futures, beyond the constraints of cisheteronormativity and its narrow definition of what is possible in the world.

Emphasizing the agency, creativity, and epistemological sophistication of queer youth and queer youth of Color, researchers suggest an approach to educational practice that respects young people and attends carefully to the worlds they are already building. Again, while not explicitly drawing on queer worldmaking as a framework, these scholars support pedagogical moves that implicitly presume the existence of, and are predicated on respect for, queer worlds. For instance, Cruz (2008), writing about queer immigrant students, suggests that teachers make *listening* a priority, so that they can create spaces where students "feel comfortable to reveal identities without fear of reprisal" (p. 67). Similarly, Airton (2013) suggests that a recognition of queer youth agency demands that educators focus less on "helping" particular students—an affective and institutional stance that reinforces tropes of victimization and difference—and instead focus on listening to students and decreasing institutional coercion toward cisheternormativity, such that queer youth can build their worlds without interference.

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Queer worldmaking is also a lens through which educational researchers can frame their work. While most researchers have not explicitly taken up a "queer worldmaking" stance, many queer-of-color scholars approach research in such a manner that the worldbuilding efforts of queer youth are legible and supported. For example, Brockenbrough (2013, 2015) employs queer-of-Color agency as a framework, calling for ongoing scholarly attention to the "individual and collective strategies of resistance that enable queer of color survival in the midst of multiple systems of domination" in schools (Brockenbrough, 2013, p. 429). Love (2017) employs what she calls a "ratchet lens," that is, a methodological approach that honors "the fluidity, imagination, precarity, agency, and knowledge production" of queer youth of Color (pp. 539–540). Queer worldmaking, as a research approach, might rely on similar theoretical and methodological commitments to recognizing, documenting, and supporting queer youth and their worlds.

Queer worldmaking invites ongoing attention to the quotidian realities of queer youth and educators—the relationships, affects, performances, creations, and gestures that construct queer culture, and, in turn, make queer worlds.

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CHAPTER 115

Queer Young Adult Literature

Caroline T. Clark and Josh D. Williams

1 Introduction

Establishing what Queer Young Adult Literature (QYAL) means in the context of Queer Studies in Education requires an understanding of *young adult literature, queer,* and the relationship between these. Young adult literature (YAL) is broadly understood as literature both published for and written about readers between the ages of 12–24, which features the issues, interests, or concerns of this same group, and whose lead protagonist or narrator is "coming-of-age." While limiting, since people beyond this age bracket read YAL, the focus on age is important, particularly when coupled with *queer*, which serves as both a way of defining people and their identities and as a way to destabilize categories and disrupt binaries. Reading YAL can be formative for teen readers, shaping their sense of possibility and providing what Rudine Sims Bishop (1990) calls windows, mirrors, and sliding glass doors. These reading experiences are vital for queer youth, who may never see themselves positively reflected in official school curricula. Coupling YAL and queer as a publishing category both normalizes and amplifies queerness. QYAL makes clear that queer youth face many of the same issues and concerns as non-queer youth. No longer strictly focused on coming out, bullying, or religious intolerance, QYAL has evolved, with newer works focused on racial justice, mental health, and even joy as the foregrounded issues. Queering as a process makes QYAL a place from which to question understandings of YAL itself, pushing back against and destabilizing monolithic understandings of YA readers, YA "issues," and what YAL is and can be in education.

2 History of the Genre

Following Bishop's (1982) methodology in *Shadow and Substance: Afro-American Experience in Contemporary Children's Fiction,* Michael Cart and Christine A. Jenkins (2006) authored their critical history, *The Heart Has Its Reasons*, examining YAL with gay and lesbian content, among the first analysis of its kind in the field. Using the 1969 Stonewall Riots and the onset of the modern

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gay rights movement as a departure point, Cart and Jenkins (1969) established John Donovan's *I'll Get There, It Better Be Worth the Trip* as the first gay-themed YA novel, along with a three-part model for categorizing the evolution of the genre: homosexual visibility, gay assimilation, and queer consciousness/community. Although their language is dated and problematic now, their analysis brought attention to how sexual and gender identity are portrayed in YA books, including how the language for naming these identities has changed over time.

Homosexual visibility (HV) captures much of gay and lesbian YAL content in the 1970s and persists into today. These books chronicled the dramatic tensions of coming out, frequently by a non-central character like a neighbor or distant relative of the protagonist. In HV books, the mere naming of a character as 'homosexual' may constitute visibility, but that character is generally seen as outside the broad heteronormative culture and often comes to a tragic end.

The 1980s marked a shift in gay and lesbian YAL content toward Gay Assimilation (GA), with books populated by many different characters, including some who "just happen to be gay" (Cart & Jenkins, 2006). As with HV, GA representations persist today, resulting in YAL where gay people are simply folded into the world of the story, demonstrating that they are just like everyone else apart from their sexual identity.

Finally, in the 1990s and forward into the 21st century, gay and lesbian YAL shifted again, evoking a final category, Queer Consciousness/ Community (QC/C). The QC/C category does some important things relative to QYAL. First, it explicitly uses the term "queer" to describe YAL content; second, it points to the fact that there is diversity within the queer community through the inclusion of multiple gay characters; and finally, it portrays a possible future to YA readers, showing them that being gay does not mean being alone (Clark & Blackburn, 2009).

3 Evolution of the Genre

Cart and Jenkins' taxonomy is significant. Their careful attention to content within each category established the bedrock for QYAL as a genre while simultaneously lauding the merits of books that represent gay people in a positive light. Their focus on queerness, however, is strictly limited to identity with no attention to queering as a process that challenges or disrupts hetero- or homonormativity. Queer for Cart and Jenkins is a collective term representing anyone who identifies as gay or lesbian, but this usage overlooks the long history of the term in queer theory, which seeks to interrogate the normative assumptions within society in regard to gender and sexuality. This oversight

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also neglects the strides in QYAL to not only represent queer people but to resist both heteronormative and homonormative mandates on sexuality and gender. To address this, scholars have asserted the importance of distinguishing between LGBT-inclusive and queer discourses in literature in order to surface key, ideological distinctions between the two, with QYAL understanding sexual and gender identities as complex, multiple, varied, and, at times, conflicting, while also valuing and representing the disruption of norms (Blackburn et al., 2015). As such, QYAL has evolved, not merely offering diverse representations of sexualities but resisting normative structures that seek to foreclose queerness. One such QYAL book, David Levithan's *Boy Meets Boy* (2003), imagines a world where sexuality does not constrain any possibilities, there is virtually no discrimination based on sexuality, and the protagonist recognizes and lives completely in his gay identity. The utopian world within the text conceives what life would be without normative assumptions or prescribed roles based on gender and sexuality, thereby freeing the teens to love who they want and pursue relationships without hatred.

An important instigator in the evolution of QYAL has been its specific recognition as an award-worthy category by the American Library Association and other organizations. Since 1989, the Lambda Literary Awards have recognized a category specifically for children's and young adult literature, with the first YA book being awarded in 1993, *The Cat Came Back* by Hilary Mullins. Likewise, the Stonewall Book Awards established a category for the best children's and young adult books in 2010, with *The Vast Fields of Ordinary* by Nick Burd as the first recipient. Both awards list literary merit as their top criteria for consideration along with the need to include LGBTQ+ content, though they do not specify the extent of representation needed within the text, and each conveys a high level of prestige, marking QYAL as both worthy of being read and even studied in classrooms.

4 Queer YA Literature in School

Given the persistent stability of the traditional English canon in U.S. schools (Applebee, 1993), it is unsurprising that very little YA literature, let alone QYAL, shows up in the official school curriculum. When QYAL does get into classrooms, it is most often through supportive, inclusive educators introducing it generally in three ways with differing consequences: stand-alone texts, books on the shelf, and curriculum integration (Blackburn et al., 2018). When QYAL is used, it is most often through a single text, within a single unit, or on a single day, sometimes with the intention of correcting homophobic views or

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exposing students to the fact that gay people exist in the world. This "standalone" approach, while better than nothing, runs the risk of addressing students as if they are not queer and probably homophobic and perpetuates the idea that being gay is a "problem" to be tackled through education. Another common approach to bringing QYAL into classrooms is to make these texts available as "books on the shelf" that any student can pick up and read. Doing this allows teachers to steer LGBTQ+ youth towards books where they can see themselves reflected, an important part of queer identity work; however, it does little to destabilize the pervasive heteronormativity of schools. Finally, the least common but most comprehensive approach to bringing QYAL into schools is through curricular integration. Though rare, this approach aims to make QYAL an everyday occurrence, positioning these texts alongside canonical and other literary works, not as a way to address problems, combat hatred, or speak to specific queer students, but as literary works worthy of study and important to the ongoing curricular conversation (e.g., Greathouse et al., 2018).

5 What's Missing? What's Next?

The current state of QYAL is one of perpetual growth and change. Many books have been written by queer authors, using their own experiences and lives as key insights into telling stories for current queer teens. QYAL by Adam Silvera (*More Happy Than Not*, 2015), Shaun David Hutchinson (*We Are the Ants*, 2016), and Tanya Boteju (*Kings, Queens, and In-Betweens*, 2019) offer representation for queer teens while also critically engaging with sexuality and gender to ask larger questions that resist normative ideologies. In this way, QYAL provides meaningful ways for readers to engage society, ones that do not subscribe to preconceived answers about sexuality and gender. Recently, QYAL had engaged queer identities beyond gay and lesbian, with Zoraida Córdova (*Labryinth Lost*, 2017), Becky Albertalli (*Leah on the Off Beat*, 2018), and Brandy Colbert (*Little and Lion*, 2017) writing about bisexual teens navigating the world and relationships, and Kacen Callendar (*Felix Ever After*, 2020), Akwaeke Emezi (*Pet*, 2019), and Anna-Marie McLemore (*When the Moon Was Ours*, 2018) writing about the lives and experiences of transgender teens. Importantly, these books not only reflect queer identities but also queering as a process, with each one critically examining sexuality and gender and refusing to constrain teen sexuality, gender identity, and gender expression within normative boxes. Moreover, these authors use their own authentic voices and experiences as insight into writing QYAL, layering identities and experiences to more deeply probe social and political issues.

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As queer authors who know the struggles of adolescence, their stories serve as resonant, emotional touchstones for teens, showing that sexuality and gender do not encompass the whole of a person or situation; everyone and everything has multiple layers that affect how teens learn to perceive the world and how the world perceives them. Through these layered understandings of the world, these authors offer QYAL that directly addresses societal issues, such as Mark Oshiro's condemnation of systemic racism and police brutality in *Anger is a Gift* (2018) or Akwaeke Emezi's articulations of the need to remember the dangers of the past to protect a community in *Pet* (2019). By intentionally layering identities and issues to create a more meaningful story, these QYAL authors offer readers a means for critically interacting with the world.

While these texts exemplify QYAL, they offer just a snapshot of contemporary novels within this category; QYAL continually evolves with new books featuring more nuanced approaches to queer representation and queering normative ideologies. For instance, asexual, pansexual, and genderqueer characters have only appeared as extremely minor characters, with scant attention to how these identities overlap with race, national identity, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, and so on. However, queer youth themselves are writing fanfiction that reflects who they are, which often means writing queer characters into stories. When this happens, youth take ownership of these texts, participating in what Thomas and Stornaiuolo (2016) call restorying. By writing fanfiction that adds queerness to YAL, queer youth add to the evolution of QYAL, and in doing so, they reinforce queering as a process. This always-evolving nature of QYAL reveals a continual challenge in terms of who counts as YA readers, what constitutes YAL, what the central "issues" are within YAL, and how education uses YAL, thereby putting the queer in Queer Young Adult Literature.

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CHAPTER 116

Queering Mixed Methods Research

Peggy Shannon-Baker

1 Introduction

To queer or a queering refers to the process of unsettling hetero- and cisnormative notions of gender, sexuality, identities, and practices (de Lauretis, 1991; Lorde, 1984; Pinar, 1998; Russell, 2016; Sedgwick, 1990; Spargo, 1999). This entails both a deconstruction of the policies and practices used to discriminate and uphold normativity as well as a (re)construction of queer-centered stories of agency, love, triumph, "worldmaking and livability" (Ghaziani & Brim, 2019, p. 5). Queer methods are the tools and practices used to explore queer experiences in a way that embraces messiness and rejects of binaries (Ghaziani & Brim, 2019). Queering methods refers to the process of asking how research methods impact one's inquiry and insights whereas queering methodology refers to asking how queering methods has implications for the epistemologies, ontologies, and axiologies that impact research (Ghaziani & Brim, 2019).

Although educational researchers have been queering qualitative research (e.g., Squire et al., 2019; Tanaka & Cruz, 1998), arts-based research (e.g., Zepeda, 2014), and quantitative research (e.g., Garvey, 2019), others have also identified the benefits of using mixed methods approaches in queer research (Fish & Russell, 2018; Rivera & Nadal, 2019; Wimberly, 2015) though not necessarily a queering of mixed methods research. The purpose of this entry is to introduce queering mixed methods research by defining mixed methods research in education, its core features, why educational researchers use this approach, and some epistemological and axiological synergies and tensions between mixed methods research and queer(ing) methods.

2 Mixed Methods Research in Education

Mixed methods research is a research methodology that intentionally integrates two or more research methodologies (e.g., arts-based research, quantitative research) in a single study (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017; Morse & Niehaus, 2009). Research methodology refers to an overarching framework of values and practices that influence research processes and methods (Plano

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Clark & Ivankova, 2016). Integration refers to the interface between research methodologies such as recruiting participants to explore surprising findings, using findings from one data set to guide follow-up activities, encouraging dialogic analyses of multiple data sets, and/or transforming data into another form for further analysis (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017; Greene, 2007). This mixing during integration is what differentiates mixed methods research from multimethod research (Anguera et al., 2018).

Beyond integration, there are other key features of mixed methods research. The process that mixed methods researchers engage in, including how they define mixed methods, their reason for using this methodology, how they implement it, and evaluate it, is situated in their personal, interpersonal, and social contexts (Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016; Shannon-Baker, 2016). Additionally, mixed methods researchers seek to identify meta-inferences, or findings derived from the integration of multiple methods (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006).

Educational researchers are increasingly using mixed methods research (e.g., Corr et al., 2019; Garnett et al., 2019; Usher et al., 2019; White et al., 2019). For example, Lee (2013) used mixed methods to evaluate teachers' racial consciousness development using arts-based pedagogy. DeCuir-Gunby (2020) detailed how using a critical race mixed methodology allowed her to connect her own racialized positionality to her use of mixed methods in the study of African Americans' educational experiences.

3 Queering Mixed Methods Research

Queering mixed methods indicates both a queering of the methods used in mixed methods research and a queering of the methodology itself. For example, queering the methods in mixed methods research entails interrogating how tools used to integrate data promote binary thinking and categorizations of people, experiences, identities, data, and findings. Queering the methodology of mixed methods research questions, for example, how conceptualizations of this methodology often rely on a qualitative-quantitative binary when other methodologies exist outside this dichotomy.

There are many examples where education researchers used multimethod or mixed methods approaches with queer people or about queer topics or experiences (e.g., Beemyn, 2019; Bracken et al., 2018). For example, Goldberg et al. (2020) used mixed methods research to explore trans students' decisions to engage in activism on campus. Other researchers have analyzed quantitative and qualitative data separately about LGBTQ+ college students' experiences and well-being (Woodford et al., 2017) and the impact of LGBTQ+ **ally** training on students' supportive dispositions toward LGBTQ+ people (Worthen, 2011).

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Further discussion is needed in future research on the processes for queering mixed methods research and how queering impacts the unique features of mixed methods research, such as integration and identifying meta-inferences.

4 Synergies and Tensions between Queering Method(ologies) and Mixed Methods Research

There are epistemological and axiological synergies and tensions between queer methodologies and mixed methods research. Using multiple methods in a single study is not new to queer research (e.g., Halberstam, 1998). Both queer methodologies and mixed methods research are interdisciplinary, piecing together multiple research approaches, ways of thinking, and forms of communication (Greene, 2007; Murphy, 2016). Emphasis on queer people and their complexity can be embraced in many methodological forms (e.g., Grzanka, 2016). Additionally, mixed methods researchers face criticism that some methods are incommensurable and thus cannot be combined (Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016); this sense of incommensurability also exists between queerness and "methods" which connotes a positivist view of research practices (Ghaziani & Brim, 2019). This incommensurability is not something one can resolve; instead, researchers have to be comfortable with the uncomfortability of this incommensurability.

One major tension between queerness and mixed methods research is the focus in the latter on typologizing what is and is not mixed methods research (e.g., Anguera et al., 2018; Johnson et al., 2007). For example, much of the foundational mixed methods literature establishes typologies of mixed methods designs (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Tashakkori et al., 2021). This typologization is in part due to how positivist Western scientific knowledge relies heavily on strict categories and procedures (Russell, 2016; Smith, 2012; Wynter, 2003). It has also been used as an attempt to legitimate mixed methods research, much like postpositivist approaches to qualitative research use methods that appeal more to the positivists (Johnson et al., 2007; Shannon-Baker, 2016). Yet queerness resists this systematizing (Britzman, 1995; Pinar, 1998; Sedgwick, 1990).

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CHAPTER 117

Religion

Heidi Lyn Hadley

It would be difficult to overstate the entanglement of the U.S. public education system with religion (primarily but not exclusively Christianity) and religiousness. The role of religion, religious expression, and democratic principles in the public school classroom has been, and continues to be, a highly contested topic in the courts (e.g., *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 1971; *Mozert v. Hawkins*, 1987; *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 1972) and in academic and public discussion (Nord & Haynes, 1998; Rasmussen, 2017; Slater, 2008; Stempel, 2017; Waggoner, 2016; Weaver, 2017). The entanglement between religion and education is perhaps most plainly evident (and hotly contested) in recent years around issues of gender and **sexuality**. Religiousness and queerness, particularly in public education spaces, are often positioned as antagonistically in opposition to each other. It's not hard to see why: religiously motivated homophobia and transphobia regularly serve as the impetus and justification for battles over the establishment of **gay-straight alliances** in schools (Callaghan, 2018) or legislation that precludes transgender students from participating in school sports (Wilson, 2021). As Justice and MacLeod (2016) point out, "when, as is often the case, a particular religious viewpoint is dominant within a school, allowing students wide latitude to express their religious convictions can threaten the inclusiveness of schools" (p. 49). This is especially true for LGBTQ+ youth who often navigate schools where religiously informed (and often transphobic and homophobic) beliefs about gender and sexuality work to exclude them from the fabric of the school community.

There are two strands of research that might be helpful to those interested in more fully understanding possible responses to these tensions in educational spaces. First, theory and research that works to *queer religion* offer possible entry points to these tensions by subverting and reconfiguring religious discourses around queerness itself. Second, research about and by *religious queer individuals* seeks to make sense of the queer and religious experiences of those who, by their very identities as both religious and queer people, experience and embody the ways in which these identities are not mutually exclusive.

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1 Queering Religion

Researchers who embrace queer theology as a theoretical framework approach religious studies with the assumption that queer identities have always existed throughout history, and these identities and their experiences can and should be accounted for within readings and analyses of religious texts, traditions, and scholarship (Althaus-Reid, 2003; Lightsey, 2015; Tonstad, 2018). Further, queer theologists assert that religious texts have queer themes and stories, but these stories have been suppressed or interpreted through a **cis-hetero-normative** framework. In short, queer theologists center queerness in their readings of religious texts and religious spaces. For example, Althaus-Reid (2003) uses a queer theological framework when she reads the story of Adam and Eve as potentially having an original queer intent: "Is Genesis a scene of homosexuality lost in the paradise scenes between Adam and his He-God, and Eve and her She-Serpent?" (p. 27). Althaus-Reid reframes the cis-hetero account of the Garden of Eden in a way that frames queerness as an attribute of both God and the serpent, as an attribute of both Adam and Eve. As in this example, religious scholars like Althaus-Reid use queer theology to produce transgressive readings of religious texts, centering concepts like consensus, pleasure, and desire. These readings are purposefully transgressive in order to create a theology that is more inclusive and more attenuated to the reality and variety of human experiences.

Queer theology has also made possible readings of queer spaces as religious and sacred spaces, such as numerous readings of drag shows and **drag** performance as religious and holy (Gorrell, 2005; Gray & Thumma, 2005). Certainly, in more progressive religious circles, queering religion has invited a reconfiguration of religiously informed conceptions about sex, sexuality, and gender to account for and celebrate queerness.

2 Religious Queers

Too often, religiousness and queerness have been set up as oppositional identities that are mutually exclusive. While there are strong discursive movements in most major religious communities in the United States that work to alienate LGBTQ+ identities, many LGBTQ+ religious people and religious communities assert the possibility of positionalities that are both religious and queer (Hopkins, 2014; Macke, 2014; Siraj, 2014; Wetzel, 2014).

Researchers who examine the positionalities of religious queer individuals often focus on the tension that many religious queer individuals experience

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between their religious beliefs and their performance of gender, intimacy, affection, and sexuality. This is particularly true for queer adherents who are part of conservative or more traditional sects. For example, Dahl & Galihee (2012) report that the majority of their study's LGBTQ+ youth who were raised within religiously Christian-identifying homes experienced depressive symptoms, religious guilt, and feelings of inadequacy. LGBTQ+-people report leaving the denomination of their childhood over feelings of alienation and exclusion by their religious community (Schuck & Liddle, 2001). However, there are religious communities that are primarily comprised of queer adherents (for example, see Primiano, 2005 for an examination of urban gay and lesbian religious churches; or Shokeid, 2005 for a description of a gay synagogue), denominations that work to fully integrate religious queers within the larger religious community (Cadge, 2005), and religious denominations (such as Santería, Buddhist traditions, and Reformed Judaism) that are already—doctrinally at least—welcoming of queer identities and positionalities (Thumma & Gray, 2005).

Finally, to return to public education spaces: **queer theory** and queer theology are particularly helpful in educational spaces, particularly because public education is imbricated with religious beliefs and religious ways of being. Queer theorists and theologists open up alternative ways of navigating the tensions between religion and public education by offering transgressive readings of religious practices, beliefs, texts, and spaces. Of course, transgressive ways of thinking and being can be viewed with apprehension, fear, or distrust (Allen et al., 2014; Althaus-Reid, 2003). However, transgressive epistemologies like those found in queer theology and queer theory offer what Althaus-Reid (2003) calls "alternative reflections and actions" (p. 24)—reflections and actions that purposefully transgress traditional exclusionary pedagogical practices that do not account for students' lived and embodied gender and sexual diversity. Purposefully transgressing traditional exclusionary pedagogical practices would mean an overhaul of current curricular understandings of subjects such as biology, history, and literature in order to build curricula that center and account for a wide range of gender performances and sexual diversity. Just as importantly, educators must also overhaul the systems and practices that uphold **cisheteronormativity** in their very design. These discriminatory and exclusionary practices might be state-sponsored, like the ban on transgender athletes competing in girls' sports, but they can also be at the interpersonal level: teachers and administrators who refuse to use a student's chosen pronouns or who regulate the gender performances of their students. Creating inclusive educational environments requires educators to consistently and purposefully engage in alternative reflections and actions—both in religious and educational spaces.

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CHAPTER 118

Resilience and Queer People

Aldo M. Barrita and Gloria Wong-Padoongpatt

1 Defining Resilience for Queer People

In the early 1970's, Emmy Werner, an American psychologist, first used the term resilience to define the positive adaptation in adverse conditions (Werner et al, 1971). Since then, different fields have used theoretical frameworks (Luthar et al., 2000; Wilson et al., 2016) to explore resilience that, which at times, may not capture the nuanced lived experiences of each individual, particularly marginalized people. For this entry we will primarily focus on psychological resilience, the process in which individuals overcome significant adversity and adapt to challenging environments and situations (Harper et al., 2014). We aim to describe resilience and its connection with individuals who are not heterosexual or are not cisgender—**queer** people.

For queer people, resilience has often been conceptualized as a buffer or protection against hardships when navigating oppressive social systems, such as **heterosexism**, homophobia, and transphobia (McConnell et al., 2018). Resilience can decrease the stressful impact of interpersonal and structural oppression and at the same time, increase the adaptability to these difficult environments (De Lira & Morais, 2017). First, we present the different scholarly definitions and theoretical frameworks for resilience as a concept for queer people. Next, we highlight recent arguments around the operationalization of resilience for queer people as an action and form of resistance. Additionally, we critique the way research has often described resilience as a positive and necessary trait to have and why these definitions are harmful towards marginalized individuals, such as queer people. This entry concludes with a proposed change to the, at times narrow, discussions around resilience among queer people.

2 Resilience as a Concept

Resilience, as a concept, is described as the ability to recover from challenging circumstances (Harper et al., 2014) and is often simplistically highlighted as a "fundamental" characteristic for queer people to survive systemic oppression

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(Handlovsky et al., 2018). Resilience can involve both adaptation during hardships and protection from negative outcomes (Luthar et al., 2000). Similarly, resilience for queer people can be reflected at both individual and community levels (Shilo et al., 2015).

At the individual level, resilience for queer people is using proximal factors, such as support systems, affirming self-evaluations and financial resources, to protect against systemic oppression (e.g., homophobia, transphobia) and interpersonal rejection from close social networks (De Lira & Morais, 2017). Queer people often encounter social isolation and rejection due to **heteronormative** values (Nadal, 2019). Findings have suggested that queer people that endorse more forms of individual resilience are more likely to access internal coping strategies when experiencing stressful situations (Shilo et al., 2015). Testa et al. (2015) found that queer people who sense higher pride in their queerness, compared to lower pride, also reported to be less impacted by oppressive circumstances. According to minority stress theory (Meyer, 2015), discrimination and social rejection can trigger queer people to use positive self-evaluations to protect against proximal stressors (e.g., internalized homo/trans-negativity) and distal stressors (e.g., invalidation of **sexual/gender identity**, violence, oppression), by using adapting strategies—resilience for systemic and interpersonal threats (Nadal, 2019). While these mechanisms are true for some, they also may inadvertently present resilience as positive and necessary trait for queer people.

Community resilience for queer people is the ability to effectively and consistently assess external resources that can shield them from everyday adversities (Shilo et al., 2015). For example, queer people who have strong connections with social support systems, such as family and friends, are perceived as more resilient at the community level (Bowling et al., 2020). When given the opportunities, queer people can intentionally build communities within the LGBTQ+ collectives. Queer people often value these communities as familial collectives as reflected in terms such as "chosen family" or "family of choice" (De Lira & Morais, 2017). Furthermore, queer people report higher connectedness to queer communities, compared to non-queer ones, and this connection is discussed as important to building community resilience (Shilo et al., 2015). Findings on community resilience (Bowling et al., 2020) also suggest that queer people are psychologically and physically more impacted by oppression because they have less access to community resources. Systemic factors, such as healthcare access, governance and leadership climate often exclude queer people (De Lira & Morais, 2017), which can be detrimental to their wellbeing.

Resilience for queer people has been operationalized in psychology using primarily three theoretical frameworks: (1) protective, (2) compensatory, and (3) challenge (Wilson et al., 2016). The limitations of these resilience

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approaches should be noted given these are often associated to well-being for queer people. The *protective* framework of resilience suggests that an individual uses internal coping mechanisms and resources to reduce or avoid negative effects. Queer people that externalize heterosexism and homo/transphobic attacks are enacting this model of protective resilience. The *compensatory* framework of resilience suggests that an individual will engage in physical, emotional, and psychological actions when facing adversity that can recoup and retain costs of oppressive systems. For instance, the attendance at pride events and engagement in social activism are popular and consistent behaviors that aim to neutralize the negative impact from threats, such as discrimination and rejection. Lastly, the *challenge* framework of resilience suggests that queer people can learn from previous experiences with adversity and perceive these events as challenges to overcome. A major limitation to these approaches involves pathologizing resilience at the individual level and not considering structural oppression and barriers. Consequently, these frameworks may inadvertently suggest that queer people have full agency over resilience, when resilience could actually be a byproduct from their everyday experiences of systemic oppression.

3 Resilience as a Verb

Scholars have also described resilience as action-oriented, with oppressed people intentionally resisting and challenging discriminatory systems (Nicolazzo, 2016). Andrew Zolli, an American writer and humanitarian, proposed on *doing* resilience through four different behaviors: (1) building, (2) sensing, (3) responding, and (4) learning (Zolli & Healy, 2012). *Building* cluster includes behaviors such as fostering or nurturing resources that increase and preserve one's resilience. Queer people can intentionally engage in building community for their own personal support. *Sensing* cluster suggests that before resilience is even triggered, risk must be sensed. Queer people constantly experience oppressive environments and may need to be more vigilant in sensing and assessing immediate threats. *Responding* cluster involves deliberately creating protective barriers when hardships arise. Finally, the *learning* cluster includes acquiring knowledge from earlier discriminatory experiences and continually adjusting their resilience throughout their lifetime of navigating oppressive systems. Zolli's model, however, does not explain *why* queer people initially engage in resilience.

More recently, queer scholars have provided a more nuanced understanding of resilience among queer people which involve the decision to act and

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resist systemic oppression (Nicolazzo, 2016). Perhaps, trans and gender expansive individuals best demonstrate resilience as a verb among queer people. Compared to cis-LGB folks, trans people experience less social acceptance (Pew Research Center, 2013), higher systemic discrimination and deprivation of resources (Grant et al., 2011) and more physical and sexual violence (Lombardi et al., 2002). As such, trans people have no choice but to intentionally and deliberately *create* their own protective spaces (Nicolazzo, 2016). Trans and gender expansive individuals report needing to actively build their own kinship as they are systemically excluded from resources available to other groups (Nicolazzo, 2016). Additionally, trans and gender expansive individuals experience rejection and transphobia not only from hetero people, but also LGB communities, thus further limiting their access to support systems (Nadal, 2019). Trans and gender expansive behaviors to confront hostile environments are an example of how these systems can drive a queer person to enact resilience by purposely challenging and resisting oppression. Thus, *doing* resilience is more of a statement to intentionally resist systems of oppression instead of a simple automatic ability necessary for survival.

4 The Burden of Being Resilient

Queer people are often tasked with *being resilient*, which consequently, normalizes their conflict with and resistance to systems of unchallenged heterosexism, homophobia and transphobia. The continuous need in literature to romanticize resilience as a positive and "desired" goal, sets the burden and responsibility to neutralize oppressive systems ultimately on queer people. While the assessment and recognition of surviving harmful systems are important, idolizing this *survival* aspect is harmful for queer people. These individualistic approaches often hide the gravity of oppressive systems on queer people, and in doing so, further invalidating their lived experiences. Instead, queer people's acts of resistance must be amplified to challenge the systems that marginalized them.

As discussed, the literature has contradictory and, at times, problematic definitions for resilience among marginalized people (De Lira & Morais, 2017), often due to the limitations of measurements and operationalizations, instead of exploring the root causes for resilience among queer people. Intersectional theory (Crenshaw, 1989) explores how oppressive systems impact those who hold membership in multiple marginalized groups. Thus, queer people of Color facing intersectional oppression (e.g., systemic racism, heterosexism, **cis heteronormativity**), and their resilience should be conceptualized as more

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nuanced. The resilience for those at the margins within queer groups (e.g., transgender and nonbinary people of Color) must be recognized as unique and should involve additional resources when challenging and resisting multiple oppressive systems.

5 Future Studies and Conclusion

Queer people have survived centuries of systemic oppression, and their ability to overcome hardships should continue to be explored as long as these approaches recognize and challenge such oppressive systems. More specifically, researchers and scholars should highlight how social factors contribute to the resilience of a queer person especially when having multiple marginalized identities However, it is also imperative that work on resilience stops romanticizing this "ability" in queer people, and instead further explores how one can resist, challenge and dismantle the different oppressive systems that target them. The ultimate hope is that one day, queer people no longer need to depend on their resilience to survive and they can simply exist. So that they, like all other groups, can be finally free.

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CHAPTER 119

Restorying

James Joshua Coleman

1 An Introduction: Speculative Stories, Realist Futures

Restorying as a concept has deep roots in narrative scholarship (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002). Playing with narrative, restorying scholars have demonstrated story's fundamental malleability, how it might be broken apart and recomposed to invite new meanings. Reconsidering this process in light of today's digital age, Thomas and Stornaiuolo (2016) reconfigured restorying. Using Critical Race Theory (CRT) and fan studies scholarship, they reframed what it means to restory by spotlighting the sophisticated ways in which individuals re-read and re-write the world.

As this entry details, restorying is a narrative process, practice, and orientation that draws upon present and past realities to reimagine queerphobic, transphobic, racist, and ableist trends in literary and media representation, and importantly, once these trends have been reimagined, restorying provides queer teachers and students the tools to speculatively read and write towards more just futures.

2 Restorying, a Process and a Practice

Rooted in activism, restorying refers primarily to a process and a practice of imagining stories otherwise. As a process, restorying has three primary steps that are available to both readers and writers—individuals I will hereafter refer to as restoryers (Stornaiuolo & Thomas, 2018). First, restoryers must represent the realities of their present world. That is to say, they must name their own experiences, both the oppressions and joys that touch their lives. By sharing their lived realities—their truths—restoryers invite their audiences into a relational form of consciousness raising. They share their lives and experiences of past and present through storytelling, and then re-write those stories to reveal a hoped-for future. Importantly, it is in these hopeful narratives—in the recrafting of carefully chosen story elements—that restoryers begin to share the intimate worlds they long to inhabit. Restorying is an act of sharing hope

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for a better future. For queer people, in particular, recounting personal experiences of queerphobia can provide anchor stories from which to restory or speculate towards new narratives of hope. Importantly, such anchor narratives often intersect with other forms of oppression and sharing them, whether individually or collectively, allows queer individuals to reimagine and restory those oppressions.

Following the naming of one's realities, restorying then requires the development of "historical rootedness" (Pritchard, 2017, p. 103). Restoryers must situate their lived realities within more expansive, intersectional community narratives or histories. For queer restoryers, such rootedness proves challenging in light of systematic erasure coupled with ephemeral and notably partial archives (Blount, 2005). Nonetheless, stories exist, and representations of queer histories are becoming increasingly accessible in classrooms, in popular media, and in society writ large. Queer stories, whether from young people, ancestors, or elders are at last finding intergenerational lineages through which they might travel and be sustained (Coleman, 2019; Jenkins & Cart, 2018; Leins, 2019; Mayo, 2017). For restoryers, such intergenerational pathways allow for the historical rooting of our own stories; we must contextualize our named realities, revealing them as facets of systems and lifeworlds that precede present day.

In restorying's final step, restoryers begin to re-read and re-write speculatively; they imagine and compose new stories that reconfigure those named historical oppressions towards justice an hope. An imaginative process, restorying invites readers and writers to break stories down into their constituent parts and then recompose them in light of present realities, past histories, and

FIGURE 119.1
Forms of restorying

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in pursuit of alternative, more just narratives for the future. Restorying is a process, and over time this process can transform into a literacy practice—a way of meaning making in the world that transforms storied experiences (e.g., narratives) for reparative purposes.

In *Restorying Painful Histories* (2020), I demonstrate the impact of such repair for queer adults living with painful histories or past experiences of queerphobia that haunt their present lives. Using the restorying process, these queer adults, all of whom were also educators, restoried aspects of their painful histories in line with Thomas and Stornaiuolo's (2016) restorying model. In this model, restorying can take place in six forms as individuals rewrite one or more narrative elements including, Identity, Place, Mode, Perspective, Metanarrative, and Time.

Restorying with one another in queer community, these educators reimagined and then recomposed six elements of their painful histories sequentially, and ultimately many cultivated restorying practices. As restoryers, they began to re-read and re-write aspects of their personal and professional lives speculatively, and though the pain of their histories did not subside, participants reported that restorying provided "control" over their stories and, by extension, their pain (Coleman, 2020, p. 198). Moving from process into practice, restorying provided these educators a narrative tool through which to honor their pasts, even as they speculatively composed those pasts otherwise in promise of a less painful future.

Restoryers, whether youth or adult, can harness the restorying process to cultivate speculative literacy practices, ones that are grounded in present realities, rooted in intersectional histories, and strive towards the creation of more just, hoped-for futures.

3 Implications for Education

For students, restorying provides a critical framework for enacting political activism. Focused on youth media, Stornaiuolo and Thomas (2018) in "Restorying as Political Action" detail how two students—Sara (she/her) and Gabriel (he/him)—draw upon their lived experiences of racial and religious oppression to restory dehumanizing political discourses in and beyond the walls of their high school. A form of restorying metanarrative, Sara and Gabriel's documentary wove together sound, image, and story to share Sara's conversion experience to Islam. Embedded in a humanities class, this project served as a multimodal form of assessment that resisted both personal and historical injustices of anti-Muslim discrimination in the US. For Sara and Gabriel, restorying arose in response to need—the need to change a deficitizing

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narrative—and these young people enacted restorying practices without prior teaching. Restorying can, however, be intentionally woven into curriculum across content areas. For example, each form of restorying detailed in Figure 119.1 provides a method of re-reading and re-writing that might be tailored to nearly any content.

Speaking to school contexts, Coleman with Hall (2019) recommend that teachers and students begin with *bending*—the restorying of identity. A ubiquitous practice in fan communities, bending refers to the process of rewriting the race, **sexuality**, gender, or other valences and intersections of a character's identity. For instance, students might rewrite a canonical story like *Romeo and Juliet* as if the characters were queer, trans, or of color. Moreover, queerbending, genderbending, or racebending might be combined to compose intersectional representations that mirror the complexity of life. For instance, restoried "Romeo and Julían" might detail the interracial, transnational narrative of a neuroatypical queer trans couple. Grand in scope, restorying is rife with pedagogical potential that invites speculation and political activism into even the most conservative of school curricula.

Moreover, moving restorying from online communities to classrooms contexts raises certain ethical considerations. Typically, historically marginalized communities have restoried themselves into narratives that have heretofore excluded them, and this restorying has taken place in out of school contexts. Importantly, when introduced into curriculum and instruction, educators of any level must consider the potential harm of representation across differential lines of power. For instance, straight students or white students erasing the experiences of queer people, BIPOCs, and queer BIPOC folk must be actively avoided, and so too must privileged students consider whose story they have the right to tell.[1] Restorying as a speculative literacy practice seeks to realize representational justice—to imagine and compose narratives anew—not to reinforce dominant narratives of exclusion.

As for educators, restorying provides a mechanism for addressing the affective realities of teaching. Engaging histories that hurt, educators can find through restorying-in-community a means to bear the weight of the past. Returning to the *Restorying Painful Histories* project (Coleman, 2020), these queer educators described the restorying process as having "borderline therapeutic" effect (p. 169) and providing "control" over their narratives (p. 198). While restorying itself is no panacea or substitute for mental health services, this process can transform into a speculative literacy practice that, when shared in community, offers a form of personal and communal repair. Accordingly, the creation of professional development (PD) and professional learning communities (PLCs) around the restorying process can promote teacher wellbeing and perhaps even teacher retention as it invites practices oriented towards hope.

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Educators, both queer and not, need space to process the painful histories we carry, and restorying provides one such framework for exploring the lived realities of queerphobia as they manifest in contexts of teaching and learning.

Finally, restorying in community can cultivate a third form of restorying: a restorying orientation. First a process and then a practice, restorying might also become a habitual teaching orientation. Akin to Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (2009) inquiry as stance, restorying orientations refer to a worldview that educators might adopt in relation to their pedagogy. As Carlos (he/him), a queer educator of color in the *Restorying Painful Histories* project demonstrated (2020), restorying provided a framework for reinterpreting his educational practices. It allowed him to critically evaluate the stories he was telling about his students as well as the stories being told about him. Recognizing stories' malleability, he took action to restory those narratives that did not align with his vision for teaching and learning: he imagined and then create new, hopeful stories through critical and intentional pedagogical action. As an orientation, restorying invites educators into a reflexive process of speculation—of asking, "what could be if"—and, ultimately, provides educators with the tools for making changes in their own classroom by recognizing, reimagining, and then recomposing pedagogical stories through critical action.

4 Conclusion

At its core, restorying is an invitation to speculate. It provides both students and educators, young people and adults, a means to reimagine and then re-read and re-write the world in pursuit of a more just future. Crucially, restorying as a process, practice, and even orientation holds great promise for queer studies in education as it demands we honor past, present, and future simultaneously. In a moment when queer history is moving out of the shadows of curriculum (Mayo, 2011), restorying demands we ground ourselves in community histories of both pain and promise; it spotlights queer histories and ancestral stories as building blocks for imagining multiplicitous futures for queer life that are defined by queer joy.

A critical facet of queer studies in education, restorying allows students, teachers, practitioners, and researchers alike to speculate and recompose past histories, present realities, and speculative futures so that queer life might thrive.

Note

1 For more on ethics in restorying see Coleman with Hall (2019).

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CHAPTER 120

Rurality and LGBTQ+ Youth

Meg Thomas

1 Introduction

Rural LGBTQ+ youth in the United States face unique challenges due to a number of complex and intersecting factors. Rural poverty, geographic isolation, relative demographic homogeneity, and deeply entrenched religious and conservative values can contribute to exclusion, harassment, **bullying**, and violence for rural LGBTQ+ youth (Blackburn & Thomas, 2019) in ways that their urban and suburban peers may not experience (Kosciw et al., 2012). On a local level, rural LGBTQ+ youth report higher levels of victimization and mental health issues than their urban and suburban peers (Palmer et al., 2012), while support and safety for rural LGBTQ+ youth can also be jeopardized at broader societal and institutional contexts, like national discourse and even state law (Blackburn & Thomas, 2019) that reinforces harmful stereotyping of LGBTQ+ communities and enacts dangerous and/or restricting rules and regulations regarding health, safety, and social-emotional well-being (i.e., laws forbidding LGBTQ+-inclusive sexual education, or laws regarding restroom use for transgender folx). Research and policy consistently overlook rural youth in general, and rural LGBTQ+ youth particularly, even as rural LGBTQ+ youth cite limited access to resources and support, lack of knowledgeable and affirming adults in school spaces, and continued school and community exclusion as central factors to their increased levels of victimization over urban and suburban students.

2 Rurality in Context

Rurality and rural identity are social and cultural constructs that constitute complex intersections and relationships between people, identities, culture, lived experience, place, and geography while also encompassing cultural practices, norms, and inherent meanings (Alexander, 1990; Budge, 2006). Rurality and rural identity are both mentioned here to highlight the ways in which rurality is not just a sense of place or tied to place, but also cultural and identity work that requires the process of *doing* (Bucholtz, 2011) rurality as it is constructed, navigated, negotiated, resisted, and disrupted through discourse,

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narrative, activities and interactions, artifacts, space and time, and embodied difference. When a person leaves a rural place, they can take their rurality, or rural identity, with them. Further, rurality is contextual and situated: the meanings and cultural and identity work attached to place, being, and knowledge vary widely among people, regions, states, counties, and communities in the U.S. However, there are a number of issues and strengths that typically apply to rural communities across U.S. contexts.

Poverty and geographic isolation affect rural communities in unique ways that have wide-ranging implications for the people and physical spaces that constitute rural places. These economic and geographic hardships contribute, for example, to disproportionate rates of child poverty, higher than that in urban or suburban areas (Lichter et al., 2012; Nichols et al., 2014). Geographic distances and topographical challenges, in conjunction with economic distress in rural communities, have resulted in fragile infrastructure, geographic isolation, low population density, and slow growth, dependence on narrow employment sectors and low-wage employment, an opioid addiction, and death crisis, and a lack of access to resources like healthcare, mental healthcare, and transportation (Gray, 2009).

In addition to these challenges, rural communities also hold a number of strengths and possibilities; in rural areas, people often report feeling a strong sense of community attachment and of belonging (Budge, 2006; Donovan, 2016; Wilcox et al., 2014); emphasis on tight-knit relationships (Hedlund, 1993; Nichols et al., 2017; Wilcox et al., 2014); "valuing people, places, and possibilities" (Wilcox et al., 2014); balancing change on larger ecological levels with sustaining the local context (Wilcox et al., 2014); an appreciation of the "smallness" and intimate nature of smaller communities (Budge, 2006; Nichols et al., 2017; Seaton, 2007); and pride in their community histories, traditions, and complex cultural practice (Budge, 2006; Nichols et al., 2017). Of course, rural people and communities are not monolithic and consist of a range of people and groups who may or may not identify with these oft-mentioned characteristics of rural life, but these are the strengths and possibilities the literature cites most often.

3 Rural Schools and Education

Schools often serve as central sites of community connection and activities, development, social supports, and well-being (Donovan, 2016; O'Connell et al., 2010) in rural and small-town communities. However, these schools often struggle due to issues stemming from geographic difficulties, high levels of poverty, and being left out of conversations about communities that center urban and suburban locales. Rural schools often experience a lack of funding

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and support from federal policies and initiatives (Arnold, 2005; Bouck, 2004), mandated standardized curriculum that does not fit the context of the community or needs of the students (Donovan, 2016), fewer curriculum options, lower teacher expectations, and a lack of educational technology (Bouck, 2004), the out-migration of a young workforce (Budge, 2006; Donovan, 2016), a lack of educational technology and resources (Azano, 2011), and insufficient content regarding rural schools and communities in teacher preparation programs (Moffa & McHenry-Sorber, 2018).

As a result, implementing and sustaining school improvement initiatives, including efforts to make schools more LGBTQ+ inclusive, is especially difficult. Researchers have pointed to reduced financial capacity, greater costs, fewer supportive services, less competitive salaries, and benefits for staff that leads to difficulty in attracting and retaining qualified staff, and less specialized space and equipment as primary factors that hobble improvement efforts (Harmon et al., 2007). Thus, rural schools may be left to navigate stagnant or declining economies to support students even as they struggle to remain operational.

4 Rural LGBTQ+ Youth

Fewer resources and lack of access to support present barriers to rural LGBTQ+ youths' well-being. Not only are health and mental health services difficult for LGBTQ+ youth to access (Gray, 2009), but services that aim to specifically support LGBTQ+ folx are few and far between, understaffed, and underfunded (Hulko & Hovanes, 2018). GSAs (sometimes called **Gay-Straight Alliances** or Gender and **Sexuality** Alliances) are often a haven for LGBTQ+ youth in schools, spaces where they can feel safe and connect with other youth, but rural schools are only half as likely to have GSAs as urban and suburban schools and districts (Kosciw et al., 2016). In one case, a rural district canceled all student organizations to defy a court order to allow a GSA in their high school (Gray, 2009). Ultimately, rural LGBTQ+ youth have few opportunities to find support and services that are tailored to their needs, to connect with other LGBTQ+ people, and to inhabit safe and inclusive spaces.

Though LGBTQ+ youth across the U.S. report distressing rates of victimization, mental health concerns, and risky behaviors like alcohol abuse, these trends are even more common in rural locales and communities (De Pedro et al., 2018; Kosciw et al., 2009; Schroth, 2018). Rates of substance abuse, depression, and suicide among LGBTQ+ youth are significantly higher than any other demographics of youth (Kosciw et al., 2009). Perhaps most distressing, however, is that these trends have scarcely improved over recent years. GLSEN's annual report on school climate for LGBTQ+ youth showed few gains from the

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2001 report to the 2015 annual report, though it's important to note that there was only one report (from 2012) that separated locale to provide targeted information about rural communities.

5 LGBTQ+ Youth and Rural Schools

Rural LGBTQ+ youth report higher rates of feeling unsafe at school (81%) than their urban or suburban peers (Kosciw et al., 2012). Harassment, **bullying**, homophobic language, and violence are staggeringly pervasive in rural schools, and LGBTQ+ youth describe very little intervention in instances of victimization from either their peers (6%) or from school staff (13%). As a result, the majority of rural LGBTQ+ youth do not report victimization to school staff, perhaps especially because 68% of rural LGBTQ+ students said that when these instances were reported, the responses were ineffective (Kosciw et al., 2012). Indeed, school staff in rural schools are less likely to intervene in instances of harassment of LGBTQ+ students than either urban or suburban districts. Thus, schools can be sites of distress and trauma for rural LGBTQ+ youth.

Rural schools and districts can contribute to the marginalization and victimization of LGBTQ+ youth explicitly and implicitly. Rural teachers and school staff report higher levels of inadequate preparation, awareness, and comfort in addressing LGBTQ+ issues and supporting LGBTQ+ **students** than urban and suburban areas (Page, 2017). Further, rural schools are less likely to have comprehensive anti-bullying and **discrimination policies** or even any anti-bullying policies that include protections for LGBTQ+ youth (Kosciw et al., 2016). Compounded by a lack of LGBTQ-**inclusive curriculum** and resources in rural schools, students consistently report feeling higher levels of isolation and lower levels of school connectedness and sense of belonging (Hulko & Hovanes, 2018). These resources may be difficult to obtain for many rural schools due to budgetary constraints as well as the lack of preparation and awareness on behalf of staff; it is possible that staff may not know where to find LBTQ+ inclusive and affirming resources. Ultimately, lower academic achievement, higher absenteeism and dropout rates, and lower attendance in post-secondary education (De Pedro et al., 2018) result from rural schools' and districts' failure to support LGBTQ+ youth and address their needs and concerns.

6 A New Direction for Rural Schools Serving LGBTQ+ Youth

Though the data shows inadequate support for LGBTQ+ youth in rural schools and communities, there are ways these schools and communities can, and

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even do, improve their climates and outcomes for rural LGBTQ+ students. Teachers and school staff could become familiar with LGBTQ+ resources and strive to become allies. Rural contexts add complexity to **allyship** that should be considered (Shelton, 2019), and thus allyship requires reflexivity, vulnerability, and a situated and evolving understanding of what it means to be an ally in a rural school and community. Teachers and school staff could call on local support networks as well, as rural communities are often close-knit and prefer local resources to larger networks that can be perceived as distant and not responsive to their rural contexts (Gray, 2009).

Rural school districts could also implement comprehensive anti-bullying policies that explicitly protect sexuality and gender identity, and guidance counseling should be adapted to include safe and support services for LGBTQ+ youth. Further, representation and inclusion of LGBTQ+ curriculum are essential to creating a sense of belonging for these students. Characters, topics, and storylines that represent LGBTQ+ communities allow rural students to feel safer, contribute to less absenteeism, and fosters more connectedness to school (De Pedro et al., 2018; Kosciw et al., 2016; Page, 2017). Finally, rural schools could encourage GSAs and **safe spaces** for LGBTQ+ students: rural students in schools with GSAs experienced less victimization, heard less homophobic speech, and felt more connected to their school and community (Page, 2017).

Rural schools can become safer for LGBTQ+ youth by implementing inclusive practices and policies, and thus also influence safer communities for LGBTQ+ people in general, though material and political realities may make these suggested efforts difficult. Challenges in access to resources, funding, adequate staffing, and more, combined with potential resistance to inclusive LGBTQ+ policies, protections, and curricula that can be deeply entrenched in rural communities (Blackburn & Thomas, 2019), necessitate understanding and reflexivity of rurality as well as complex and responsive allyship. Understanding rural contexts as complex and leveraging their strengths and possibilities will contribute to addressing the issues laid out here. Schools are the beating heart of rural communities, and safety and acceptance can grow from schools that support LGBTQ+ students and engage in practices that work toward equity for LGBTQ+ people and communities.

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CHAPTER 121

Safe Spaces and Safe Zone Trainings

Eli Kean and Patrick C. Skrivan

1 Overview of Safe Space Programs

Safe Space programs, also known as Safe Zone or LGBTQ+ Allyship programs, are school-based diversity training programs that are intended to improve K-12 and postsecondary **campus climate** for LGBTQ+ people and raise awareness about sexual and gender diversity. LGBTQ+ students, faculty, and staff often lack institutional protections and continue to face derision, hostility, discrimination, and violence in schooling environments, due to the embedded nature of genderism and **heterosexism** (Kosciw et al., 2020; Rankin et al., 2010). Safe Space programs are used as an intervention strategy to build a more affirming environment for LGBTQ+ individuals in schools and colleges.

The Gay Lesbian Straight Education Network, more commonly known as GLSEN, was among the first to establish Safe Space as a national strategy for LGBTQ+ safety and inclusion in K-12 schools in 2010 (Outsmart Magazine, 2010). Over the past decade, GLSEN has sent hundreds of thousands of Safe Space Kits containing stickers, posters, and tips for allyship to middle and high schools across the country (see GLSEN, 2019). However, despite these efforts, Safe Space programs are not currently implemented at the K-12 level to the same degree as the postsecondary level.

Many colleges and universities provide Safe Space training programs to a variety of classes, organizations, departments, and offices across the institution (Campus Pride Index, 2021). While most Safe Space trainings are conducted by request, some institutions require the training for certain groups, such as Residential Life staff (Woodford et al., 2014). The content of each Safe Space program varies, but the most common learning outcomes include understanding LGBTQ+ terminology and implicit biases related to gender and **sexuality** and recognizing the harmful effects of anti-LGBTQ+ bias and discrimination (Woodford et al., 2014). These trainings are typically a one-time event and last an average of 2 hours. They can provide opportunities for participants to learn about campus and community resources, clarify their understanding of terminology, and ask important questions about institutional policies and practices. After receiving the training, participants may be provided with a sticker, decal, or plaque to display in their classroom, office, or other physical location to

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symbolically identify the location as a "safe space" for LGBTQ+ individuals to **come out**, express themselves, or ask for support.

2 Benefits of Safe Space Programs

Research studies on the necessity and efficacy of Safe Space programs at both the K-12 and postsecondary level have enumerated several benefits of the training, including raising LGBTQ+ competency, encouraging more affirming school environments, and providing an opportunity to ask clarifying questions (GLSEN, 2019; Sadowski, 2016; Stargell et al., 2020). Safe Space trainings have been found to correlate with increased protective factors to mitigate the harmful effects of school **bullying**, such as suicidality, self-injury, and isolation among LGBTQ+ youth (Byrd & Hays, 2013). Byrd and Hays (2013) used a pre-test and post-test model to evaluate the impact of a Safe Space training on K-12 school counselors based on GLSEN's training model; they found a significant relationship between the Safe Space training and increases in the school counselors' levels of competency, awareness, and skills related to LGBTQ+ identities.

There is some evidence that Safe Space stickers alone have a positive affective impact on the person displaying them, allowing faculty and staff to non-verbally express their values and beliefs to their colleagues and students (Ballard et al., 2008). Research has shown that just one accepting adult can make a difference in the lives of LGBTQ+ students; a Safe Space sticker is a socially acceptable and relatively low risk means of conveying support for LGBTQ+ students. A safe space symbol's impact on perceptions of campus climate was studied by Katz et al. (2016), who found that undergraduates who were randomly assigned to view a fictitious course syllabus with a Safe Zone symbol reported more positive campus climate characteristics for LGBTQ+ students than those who viewed a syllabus without the symbol.

3 Critiques of Safe Space Programs

While Safe Space trainings have been found to produce positive effects, they are not without their limitations or critiques. One such critique is that Safe Space trainings—and particularly Safe Space stickers—tend to create a perception of safety and inclusion without substantially affecting campus climate in real terms (DeVita & Anders, 2018; Keith, 2021). For example, the same study which found that Safe Space stickers create positive emotions for the faculty and staff who display them also found that the stickers did not actually

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make LGBTQ+ students feel safer (Ballard et al., 2008). Other scholars have noted that the distribution of "ally stickers" tends to become a form of cultural capital, where "one gets to call oneself 'an **ally**'; the commitment to learning required of attendees is neither ongoing nor intersectional" (Spencer & Patterson, 2017). Similarly, individuals trained in Safe Space programs reported they are more likely to act as an ally but that the training does not adequately prepare them for *how* to act (Jones et al., 2021). These findings exemplify a broader criticism of scholar-activists and education practitioners who have found diversity training efforts in higher education to be largely performative, creating only a perception of diversity and inclusion and centering the needs of cisgender and heterosexual participants (Alvarez & Schneider, 2008; Evans, 2002; Spencer & Patterson, 2017).

Additionally, Safe Space programs have been critiqued for constructing "the gay experience" in ways that universalize "a white, masculinist, middle-class subject" (Fox & Ore, 2010, p. 631). In so doing, Safe Space trainings tend to construct sexual orientation or gender identity as the most important aspect of LGBTQ+ people's identity, where other aspects such as race, class, disability, or citizenship are either ignored or considered peripherally. Addressing sexuality and gender identity so narrowly can create an incomplete and whitewashed understanding of the ways in which **heterosexism** and **genderism** impact LGBTQ+ people, especially those who are also marginalized due to race, class, disability, or other aspects of identity (Fox & Ore, 2010). In turn, this may cause individuals with multiple marginalized identities to feel as though they must leave a part of their whole selves at the door in LGBTQ+ safe spaces.

4 Recommendations to Improve Safe Space Programs

While Safe Space training provides an important foundation for shifting one's language, attitudes, and behaviors, it should not be viewed as a panacea for solving issues of bias, ignorance, or oppression against LGBTQ+ people in schools. In the authors' own work facilitating Safe Space trainings, we have sometimes struggled with participants' frustrations when we decline to provide specific definitions for various terms and instead emphasize personal exploration, affirming language, and inclusive practices. Although it might be easier to read through a fixed glossary of terms, we believe Safe Space facilitators should be encouraged to embrace the complexity and fluidity of gender and sexuality instead of "flatten[ing] the rich diversity embodied in LGBTQ+ communities" (DeVita & Arnold, 2018, p. 76), whitewashing LGBTQ+ experiences, or providing confining definitions. Incorporating elements of queer theory (Mayo

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& Blackburn, 2019; Pinar, 2012; Regan & Meyer, 2021) as well as critical trans frameworks (Kean, 2021; Keenan, 2017; Spade, 2015) would benefit Safe Space programs through their emphasis on structural analysis, disrupting normalizing binaries, and centering the most vulnerable LGBTQ+ communities.

Other suggestions for improving Safe Space programs include integrating opportunities for participants to engage in personal reflection, ongoing dialogue, and critical thinking (Catalano, 2015; Fox & Ore, 2010). Going further, Catalano (2015) encourages Safe Space programs to be intentional about incorporating student voices but doing so in ways that are not tokenizing or exploitative. Continuous learning and additional skills-based training have also been recommended in order to encourage more permanent changes to educational practice and school climate (Gacita et al., 2017; Keith, 2021). Finally, engaging in intersectional analyses of heterosexism and genderism, as well as coalition building with other identity groups, is strongly recommended in order to ensure that its efforts are beneficial to all LGBTQ+ students, faculty, and staff.

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CHAPTER 122

School and Public Libraries

Jamie Campbell Naidoo and Kaitlyn Lynch

1 Overview

Both school and public libraries play an integral role in the lives of LGBTQ+ youth (children and teens). Through access to developmentally appropriate print and digital materials that represent LGBTQ+ topics, libraries validate the lives of these youth and provide opportunities for non-queer youth to better understand their peers. Libraries have the opportunity to offer safe, welcoming spaces and inclusive services and programs that acknowledge and celebrate the diverse experiences of LGBTQ+ youth. By upholding the American Library Association's (ALA) Library Bill of Rights and defending intellectual freedom, school librarians and public youth librarians actively defend the rights of youth to access LGBTQ+ materials to meet their educational, recreational, and life-long learning needs.

2 Intellectual Freedom and Privacy

According to ALA's (2020) Office of Intellectual Freedom, children's and young adult books featuring LGBTQ+ topics are frequently the targets of censorship. Each year, parents, teachers, administrators, and other concerned adults attempt to limit access to these materials in a purported effort to protect the social and emotional well-being of youth (National Coalition Against Censorship, 2017). These attacks on youth's right to read LGBTQ+ materials reflect the heterosexual, cisgender bias rooted within educational systems and society at large.

One of the most important roles of school and public librarians is to uphold ALA's Library Bill of Rights and ensure that all youth have access to materials that reflect their diverse lived experiences. This includes ensuring that LGBTQ+ materials are part of the library's circulating collection, can be easily located using keyword searching in the library's online catalog, and are representative of the diverse perspectives of the LGBTQ+ community. Librarians are professionally obligated to adhere to the Library Bill of Rights and overcome personal biases that might lead them to overlook LGBTQ+ materials in their collection

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development practices for fear of receiving a censorship challenge. To prepare for inevitable censorship attempts, librarians ensure fair and equitable policies are in place to address reconsideration requests targeting specific LGBTQ+ books in the library's collection.

Librarians also maintain the privacy of youth in relation to the books and other materials that they use and check out from the library. Privacy is particularly important for LGBTQ+ youth who may not be out or who are exploring their **sexual** or **gender identity**. Librarians support confidentiality by not sharing the titles of library materials checked out by youth with their caregivers and parents.

The American Association of School Librarians (AASL, 2018), the school library division of the American Library Association, offers a toolkit that uses their National School Library Standards for Learners to support librarians in addressing censorship challenges and ensuring youth's privacy. The toolkit provides clear, practical information to assist librarians as they defend intellectual freedom to meet the informational and recreational needs of LGBT youth.

3 Welcoming Spaces

Libraries have the potential to operate as a third space for youth to socialize, but in order to make libraries more accessible to all, they must also be a safe space for LGBTQ+ youth. Librarians may do so by creating specialized signage that explicitly states the library is a safe space. An example of these signs includes the school mascot or public library logo filled with the colors of the pride flag. Librarians may also wear a pin or post signage with their **pronouns** to show LGBTQ+ youth that they are safe to approach while also normalizing the usage of pronouns.

Safe spaces should have a welcoming atmosphere so that LGBTQ+ youth feel safe expressing themselves and socializing with classmates or peers. Hanging up posters that highlight LGBTQ+ role models or those that feature diverse families is one way to create that space. Aside from visuals, librarians can foster this environment by establishing themselves as allies to LGBTQ+ youth. To be an **ally** is to call out and correct anti-LGBTQ+ behavior from students, teachers, caregivers, and other patrons; advocate for LGBTQ+ students and patrons at the administrative/management level; and to establish oneself as an informational resource both for LGBTQ+ youth to find support and for others to learn more about the local LGBTQ+ community. In a school library, a librarian can encourage **allyship** school-wide. Another way to create a welcoming atmosphere is to organically incorporate LGBTQ+ materials into displays. This will

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encourage other students or patrons to browse these collections. Additionally, librarians should not label these materials as LGBTQ+ materials or separate them from the rest of the library's collections, as these practices lead to othering queer materials, which makes LGBTQ+ youth less likely to use them. In place of labeling materials, librarians should consider creating a bibliography listing the materials in the collection with LGBTQ+ representation. This can be consulted later for providing reference to youth or patrons who need assistance.

Libraries can be open and safe spaces for communication, but they should also offer private spaces for LGBTQ+ youth who would rather browse the collections or seek information more privately. The Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN, 2019) provides a guide for creating a safe space within school libraries, which can be modified for the public library setting.

4 Collections

LGBTQ+ youth feel validated and accepted when the books they read have characters that reflect their identity or experiences. Having a diverse collection in a school or public library is a necessity as it allows LGBTQ+ youth to see themselves in literature while also exposing other youth to LGBTQ+ characters and experiences. When building an LGBTQ+ collection, it is most important to choose materials that accurately portray LGBTQ+ individuals and experiences. Booklists and reviews can aid librarians in avoiding materials that perpetuate stereotypes. Chosen materials should reflect the diversity of LGBTQ+ communities in both print and digital formats. E-books afford LGBTQ+ youth opportunities to check out desired materials more privately. Materials should also include members of the LGBTQ+ community as primary and secondary characters, as well as have a mixture of issue and non-issue stories. Aside from leisure reading, librarians should also provide youth with non-fiction materials: from history books to titles about gender and identity. These materials can serve as discussion starters or become part of a class curriculum or library programming.

In both public and school library settings, librarians can promote their LGBTQ+ collections in reader's advisory by pointing youth toward stories with LGBTQ+ representation. When conducting reader's advisory, librarians should not start out by stating a book has LGBTQ+ representation (unless the patron or student is explicitly looking for such materials) and should instead promote the title as they would with any other item in their collection. If a student or patron does not wish to discuss materials with the librarian, they must be able

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to find their desired materials through the library's online catalog. This may require the librarian to add the necessary terminology to the book's digital record to increase findability when patrons use keyword searching. Librarians can also point LGBTQ+ youth toward other digital resources such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) website (n.d.), which can provide them with resources for support, privacy when searching these materials, and can help fill gaps in collections.

The American Library Association Rainbow Round Table (RRT) (2016) offers a toolkit that points librarians toward collection development resources, as well as information to consider when building an LGBTQ+ collection.

5 Services and Programs

When LGBTQ+ youth see their unique experiences reflected in library programs and services, they feel validated and understand that librarians value and respect them. Programs and services inclusive of LGBTQ+ youth counteract homophobic and transphobic sentiments and help naturalize their identity.

Programs include both specialized activities for LGBTQ+ youth as well as programs that are inclusive of their individualized needs. LGBTQ+ Pride storytimes, drag queen story hours, library programs celebrating Trans Awareness Week, or book discussions focused on LGBTQ+ authors are examples of specialized library activities which highlight and celebrate LGBTQ+ culture. Inclusive programs focus on a general theme but include relevant subjects for LGBTQ+ youth and may include specific LGBTQ+ topics alongside other themes. An example of inclusive programs for a school library is a unit focusing on the contributions of diverse Americans throughout history, which highlights LGBTQ+ contributions in addition to those of other diverse cultural groups. A public library might host a genre-based book club where youth discuss favorite fantasy books or graphic novels, including titles with LGBTQ+ characters.

Library services for LGBTQ+ youth include booklists of LGBTQ-themed titles in the library, curated information about local agencies working with LGBTQ+ youth, and links to national youth organizations or projects focused on LGBTQ+ youth. Librarians can also offer meeting spaces for **Gay-Straight Alliances** or Gender and Sexuality Alliances (GSA).

Other opportunities exist for librarians to serve and engage with LGBT youth. DiScala et al. (2020) provide an organic list of recommended resources with additional ideas for school librarians. Public librarians can find suggestions in the Association for Library Service to Children's (ALSC, 2020) LGBTQ+ Children and Families section of their *Virtual Storytime Services Guide*.

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CHAPTER 123

School Climate (K-12)

Darla Linville

1 Introduction

School climate holistically describes the experiences of people in schools and "reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structures" (National School Climate Council, 2007, p. 2). Facets of school climate may include the democratic participation of students in schools, the social, emotional, and physical safety of students and adults, and the creation of a sense of belonging for members of the school community (Thapa et al., 2013). School climate is a term that frequently appears in anti-bullying literature and studies of anti-bullying programming. As a way of moving the focus beyond interpersonal interactions often found in anti-bullying literature, an ecological systems theory framework describes levels of school climate through the ideas of proximity and distance, which includes student, classroom, peers, support groups, and school community as proximal and community programs, school policies, social environment, federal guidelines and historical period as distal (Rudasill et al., 2018). The specific confluence of these factors for a particular student describes the support needed to create a positive climate in the school (Fantus & Newman, 2020).

Negative school climates are those in which hierarchies of social power create the conditions in which emotional or physical aggressions are allowed (Fantus & Newman, 2020). In addition to safeguarding the physical and emotional health of students and adults in social interactions, research documents that safety in school is a precursor to learning (Devine & Cohen, 2007) and that social and academic development proceed in tandem (Thapa et al., 2013). Mental and emotional violence experienced by students create hostile school climates and may lead to loss of educational access. These and other consequences are documented in the anti-bullying literature where it is noted that students who experience **bullying** are at risk of a number of negative health and mental health outcomes in adolescence or later, including substance abuse, suicide attempts, depression, and drop out (Almeida et al., 2009). Efforts to improve school climate have focused on improved educational outcomes as the lever to convince school leaders that changes are necessary (Crothers et al., 2017) and also improved student mental health outcomes (Thapa et al., 2013).

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2 School Climate for Queer and Trans Youth

School climate for queer and trans youth in schools varies significantly across the United States and within and across other countries. Local variance may be because of national or state-level policies, political beliefs, religiosity, or advocacy (Cerezo & Bergfeld, 2013). School climate may remain hostile for queer and trans youth even in places where social and legal acceptance exist because of homophobic and transphobic views held by community members, administrators, teachers, or peers. Conversely, supportive teachers and out queer and trans adult representation in the building can significantly improve school climate for queer and trans youth (Cerezo & Bergfeld, 2013).

Queer and trans youth report negative school climates that include verbal harassment and anti-LGBTQ remarks (Kosciw et al., 2018), physical assault (Day et al., 2018), exclusion from social groups or activities, misinformation, and isolation (Fantus & Newman, 2020). Youth often hear homophobic and transphobic language from both peers and adults (Fantus & Newman, 2020) and may hear peers or adults tell them they are morally wrong or mentally ill. Sometimes school policies discriminate against queer and trans youth rather than protecting them; examples include punishing students for wearing the clothes that do not match sex assigned at birth and rejecting students' choices of queer or trans topics for discussion or writing assignments (Kosciw et al., 2018). In school curricula, queer and trans representation is often missing (Goodrich & Luke, 2014; Kosciw et al., 2018). In some states, teachers are discouraged from supporting queer and trans youth by laws meant to keep queer and trans content out of health and **sexuality** education classes (McGovern, 2012; see No Promo Homo entry).

In schools, support and advocacy groups for queer and trans youth and allies, such as Gender-Sexuality Alliances (GSAs), have been linked to improved school climates for queer and trans youth (Cerezo & Bergfeld, 2013; Mayo, 2017). These groups support students by creating spaces in which queer and trans youth can feel less guarded and express their identities more freely, and also by leading advocacy and education work within the schools about **gender identities** and expressions and **sexual identities**.

Groups for queer and trans youth can function as "counterspaces" (Cerezo & Bergfeld, 2013) in which queer and trans youth are understood to contribute to the richness of diversity within the school. In these politically oriented safe spaces, youth can advocate for **curricular inclusion**, policy support and can increase queer and trans **visibility** in the school, supporting students who are exploring gender and sexuality identities. Training for teachers that increases awareness of and familiarity with sexual and gender diversity also contribute to better school climate for youth (Benson et al., 2014).

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3 School Climate for Queer and Trans Adults

School climate affects adults within school communities, as well as students. Queer and trans teachers indicate that schools often are difficult places to work and express concern about the support they receive from administrators, harassment from other school staff and from students, safety, job security, and their ability to be out to other adults or to students at school (Jackson, 2007).

Queer and trans teachers describe limited support from state laws, unions, and local policies but may still feel more supported after coming out to colleagues. Employment policy and student behavior policy language that mandates addressing homophobic and transphobic harassment of teachers has contributed to a decrease in harassment that queer and trans teachers experience from their peers in schools, and in some cases has reduced the harassment experienced from students. Expressions of support that ameliorate the experiences of queer and trans teachers include professional development for all school staff about gender identities and expressions and sexualities and about legal protections for queer and trans students and staff (Wright & Smith, 2015). Teachers also feel supported by administrators who rebuke expressions of transphobic and homophobic harassment from other school staff, students, or parents. Public expressions of support by administrators for queer and trans teachers improve school climate significantly (Jackson, 2007).

Although policies and trainings may improve school climate for teachers, they cannot address community prejudice or acrimony, and parents, guardians, and other community members may continue to attack teachers with homophobia and transphobia, often requesting children not be taught by a queer or trans teacher, and accusing the teacher of converting children to queerness or transness (Wright & Smith, 2015). This expression of **cisheteronormative** violence may involve debates in a school board meeting about a queer or trans teacher's fitness to teach or questions about the school's hiring processes in local news outlets. Race privilege and gender normativity work to protect teachers from being perceived as transgressive of community norms and as dangerous to students. In this way, teachers who most closely conform to whiteness and gender norms may experience less scrutiny about their sexuality or relationships (Connell, 2015).

4 Queering School Climate

Research that examines school climate for queer and trans youth often focuses on bullying and harassment in schools and how to prevent bullying of queer

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and trans youth. School climate is affected by bullying and harassment, and allowing aggression toward this group is chilling not just for queer and trans youth but for everyone in the school (Fantus & Newman, 2020). Rarely does this discussion go beyond a reactive approach to bullying and harassment to address a school climate that is embracing of queer and trans identities and to become a place of thriving for students and the intersectional, complex, and expansive identities they bring to school (Payne & Smith, 2013).

Queering school climates would require examination of the effects of **cisnormativity** and **heteronormativity** at work in educational policies, pedagogies, curricula, and practices (Talburt & Rasmussen, 2010) on expressions of identity and the hierachized ordering of knowledge. Queering school climate requires a systematic move away from interpersonal interactions as the main site of address, and homophobia and transphobia as the problems, to understanding the structures built into education in schools that maintain normative categories and hierarchies. The ecological systems theory framework (Rudasill et al., 2018) offers a lens through which to examine the intersecting structures that shape the experiences within an institution. Although queer research in education has pointed to the need for a structural approach, school climate reform efforts have mostly focused on reactive approaches to interpersonal harassment and bullying. Queering school climate asks schools to interrogate expectations for bodies and identities within these structures, to examine how these hierarchies of knowledge and embodiment came to be and to imagine other ways of being.

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CHAPTER 124

Self-Authorship

Gabriel Rodríguez Lemus, Jr. and Roberto C. Orozco

1 Introduction

Self-authorship, a developmental theory coined in the field of higher education, is defined as "the internal capacity to define one's beliefs, identity, and social relations" (Baxter Magolda, 2001, p. 269). Self-authorship draws on Baxter Magolda's (2001) twenty-year longitudinal study of "young adult, white college students learning and development" during and after college (Okello, 2018, p. 529). Furthermore, self-authorship builds on Kegan's (1994) work on theorizing levels of consciousness in the meaning-making process of individuals in their lifetime. In his work, Kegan (1994) outlines a linear model of five orders, with order four and order five eluding to self-authoring and self-transformation, respectively. These last two orders speak to individuals having the ability to manage internal authority in decision making and be able to connect the larger systems of reality. Less than a decade later, Baxter Magolda (2001) offered the theory of self-authorship, which is a widely used theory to support the goal of college student learning and development.

Baxter Magolda's (2001) conceptualization of self-authorship includes four phases: following external formulas, crossroads, becoming the author of one's life, and internal foundation. Simultaneously, Baxter Magolda's (2001) phases of self-authorship are further informed by the cognitive or epistemological dimension (how do I know?), the intrapersonal dimension (who am I?), and the interpersonal dimension (how do I want to construct relationships with others?). In the first phase, *following external formulas*, individuals rely on others, usually those of authority, along with societal expectations for their own learning (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2009). In the second phase, *crossroads*, individuals face having to make decisions or develop their own beliefs and ideas, which at times may go against others' or societal expectations. *Becoming the author of one's life*, the third phase of self-authorship, speaks to individuals' ability to negotiate decision-making processes rooted in their internal beliefs despite if they went against external influences. The fourth phase, *internal foundation*, and one that Baxter Magolda (2001) says does not happen until later on in a person's adult life solidifies one's belief system in their decision-making process with an emphasis on the multi-contextual realities that happen through life.

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The result of self-authorship is that students will be able to act in relationships that are true to themselves and are able to get their needs met through mutual communication, which is the interpersonal dimension. This dimension of self-authorship is where individuals begin to conceptualize a sense of agency about their beliefs, relationships, and sense of self (Baxter Magolda, 2001).

Self-authorship, in its original conceptualization, failed to capture the experiences of minoritized people, specifically those individuals who sit on the margins of race, gender, and **sexuality**. Furthermore, the early iteration of self-authorship did not consider the ways that systems of power influence self-authorship for minoritized individuals at the micro and macro level (Duran & Jones, 2020; Perez, 2019). As a result, scholars have built on and reconceptualized self-authorship beyond the limitations of "foregrounding of the individual rather than the contexts in which individuals are situated" (Abes & Hernández, 2016, p. 97). For example, Okello (2018) asserts that self-authorship needs to consider the emotional, physiological, and historical contexts encountered by minoritized bodies, particularly in the Western and United States context. Similarly, Hernández (2016) revised the dimensions of self-authorship by placing emphasis on the "social world" experienced by minoritized individuals with regards to race. Abes and Kasch (2007) coupled **queer theory** with self-authorship to develop what they term queer authorship, defined as "the necessary deconstruction of **heteronormativity** that enables [queer] students to change the dominant social order in order to redefine the meaning of their multiple identities and the contexts in which their lives are situated (p. 630). These scholars offer several critical perspectives on self-authorship that contribute to a deeper analysis and understanding of queer people's agency in their meaning-making capacity.

While self-authorship is agentic in its origins, development for students who hold marginalized identities is informed by context (i.e., campus, familial and homeplace, and local and national politics) and social and political structures of oppression (e.g., homoantagonism, **heterosexism**, racism, etc.) (Perez, 2019). For queer students, self-authorship, as an agentic theory of the self, illustrates part of the meaning-making process with respect to the way queer bodies are taken up in educational spaces.

For students, both enrolled and post-graduation becoming the author of one's life is an ongoing process. These transitions can be particularly difficult for Queer students because of the limitations they face on a day-to-day basis within school environments. The way self-authorship is currently understood does not account for the nuanced experiences of Queer students (Duran & Jones, 2020). Students' continual ability to become aware of themselves

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(interpersonal dimension) can be distorted by the realities of heteronormativity and queerphobia (Duran & Jones, 2020; Hernández, 2016). These oppressive realities can negatively impact the way students understand what they know (epistemological dimension), how they see themselves (intrapersonal dimension) and how they relate to others (the interpersonal dimension). These nuanced experiences for Queer students can be further complicated for those with multiple intersecting minoritized identities (Duran & Jones, 2020).

The role of queer identity is not explicitly mentioned in the current literature on self-authorship. As students journey through understanding what they know (epistemological dimension), the knowledge that currently exists does not encompass queer knowledge and queer ways of being. As students' journey in learning how they see themselves (intrapersonal dimension) that also does not include queer students. As students journey in understanding how they relate to others (the interpersonal dimension), their relationships might be tainted by experiences of **bullying**, queerphobic slurs, and feelings of isolation. In all three dimensions of self-authorship, queer students are not encompassed, and their experiences can not be fully understood. But there is hope, as scholars across academia continue to address the lack of understanding when it comes to analyzing power structures in self-authorship and have been able to extend self-authorship into new terrain.

Ultimately, self-authorship has continued to evolve and be informed by **intersectionality**, critical race theory, and Black Feminism, while acknowledging that prior iterations of self-authorship did not (Abes & Hernández, 2016; Hernández, 2016; Okello, 2018; Perez, 2019; Torres et al., 2019). Transformation is possible if self-authorship can incorporate critical race theory, queer theory, and feminist theory to address the ways that power, privilege, and oppression undermine the current framework for queer students (Perez, 2019). Okello's (2018) contributions on self-authorship, by using Black Feminism as a theoretical foundation, give a preview of what is possible when self-authorship is extended to encompass specific populations. Even though these critiques exist for self-authorship, there is a possibility for self-authorship to be extended to better conceptualize how queer students learn to be the authors of their own lives. Queer students can be the authors of their Queerstory.

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CHAPTER 125

Settler Colonialism

Charlie Amáyá Scott (Diné) and Romeo Jackson

The foundation of what is now known as the United States of America relies on the displacement and removal of Indigenous Peoples and their presence. This is an intimate aspect of settler colonialism that sets it apart from other forms of colonialism. Maile Arvin (Kanaka Māoli), Eve Tuck (Unangax and Aleut), and Angie Morrill (Klamath) assert that settler colonialism "is a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own, and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous [P]eoples that are there" (2013, p. 12). That is, settler colonialism concerns itself with the remaking of land and resources from Indigenous people and removing and destroying Indigenous relationships to land while situating land under the control of settlers (Tuck & Yang, 2012). In the United States, and other slave estates, it has also meant the enslavement of Africans to work the land (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Patrick Wolfe (2006) also makes clear that settler colonialism is "a structure rather than an event" (p. 390), meaning settler colonialism is an ongoing structuring force limiting Indigenous possibilities. Altogether, Arvin et al. (2013), Tuck and Yang (2012), and Wolfe (2006) highlight the longevity of settler colonialism as a historical and contemporary reality. Simply, settler colonialism is an ongoing structuring force determined to eliminate any Indigenous presence in every possible way, with gender and sex as one of those colonizing systems.

1 Settler Colonialism, Gender, and Sexuality

The very presence of **binary gender** and sex systems are reflections of ongoing impacts of settler colonialism within what is now known as the United States of America. Before invasion, many Native Nations represented highly diverse cultures and, as such, had a wide array of and complex understandings of what can be described as gender, **gender identity**, and **gender performance** that did not rely on legal and administrative processes to regulate gender (Driskill, 2016). Invading settlers viewed the diversity of gender identities as deviant and as a justification for colonizing Indigenous Peoples' lands and ways of being (Driskill, 2016). Indeed, settler colonialism and queer and trans oppression

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are interlocking systems of oppression that cannot be separated. However, white-settler feminist and queer studies have failed to engage the intersection of settler colonialism and **cisheteropatriarchy**. This makes clear that queer and feminist studies have been complicit in the erasure of Indigenous ways of knowing (Arvin et al., 2013). For example, the popular use of waves to articulate the progress and change of feminist struggles within the USA ignored the experiences of Indigenous women, queer, and/or trans peoples and activism who have resisted settler-occupation as a feminist struggle (Arvin et al., 2013). Moreover, Indigenous feminists and queer theories illuminate that the only way to end queer, trans, gender, and racial oppression is through decolonization—a departure from mainstream white queer theory (Arvin et al., 2013; Driskill, 2010).

Queer theory seeks to disrupt binaries and analyze networks of power that influence the socialization and construction of identities in the world. Halperin (2003) shared that queer theory encouraged people to analyze the relations between **sexuality** and gender "as analytic categories and as lived experiences" (p. 341). This was part of the appeal of queer theory, questioning the historical and ongoing categories of gender and sexuality. Queer theory's focus is limiting. The premise of queer theory relies on the foundational works of white/settler queer theorists like Foucault, Butler, and Sedgwick, all of whom studied the construction of gender and sexuality. However, their understanding of gender and sexuality relied on settler logics that reinforce foreign colonial constructions. Those logics involve external understandings of gender and sexuality that do not fully comprehend Indigenous ways of knowing and being. As mentioned earlier, settler colonialism allows for colonizers to claim a place as their own, construct a new home, insist on settler sovereignty and knowledge(s), and prioritizes the elimination of an Indigenous presence (Arvin et al., 2013; Brayboy, 2006; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Wolfe, 2006). These epistemological modes of disappearance are recycled through the premise of queer theory given the lack of attention to place, space, and their connections to gender, sexuality, and settler colonialism.

Queer theory continues to be an analysis of foreign Euro-centric networks of power through the very concepts of gender and sexuality with little to no concern for Indigenous possibilities. The limitations of queer theory are that it has focused on this analysis of Euro-centric networks of powers. Engaging settler colonialism in queer studies in education and beyond means to center Indigenous possibilities and Indigenous networks of powers through Indigenous ways of knowing and being, and these types of theoretical engagements can occur within education.

If and when queer theory does center Indigenous possibilities and Indigenous networks of power, queer theory needs to understand the importance of

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stories, specifically creation stories, and their ongoing influence on Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Tuck and Yang (2012) emphasized the importance of creation stories and their relation to land and place, which informs Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and cosmologies. Creation stories are their histories and their collective memory, and it is within these oral histories and narratives that define and explain many Indigenous Peoples' cultures, their languages, their ways of knowing, and their ways of relating to the universe (Archibald, 2008; Deloria, 2003; Denetdale, 2007; A. C. Wilson, 1997; S. Wilson, 2008). For many Indigenous Peoples, it is through their stories that they learn who they are as a community and what their positionality is within their community, their homelands, and the cosmos. Creation stories are Indigenous possibilities reminding them of their origins, serving as lessons of responsibilities for many Indigenous Peoples, and informing them of their futurity. Queer theory must include and center these creation stories in order to be able to comprehend, to some extent, Indigenous possibilities and their networks of powers.

2 Settler Colonialism & Education

The purpose of education for Indigenous Peoples has always included the logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006) and occurred through forced assimilation of European-American thought(s), behavior(s), and notion(s) of power. In turn, the history of education is inseparable from settler colonialism. Education spanning from Pre-K to postsecondary education has been a site of expanding the settler-colonial project. The very foundation of higher education relies on settler colonialism and anti-Blackness. This is clear when examining the history of land grant colleges and universities. While generally thought of as a public good, land grant institutions represent one of the many ways settler colonialism continues with postsecondary education's investment in land theft (Stein, 2020). The Morrill Act (1862) was effective in annexing Indigenous land and building public higher education institutions with no acknowledgment to the homelands of the Native Nations that these colleges occupy (la paperson, 2017). Framing land grant institutions as inherently good reinforces the normalizing of displacement and removal of an Indigenous presence within the US.

For another example, American Indian Boarding Schools operated as a way to kidnap and remove Indigenous children from their homelands and communities to cut ties to their cultures and knowledge(s) (Marr, 2000). This act of cultural genocide instilled white settlers understandings of gender and

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sexuality into Indigenous children. Settler colonialism does not only insist on a physical disappearance. Rather it includes a spiritual, mental, and emotional disappearance. This is most apparent with what occurred during the height of the American Indian Boarding School era in which historical accounts highlighted accounts mentioned earlier highlighted the spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical abuse that Indigenous children experienced.

Returning to higher education, Scott (2019) analyzes The Student Personnel Point of View (American Council of Education, 1937) and the revised 1949 edition (American Council of Education, 1949) and states how education was "a space of preparation for the development of American culture and the indoctrination of American politics" (p. 122). From these documents, higher education is described as a space of preparation for the expansion of American culture and a space of indoctrination into American politics. The expansion of American culture will always be a settler-colonial project that relies on the removal and elimination of existing Indigenous cultures. Keith James (2004) advances this argument by writing, "the structures and procedures of higher education flow from, build on and reinforce the values, norms, identities and status systems of the mainstream majority" (p. 50). Here, the mainstream majority are white settlers and their approach to education. Education is evidently an apparatus designed to preserve, transmit, and enrich the dominant culture, which is constructed and informed by settler colonialism. Settler colonialism influences the educational system and influences the scholarship and research of the academy and the development of theories such as queer theory and studies.

Epistemologically, researchers in LGBTQ+ studies in higher education have failed to consider the role of settler colonialism in theorizing queer and trans oppression in higher education (Duran et al., 2020). This is a reflection of the ongoing ways education scholarship is invested in the disappearing of Indigenous Peoples through research (Minthorn & Shotton, 2018; Shotton et al., 2013).

3 Conclusion

Settler colonialism, while currently underexamined in queer studies in education, proves the necessity for intervention into queer and education discourses and serves as a reminder of the ongoing process and effects of the removal of Indigenous peoples and ways of knowing. The historical and current realities of settler colonialism demonstrate that queer studies has paid little attention to Indigenous possibilities in education and beyond. We call on researchers and/or practitioners alike to engage in decolonial and Indigenous futures.

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CHAPTER 126

Sex (as Assigned at Birth)

Kate E. Kedley

Sex as assigned at birth refers to the sex, based on genitals, that an individual is given at the time of their birth. It should be noted that the sex assigned at birth is limited to the visual inspection of genitals and rarely involves other means of classification. For example, there are no chromosome tests or hormone measurements done on babies. There is typically no examination of genitals, organs, or anatomy of the body beyond visual inspection.

In contemporary U.S. society, the labels assigned are typically male or female. Children born with genitals that are not considered fitting squarely in the categories viewed as male or female are considered intersex and are sometimes altered medically in order to be assigned either male or female at birth (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). The moment occurs in pop culture imagery when the doctor holds a baby up immediately after birth, looks for a penis or a vagina, and then yells, "It's a boy!" if the baby has a penis, and "It's a girl" if the baby has a vagina. It should be noted that in geographical contexts outside of the United States and within some communities in the United States, sex, gender, and **sexuality** are conceptualized differently (see Dutta & Roy, 2014; Puar, 2005).

This means that although humans are classified into a sex assigned at birth based on genitals, there is naturally quite a bit of variation within and across these categories in terms of other potential measures (such as chromosomes, hormones, etc.). Thus, that sex is categorized into two distinct and non-overlapping categories conflicts with the fact that these categories are not biologically distinct and often overlap. There are many exceptions to the male-female binary, and the conditions of male and female are two possibilities of a multitude of possibilities of sex.

Sex assigned at birth is a social construction. This is not because genitals (a penis or a vagina) are not materially real; they, of course, are a part of many (but not all) bodies. The social construction is that genitals have been chosen (as opposed to a plethora of other options such as chromosomes, hormones, or a combination of varying factors) in order to classify humans into two distinct categories, male and female, and that category is assigned at birth. As noted, these are not biological categories, as there are innumerable variations in the human condition. Additionally, sex as an organizing category (as opposed to weight as a baby or month of birth) is also a social construction. This sex

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assignation leads to very specific and categorized gender roles these infants will be expected to follow (Butler, 2011).

Many in the last few decades have challenged the idea of sex as biological and instead understood sex labeling as a social construction. Humans (doctors, parents) label children at the moment of birth based on characteristics that, upon closer inspection, undermine the male-female dichotomy. There are many variations in the human body, and "as assigned at birth" indicates that the category of male or female was assigned to a person and is not a naturally occurring category.

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CHAPTER 127

Sexual Education and Queerness

Adam W.J. Davies and Ruth Neustifter

1 Sexual Health Education in Western Countries

Sexual health education (SHE) in Western countries is still contested and highly politicized, often abstinence-based in its focus and largely segregated to physical education (PE) components of formal grade schooling (Clonan-Roy et al., 2020; Farmer et al., 2019). Such programs often reinforce **gender binary** stereotypes and leave heterosexuality as the unmarked norm by lacking explicit discussions of **queer** and trans identities and perspectives, with geographic location further impacting whether LGBTQ+ students receive appropriate sex education and attention in SHE curricula (Garg & Volerman, 2020).

The incorporation of LGBTQ+ identities and **sexualities**, as well as topics regarding consent, bodily autonomy, and democratic citizenship, are broadly in alignment with a comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) framework (Bialystok, 2019). The United Nations Women and United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (2018) identified the importance of comprehensive sexual health education worldwide, with LGBTQ+ identities noted as a specific area in sexual and reproductive health (SRH). CSE is beginning to be encouraged worldwide, with questions of citizenship and global leadership being enshrined within comprehensive curricula to teach liberal democratic values of individual autonomy, agency, gender equality, and individual decision making that can inform sexual consent and navigating relationships within various socio-cultural norms (Amo-Adjei, 2021; United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA], 2014). A central component of CSE is the incorporation of explicit conversations of gender and sexual diversity and LGBTQ+ identities (Baams et al., 2017; Bialystok, 2019; Davies & Kenneally, 2020; UNFPA, 2014).

2 Sexuality Education and Queer Youth

Typically, sexual health education is made available to adolescents as part of physical education classes, if available at all. The World Health Organization (WHO) notes that sexuality education, as well as the ability to "seek, receive,

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and impart information related to sexuality" (n.d., Sexual Rights Section), are global gender and human rights. However, sexuality education differs considerably across families, schools, instructors, cultures, faiths, geographic locations, and time periods, making it challenging to research effectiveness for various goals, as well as impacts across demographics (Keogh et al., 2020; Leung et al., 2019). Sexuality education classes and lectures are where gender and sexual diversity might be taught, if taught at all, particularly since in a United States context, many individual states have laws against teaching gender and sexual diversity (SIECUS, 2020). Therefore, sexuality education can also impact risks related to mental health (including suicidality), LGBTQ-based **bullying** and other forms of homophobic violence, and the overall lack of LGBTQ representation in school milieus (Baams et al., 2017).

Queer youth are commonly marginalized through **heteronormative** and **cisnormative** frameworks for sexuality education and/or at risk for being pathologized and stigmatized (Hobaica & Kwon, 2017). The impacts of poor, pathologizing, or nonexistent sexuality, gender, and intimacy education can be lifelong, especially in populations who are already underserved and under-resourced, including LGBTQ+ people (Fine & McClelland, 2006; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). In the United States, many states legally mandate discriminatory sexuality education curricula that portray LGBTQ+ people negatively by centralizing gender normativity and notions of "biological traits" for each sex, as well as heteronormative monogamy as the ideal form of romantic and/or sexual relationship (SIECUS, 2020). In a Canadian context, there are still controversies within differing provinces (e.g., Alberta & Ontario) regarding the explicit inclusion of LGBTQ+ identities in sexual health curricula (Bialystok & Wright, 2019; Bialystok, 2019; Davies & Kenneally, 2020; Davies & Martino, 2016; Grace, 2018; Shipley, 2015). Furthermore, there can be a harmful gap between what students and instructors think should be taught and how (Blake & Aggleton, 2017). Educators are often not provided with the appropriate training to address this gap and may struggle to find sources for inclusive and affirming sexuality education, particularly that is LGBTQ+-inclusive. Researchers have found that youth and adults turn to sources, such as pornography (Davis et al., 2017; Litsou et al., 2021), media (Attwood et al., 2015; Neustifter et al., 2015), and physicians (Fileborn et al., 2017). However, these sources might still deploy **cisheteronormative** understandings of sexuality and gender. Limited opportunities for professional development in these areas do exist – primarily for adults – and include peer-led programs for sex workers (Benoit et al., 2017), educational comic books (Boer, 2020), formal and informal mentorship programs (Kaufman et al., 2020), sex-positive therapeutic interventions (Emelianchik-Key & Stickney, 2019), and various levels of training and regulation that offer talk-based and experiential forms of education (Thouin-Savard, 2019).

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3 Current Controversies in Sexual Health Education

Updates to school-based sexual health curriculum are often controversial within public debates, particularly as it pertains to the explicit inclusion of LGBTQ+ identities (Bialystok, 2018; Bialystok & Wright, 2019; Davies & Kenneally, 2020; Grace, 2018). Moral panics can emerge within debates regarding the inclusion of LGBTQ+ identities in sexual health curriculum due to conservative community members' fears that explicit discussion of non-heterosexuality and gender diversity might disrupt heterosexuality as a norm, as well as the idea of sexuality being only for reproduction (Elia & Eliason, 2010). These debates are international in scope (i.e., Jarpe-Ratner, 2020; Robinson et al., 2017) and further complicated by prominent developmentalist theories, including those by Piaget, where children are considered "immature" and not "ready" to learn about sexuality and gender diversity (i.e., positioned as inherently heterosexual, "unknowing," and innocent) (Robinson et al., 2017). Through a developmental psychology lens, children are viewed as incomplete, not adult, and "unprepared" for knowledge of diverse sexualities, particularly since it might disorient heterosexuality as a desired "outcome" for children (Robinson, 2005). Educators who work with young children report feeling limited and unprepared to discuss non-heterosexual sexualities and identities due to fears of disrupting young children's innocence and parental pushback (e.g., Balter et al., 2018; Davies, 2021). Ultimately, more work is needed that analyzes CSE frameworks within various socio-political contexts to contextualize debates regarding sexuality education implementation (Bialystok, 2018; Davies & Kenneally, 2020; Rasmussen, 2015).

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CHAPTER 128

Sexual Identity

Payton D. Hoover

1 Definition

Sexual identity can be defined as an individual's sexual, affectional, and/ or romantic attraction towards other individuals (Katz-Wise, 2015). This term is often used interchangeably with sexual orientation and sexuality. Some examples of different sexual identities include lesbian, gay, bisexual, **queer**, and pansexual. An individual's sexual identity is not necessarily fixed, meaning that it can be fluid (Dillon et al., 2011).

2 Sexual Identity in Education

The literature on sexual identity in education often uses the acronym LGBTQ+ to describe one's sexual identity and/or **gender identity**, often conflating the two terms. Although the acronym may lead to the conflation of the identities, the intent is political solidarity of queer people. For the purposes of this particular entry, I will use the acronym LGBQ to isolate sexual identity and how it has been taken up in research.

The bulk of the literature focuses on the hostile climates individuals experience because of their sexual identities. In a higher education context, LGBQ students will often have different, more negative experiences on campuses than their heterosexual peers because of their own individual sexual identity (Garvey et al., 2015). These individuals are consistently placed into boxes or categories, with people labeling them as 'different' or 'deviating' from societal norms that have historically been put in place and reinforced (Butler, 1988). One way these norms are covertly reinforced is through a "hidden curriculum" (Preston & Hoffman, 2015, p. 67) present in the education system that promotes heteronormativity. In other words, the curriculum present in education systems is formed with the assumption that the students will be heterosexual.

In addition to the curriculum, more concrete examples of hostile climates include LGBQ students being more likely to experience harassment (Garvey et al., 2015), discrimination (Bailey & Strunk, 2018), and sexual assault (Coulter & Rankin, 2020) at higher rates than their heterosexual peers. These negative

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experiences can directly affect one's academic success and persistence in school (Garvey et al., 2015). Resources on campuses, though often scarce, can potentially provide more positive experiences for LGBQ students. Having accessible resources, such as an LGBTQ+ resource center, can help these students have a safe space, find community, and explore their sexual identity more freely (Garvey et al., 2018).

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CHAPTER 129

Sexual Orientation Microaggressions

Eric J. Van Giessen and Michael R. Woodford

Microaggressions are mechanisms of oppression, and unlike blatant discrimination (e.g., physical assault), they tend to be covert, unintentional and perceived as harmless; however, research indicates they have negative effects (Sue, 2010). **Sexual orientation** (LGBQ) microaggressions are part of contemporary **heterosexism**—the presumed normativity and superiority of heterosexuality. Consistent with microaggressions generally (Sue, 2010), LGBQ microaggressions are expressed interpersonally and environmentally and reflect the typology of microinsults (insensitive or rude remarks; e.g., comments or 'compliments' that congratulate **queer** people on 'passing' as straight), microinvalidations (behaviors or comments that erase or diminish the target's experiences; e.g., the denial that heterosexist experiences occur), and microassaults (avoidance behaviors or verbal attacks; e.g., anti-gay posters). Unlike microinsults and microinvalidations, which may occur unconsciously, microassaults are often overt and are often intentionally perpetuated to cause harm and/or control their target (Sue, 2010).

Microaggressions, especially insults and invalidations, are ambiguous, insidious, and not necessarily linked to explicit bias, which contributes to their power. Perpetrators may say their actions were a joke, a misunderstanding, and not intended to cause harm. Targets often wonder if discrimination actually occurred and, if so, if it was purposeful, if they are over-reacting or being too sensitive, and if they should do something about it (Sue, 2010). While some microaggressions may seem like a compliment, the underlying message is one of hostility and othering (Sue, 2010). It is important to note that changing social norms related to diversity and inclusion mean that what is considered to be a microaggression versus an explicit form of violence continues to evolve. Further, scholars have questioned conceptualizing physically and verbally assaultive behaviors as microaggressions (Gartner & Sterzing, 2016).

Concerning LGBQ microaggressions, Nadal and colleagues (2010) developed a popular framework advancing the understanding of both LGBQ and gender microaggressions. For LGBQ microaggressions, the categories include (1) use of heterosexist terminology, (2) endorsement of heteronormative culture/behaviors, (3) assumption of universal LGBQ experience, (4) exoticization, (5) discomfort/disapproval of LGBQ experience, (6) denial of societal heterosexism,

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(7) assumption of sexual pathology/abnormality, and (8) denial of individual heterosexism. With some exceptions (i.e., combining categories, adding categories), qualitative studies have documented experiences aligned with this framework (Munro et al., 2019; Nadal et al., 2011). Collectively, these studies illuminate the broad range of LGBQ microaggressions, the majority representing subtle forms of exclusion.

As mechanisms of oppression, microaggressions can negatively impact the target's well-being. According to minority stress theory, which sees negative health and mental health among minoritized groups as a function of the hostile dominant social and structural environment, LGBQ discrimination contributes to chronic stress, which can increase one's risk for poor well-being (Meyer, 2003). Though often low in intensity, the frequency, ambiguous nature, and cumulative effects of microaggressions—described as "death by a thousand cuts" (Nadal et al., 2011)—may contribute to their negative impact (Sterzing et al., 2017). Though some may believe LGBQ microaggressions are inconsequential, research suggests otherwise.

1 LGBQ Microaggressions in Education

Many education researchers have examined LGBQ **bullying** and **school climate**; yet, little attention has been given to LGBQ microaggressions. With few exceptions (e.g., Banks et al., 2020; Baricevic & Kashubeck-West, 2019; Linville, 2017), most of the extant research is focused on higher education environments, primarily examining students' experiences—though some studies also engage staff and faculty (Hughes, 2019) or involve faculty only (e.g., Turner et al., 2018). Some researchers have focused on students' experiences in particular college programs (e.g., counseling education [Pollock & Meek, 2016]; social work [Byers et al., 2019]). With few exceptions (e.g., Amodeo et al., 2020; Byers et al., 2019), most studies are US-based.

Evidence indicates that LGBQ microaggressions are commonplace in K-12 and higher education environments. A case in point: 76% of middle and high school students in GLSEN's 2019 National School Climate Survey heard "gay" used in a derogatory way either "often" or "frequently" in the past year, while 5% experienced physical harassment either "often" or "frequently" (Kosciw et al., 2020). Heterosexist language, such as "that's so gay" and "no homo," are also commonplace on college campuses (Mathies et al., 2019; Woodford et al., 2012).

Qualitative researchers exploring LGBQ microaggressions in educational settings have found that experiences of microaggressions extend beyond heterosexist language. They include a "lack of recognition of non-heterosexual

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identities" and "distancing" among high school students (Baricevic & Kashubeck-West, 2019); the skepticism some queer women undergraduate students face regarding their sexual orientation (Dimberg et al., 2019); and experiences of "queer isolation" among university faculty (Turner et al., 2018). Quantitative survey items replicate microaggression theory, including microinsults: "Who's the boy/girl in the relationship?" (Banks et al., 2020); microinvalidations: "People said or implied that I was being overly sensitive for thinking I was treated poorly or unfairly because I am LGBQ" (Woodford et al., 2015, p. 1686); microassaults: "People avoided sitting next to me or moved away from me…because they knew or assumed I am lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer" (Hong et al., 2016, p. 122). Experiences of erasure can also occur as environmental microaggressions: "I received information about sexual health that was limited to heterosexual sex" (Woodford et al., 2015, p. 1687).

Parallel to the broader microaggressions literature, LGBQ microaggressions experienced in schools (K-12) and colleges can negatively impact their targets. Among LGBQ high school students, Lineville (2017) concluded that microaggressions "may significantly impact student relationships in schools, making them distrustful of peers, or resulting in confrontational behavior that results in the LGBTQQ student being punished" (p. 10). On college campuses, exposure to heterosexist language can negatively impact LGBQ students' academics, belonging, and physical health (Mathies et al., 2019; Woodford et al., 2012). Experiencing environmental and interpersonal LGBQ microaggressions can undermine students' perceptions of belonging on campus and contribute to academic stress and depression (Woodford et al., 2015). Moreover, experiencing LGBQ microaggressions can lead to isolation and feeling discouraged (Byers et al., 2020; Turner et al., 2018), as well as a sense that students must "reign in their queerness in order to protect themselves from future harm" (Atteberry et al., 2019). Recent research suggests that LGBQ environmental microaggressions can negatively affect both LGBQ and heterosexual students' perceptions of the **campus climate** (Amodeo et al., 2020).

Demonstrating the power of microaggressions using survey research, Woodford and colleagues (2018) found that even when statistically controlling for being a victim of explicit violence, interpersonal microaggressions increased LGBQ students' risk for depression and attempted suicide. Further, findings indicate that not all LGBQ students are impacted the same way. For example, interpersonal factors such as self-acceptance and resilience have been shown to play an influential role in the impact of microaggression on student's mental health (Woodford et al., 2015, 2018); the influence of other factors is yet to be investigated.

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As the study of LGBQ microaggressions in educational settings grows, more research is needed in K-12 settings. Additional research might help to explore how LGBQ individuals understand and cope with these stressors and their consequences. Attention to microaggressions among particular groups of sexual minority students and intersectional microaggressions is also needed (Sterzing et al., 2017). As well, research on the factors, especially school-level factors that buffer targets from the effects of microaggressions, is required to inform support programs. Finally, studies examining the nature of LGBQ microaggressions among perpetrators and the effectiveness of climate programs and policies addressing microaggressions are important as they can inform schools' efforts to eliminate these hostilities and create a safe space for LGBQ students.

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CHAPTER 130

Sexual Violence

Susan B. Marine

1 Introduction

Sexual violence, defined as any non-consensual sexual contact, inflicts significant harm and suffering on those who experience it. Encompassing a wide variety of behaviors, which include forced or coerced penetration (rape), forced or coerced sexual touching, and forced exposure to or of a person's body or sexual imagery, surviving sexual violence is exceptionally common in college. One in four cisgender women, one in eight cisgender men, and four in ten **transgender students** report experiencing it (Mellins et al., 2017). In recent decades, awareness of sexual violence has steadily increased, and it is now well-documented that sexual violence and its aftermath have a profound impact on students' lives as well as on educational settings. As a result, schools and colleges are called upon by students and their families to respond to the problem of sexual violence, and local and federal policymakers have been impelled to address it.

The impact of sexual violence on queer people in educational settings is equally profound: Queer individuals report enduring all forms of sexual harassment, including sexual violence, at higher rates than their cisgender and heterosexual peers (Messinger & Koon-Magnin, 2019), and yet at the same time, policies and procedures designed to respond to sexual violence consistently center hetero- and cisnormative assumptions. Consequently, these policies routinely obscure and erase the experiences and needs of queer survivors (Wooten, 2016). Queer researchers and theorists have responded to these realities in a number of meaningful ways, and have provided alternative constructs to better understand and respond to sexual violence in educational settings, as described below.

2 The Prevalence of Queer Sexual Violence in Education

The prevalence and incidence of sexual violence happening to queer people in educational settings is alarming. The LGBTQ+ educators' network, GLSEN, has documented that students in educational settings at the primary and secondary level experience regular and significant sexual harassment. 57.3% of LGBTQ

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students in the 2017 GLSEN survey reported experiencing sexual harassment, with 14.4% reporting these incidents happening regularly or frequently (Kosciw et al., 2018). At the college level, a recent AAU study (Cantor et al., 2019) showed that 22.8% of trans and **genderqueer** undergraduates, and 14.5% of trans and genderqueer graduate and professional students, experienced non-consensual sexual contact. Other studies indicate that 12% of lesbian women, nearly half of bisexual women, and 30% of bisexual men experience sexual violence in college (Ford & Soto-Marquez, 2016). Gay men report surviving sexual violence at the same rate as heterosexual women—about 25% (Ford & Soto-Marquez, 2016). Given the ongoing stigma associated with coming forward, it is highly likely that these figures represent only a small portion of the actual incidents.

These figures only tell one facet of the story. Equally important is understanding the aftermath of sexual violence, and its impact on the lives of queer people. Queer survivors of sexual violence endure aftereffects common to all survivors, including elevated rates of depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and hypervigilance (Girshick, 2009; Javaid, 2017). The effects can be especially profound in younger survivors (Caputi et al., 2020) and may significantly disrupt the thriving and engagement of youth in educational activities. Queer survivors in educational settings must also navigate a host of complexities, including "**coming out**" to peers about the experience, deciding whether and to whom to report, and navigating social networks that may still include the perpetrator(s) (Issadore & Price, 2016; Tillapaugh, 2016). As a result of their subordinated positionality in virtually all educational settings, queer survivors' experiences are thus unique, and require service providers to be attuned to their specific needs.

3 Queering the Experience of Sexual Violence in Schools

Because queer people are impacted in different ways by sexual violence, meaning-making about queer sexual violence, its causes, and its effects is thus marked by this difference. Queer survival and recovery from sexual violence is complicated by the fact that queer people occupy outsider status in most institutions. In the United States, this status is attributable to schools and colleges' **cisheteronormative** origins (which remain in place today). Sexual violence in school settings thus may be perpetrated against queer people as a form of hate crime, by those who wish to erase, denigrate, or destroy queerness (Tuel, 2001). Queer survivors may internalize this erasure, which can have a deep and lasting impact on their self-esteem, and sense of wholeness as a queer person. Trans survivor narratives suggest that sexual violence may re-trigger the **trauma** many navigate when coming to terms with their transness while facing

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societal **transphobia** (Spade et al., 2018). Queer survivors may avoid help-seeking or reporting the crime to school or campus officials, because they fear or know they won't be believed (Tillapaugh, 2016; Wooten, 2016). Disbelief about the experiences of queer survivors reflects the ways that **cisheteronormativity** consistently portrays sexual violence as happening exclusively to cisgender, heterosexual women and perpetrated by cisgender, heterosexual men, thus erasing both queer sexualities broadly, and queer sexual violence specifically.

4 Queering Responses to Sexual Violence in Education

Schools and colleges are required by law to respond to sexual violence as spelled out in the U.S. Department of Education guidelines related to enforcement of Title IX. Progress in ensuring that Title IX could be used to effectively respond to queer students experiencing sexual violence was articulated in the *Dear Colleague Letter* of 2016, which stipulated that students of all gender and sexual identities were entitled to the same protections and avenues for redress (Lhamon & Gupta, 2016). However, the Trump administration's recent retraction of both the *Dear Colleague* letters and the spirit of inclusion they fostered leaves doubt about the status and safety of LGBTQ+ survivors in educational settings (Hanna, 2019).

Sexual violence prevention education is an additional area where specific inclusion of queer students is warranted but not always well-addressed. For example, Marine and Nicolazzo (2017) found that sexual violence prevention educators hold a variety of perspectives regarding the role of gender and gender diversity in sexual violence education programming. Some sought to transform prevention education through intentionally centering gender diversity, while others remained defensive and dismissive about doing so.

Many questions remain about the best ways to address the needs of queer survivors in educational settings. Answering them will require a radical reformation of the ways that educators understand and intervene in rape-supportive cultures, along with better research on the nature and motivations of those who perpetrate sexual violence against queer people. A more nuanced and complex understanding of the role of power in sexually violent situations is also warranted, since queer sexual violence transcends simplistic notions of how gender intersects with violence (Linder, 2018). Attention to the epidemic levels of sexual violence, often culminating in murder, against trans women of color is urgently needed. The work of ending sexual violence against queer people, rather than simply creating effective mechanisms for response, is an essential responsibility of educational leaders and policymakers alike.

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CHAPTER 131

Sexualization

Rachel Brooks, Nathan Caballero and Whitney Neumeyer Roach

1 Introduction

Sexualization is the act or process of attributing sexual characteristics to someone; the attributions of **sexuality** can be imposed without the person's consent or even knowledge, and can lead to sexual objectification, where their value is derived from their sexual appeal (Zurbriggen et al., 2007).

Systems of education were designed to prepare students to operate as citizens in society, training them in select socially-accepted behaviors and public duties – ensuring the formation and continuation of foundational and long-held **heteropatriarchal** practices. To legitimize and maintain these limited and exclusionary ideological models of citizenship, schooling employs systemic racialized, gendered, and sexualized hierarchies (Rawlings, 2019; Vaught, 2011). Although sex(uality) and gender are visible in everyday life, educational institutions, which inform the production and definition of normative identities, construct and enforce strictly coded and binaried sexual and gender categories. Via sexualization, schools serve to (re)produce idealized heteropatriarchal citizens at the omission and abuse of those with **queer** identities.

By way of binary spaces and binary coding, schools train and display what society has defined as a 'normal' 'boy' or 'girl.' Through practices such as gender normative dress codes and cisheterosexual-centered traditions like prom king and queen, schools teach and mandate cisgender heterosexual (cishet) identities and behaviors (Gilbert, 2014; Pascoe, 2005). The coding and practices assume inevitable sexual adulthood, entangling notions of adulthood and sexuality. Students who do not participate in the cishet binary are often assumed to engage in premature adulthood, including being sexualized. Thus, queerness is falsely conflated with loss of innocence and hypersexualization. And not limited to queer students, schools assume inevitable sexual adulthoods for all; however, schools are rarely recognized as sexual(ized) institutions where sexuality is learned and enacted (Pascoe, 2005). While the sexualization of students is inherently problematic, the absence of queer representations in curricula, including sex education, disproportionately affect queer students, who are simultaneously sexualized and denied representation.

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2 Sexuality and School

Curricula, instruction, and administrative practices perpetuate anti-queer ideology by conveying and regulating sexuality as exclusively **heteronormative** (Gilbert, 2014; Pascoe, 2005; Walters & Hayes, 1998). Schools typically either avoid engaging in sex education or focus exclusively on cishet reproductive sex. Applications of such (hetero)sexual practices forge schooling's "heterosexual matrix," wherein (hetero)sexuality, **heterogenderism**, masculinity and femininity are respectively ordered and inscribed with meaning (Butler, 2005). That is, boys are encouraged and expected to perform stereotypically masculine behaviors, while girls are understood as hierarchically inferior and expected to behave femininely; simultaneously, all students are pressured to perform cisheterosexuality. The rigidly cisheterosexual(izing) curricula limit opportunities for students' authentic engagement with their own formations and understandings of gender and sexuality.

Educational sites are overtly and exclusively heterosexualized (Renold, 2000), and in being so (re)enforce anti-queerness through the explicit erasure and Othering of those with (or presumed to have) queer identities. Schools often avoid teaching about queerness and regulate queer expression in students, for worry that the very mention of identities alternative to the hetero-norm will inspire their reproduction in otherwise 'innocent and unsuspecting' youths. Educational inclusion or discussions of sex(uality), particularly those that are queer-inclusive, are often met with hostility and avoidance as concepts of queerness are often conflated with the act of sex itself, thereby disrupting assumed childhood innocence (Irvine, 2000).

3 The Binary of Innocence vs. Sexuality and Negative Queer Representation

Prescribed expectations of adolescent identity, performance, and embodiment are dependent upon the existence of an idealized child(hood) (Egan & Hawkes, 2007). Notions of 'the child' position it in need of protection and as retaining a perpetual adolescent innocence (Gilbert, 2014; Montgomery, 2007). Compulsory cisgenderism and heterosexuality are deeply embedded throughout public culture. Examples include gender reveal parties which imprint these expectations upon infants even before they are born. Children's clothing similarly reinforces this, with children's clothes bearing statements such as "Lock up your daughters", "Ladies' Man," or "Daddy's little girl." Schooling extends this compulsory (hetero)sexualization through gender binaried sports teams and uniforms.

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These practices and others accentuate the unstable boundary between adolescence and adulthood, relative to a proximity to sexuality. As such, any self-recognition of queerness or queer adolescent sexuality presumably signifies the symbolic death of childhood (Gilbert, 2014). Sexual engagement signals entry into adulthood (Gilbert, 2014). Adolescents who identify outside of cisheterosexual boundaries are doubly coded as adult and as sexually active. Because queerness is often conflated with acts of sex, queer youth are oversexualized - earlier and with more disdain than their heteronormative peers (Egan & Hawkes, 2013; Woods, 2014).

4 Conclusion

When queer identities are presented, if permitted to exist at all, it is from a non-queer perspective, "or from a perspective reductively ascribed… as an object of a gaze that is…condemning, chastening, horrified, fascinated, anthropological, or sympathetic" (Ohi, 2004). A reflection of society, systems of education (re)create a "homophobic regulation of gender identity" (Ohi, 2004). Through the indoctrination of educational systems, queer individuals are understood only through sexualized and oppressive lenses. The guise of (cishetero)sexualized neutrality, the inherent sexualization, and the presence of anti-queer discourses that schools maintain are damaging to all students (Wozolek et al., 2017), particularly for queer students and other marginalized groups, as this curriculum sustains the colonial heteropatriarchal foundation and demands for cishet innocence of the idealized 'child.'

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CHAPTER 132

Social Media and Queerness

Justin A. Gutzwa

1 The Impact of Social Media on LGBTQ+ Communities

Discourse surrounding and public opinion of social media fluctuates, with its boons and pitfalls widely debated societally. For LGBTQ+ communities and other systemically minoritized identity groups, social media can serve as a powerful tool for community building, identity development, and self-actualization (Miller, 2017). Particularly in times when youth have declining access to public spaces, scholars (e.g., Hillier & Harrison, 2007) have proposed the internet as a potentially safe, democratic space for identity exploration and development amongst queer and trans youth. Further, given the lack of access to queer-inclusive, trans-inclusive, and race-inclusive sex education in K-12 schooling environments, social media serves as a way for queer and trans youth, particularly Black, Indigenous, and other Queer and Trans People of Color (BIQTPOC), to access liberatory educational environments (Manduley et al., 2018).

2 Social Media as a "Safe Space" for LGBTQ+ People

One common critique of social media, particularly with regard to youth engagement with online social networking platforms, is the propensity for cyberbullying and other forms of targeted harm towards users. For LGBTQ+ youth, however, social media can be understood as a safe space, particularly when queer and trans youth enact agency in creating such spaces; in a quantitative study of LGBTQ+ youth, Lucero (2017) notes that the vast majority rarely or have not ever experienced **bullying** on social media in spaces created by and for queer folx, arguing that groups on social networking sites like Facebook "served as an accessible and safe digitally mediated space where LGBTQ youth feel safe to participate, explore, connect and communicate with others" (p. 124). The "safety" of social media for LGBTQ+ communities has often been discussed in relation to the ease of declaring and performing queer and trans identities, particularly on chat rooms (Hillier & Harrison, 2007) and on popular social networking platforms (Craig & McInroy, 2014).

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In these examples, the agency queer and trans youth display in creating social media environments that affirm and celebrate their identities is necessary to underscore. Just as they allow for the creation of safe spaces for queer and trans people, social media platforms similarly enable the creation of spaces and the proliferation of rhetoric that is violent against queer and trans communities. As demonstrated by the January 2021 insurrection at the United States Capitol, organized white supremacist responses to the #BlackLivesMatter movement, and countless other examples of extremist organizing, social media provides platforms for radicalization that are antithetical to the safety of LGBTQ+ people, particularly BIQTPOC.

3 Community and Worldbuilding through Social Media

Finding community and worldbuilding can be another empowering element of social media for queer and trans communities (Cavalcante, 2018); in many cases, this worldbuilding is an agentive form of resistance against the structure of power that oppress queer and trans communities. For some, social media engagement serves as a form of resistance. The usage of subversive hashtags on social networking sites enables queer users to build community as modes of resistance against the suppression of LGBTQ+ communities, Black, Indigenous, and other Communities of Color, and other systemically minoritized communities (Jackson, 2016). After the mass shooting at Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida, hashtags such as #keepkissng, #OrlandoShooting, and #OrlandoVictims were used as what Jenkins et al. (2019) described as creative modes of identity reconstruction, community building, and resistance which allowed queer narratives to be amplified in response to racist, queerphobic violence. Hashtags also provide avenues for people to imagine queer futurities in response to normative policing of identities: Lucas and Holder (2018) described how the hashtag #TakeBackFitspo allows social media users to disrupt destructive messages about queer bodies and beauty standards at the societal level. It is important to note that the publicly accessible nature of hashtags makes them imperfect vehicles of community organizing, given the fact that hashtags can be hijacked and weaponized against the communities who created them by those holding dissenting opinions of a hashtag's original message. While this hijacking sometimes is an agentive act of resistance against master narratives of oppression (Jackson & Foucault Welles, 2015), it can also be carried out in opposition to movements for queer and trans liberation by extremist groups.

In a similar vein, social media allows queer and trans people holding multiple systemically minoritized identities to build community and enact

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resistance against macro-level modes of domination. TikTok, for example, has become a place where queer, trans, and Two-Spirit Indigenous content creators can build community and educate others on the impact of colonization on their intersecting identities (Jaime, 2020; Simpson & Semaan, 2021). Similarly, Miller (2017) described how undergraduate and graduate students who hold simultaneous queer and dis/ability identities utilize social media to find affirmation for and celebration of their identities and build communities in ways they were not able to on their respective university campuses. In such instances, it becomes clear that social media can serve as a vehicle for transformative resistance and queer and trans liberation.

4 Shortcomings of Social Media in Actualizing Queer and Trans Resistance

Though social media is a powerful tool of resilience for LGBTQ+ communities, it is important to note that social media is not a universally renowned panacea for queer and trans oppression. First, censorship on social media platforms adversely impacts queer and trans communities, particularly BIQTPOC. This censorship can come both at the hands of companies regulating the type of content that arbitrarily meets the "community guidelines" established for their respective social media platforms and also from users that report content they find "offensive" as a way to further silence queer and trans communities. TikTok is one such platform where multiple modes of censorship occur. As much as BIQTPOC are able to find community and representation on the platform, content creators struggle with having short-form videos reported and removed from the website without warning or explanation from the platform (Simpson & Semaan, 2021). Simpson and Semaan also pointed to censorship on TikTok as an example that exposed the impact of white supremacy on BIQTPOC content creators who frequently face demands to remove content centering queerness, Indigeneity, and race across social media platforms. Further, while social media is often seen as widely accessible, some queer and trans people encounter fiscal, class-based, and other social barriers that bar access to social media (Sharma, 2021). For example, in my own work with trans-identifying collegians, one Indigenous, queer, and nonbinary Student of Color noted that due to financial barriers such as not owning a personal computer and having an unreliable internet connection at home, they were not able to utilize social media as a form of education, identity exploration, or community building, both before and during college (Gutzwa, 2021). Finally, maintaining public queer identities on social media can be harmful to some BIQTPOC users who

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are inadvertently "outed" to family members, employers, and other people who are unsupportive of their queerness, causing concerns for safety and well-being (Cho, 2018).

Still, social media holds the potential to empower and transform queer realities—particularly in educational contexts. Given the overall lack of representation of queer and trans identities in K-16 curricula, social media provides a platform for LGBTQ+ students to learn about their queer identities (Fox & Ralston, 2016). Further, social media allows queer and trans people to learn both informally (e.g., watching YouTube videos to map queer "**coming out**" narratives; Fox & Ralston, 2016) and formally (e.g., actively seeking out sex education resources not featured in school curricula; Manduley et al., 2018), demonstrating the potential for social media to be incorporated as a pedagogical tool.

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CHAPTER 133

Standpoint Theory

Lucy E. Bailey

1 Overview

Standpoint theory is a diverse body of theorizing developed by feminist scholars. Those in queer, disability, race, and indigenous studies have also deployed it to serve critical and activist projects. These approaches, best understood as theorizing rather than a single theory, proceed from the understanding that knowledge is socially constructed, political, and theoretical. Counter to positivism, standpoint theorizing holds that the embodied experiences of those in marginalized social locations shape their perspectives, and in turn, their insights for knowledge production. These 'situated locations' or 'standpoints' can foster critical consciousness about forces that contribute to marginalization and thus lead to transformative analyses and action. Standpoints are collectively-forged achievements of group consciousness and knowledge, rather than individual perspectives, from which those marginalized in society can and must examine systems of power that profoundly shape their lives. Such insights can fuel inquiries and interventions to change oppressive systems. Although scholars originally focused on 'women's' marginalization in conceptualizing standpoint (Smith, 1974, 1978), productive dialogue within and outside feminism over decades has stretched standpoint theorizing to include diverse feminist, queer, women of Color, and indigenous standpoints. Challenges from intersectionality and poststructural theories spurred new developments and demonstrated the resilience and value of this critical approach to tracing relationships between knowledge and power and its effects for marginalized groups. This essay traces core concepts and developments in standpoint theory.

2 Historical Roots

Standpoint theories, like scholars who have contributed to their development, draw from varied theoretical traditions. One root stretches back to the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's (1770–1830) story of asymmetrical social relations, such as 'master/slave' dialectics, that, in turn, influenced

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Karl Marx's (1818–1883) conceptualization of the proletariat in Marxist theory. Hegel's account suggested that the inherent struggle of people situated in asymmetrical relationships could nourish self-consciousness within the oppressed and provide a clearer avenue to analyze society than the oppressor. Marx and others developed and applied these ideas to class struggle and class consciousness. To Marx, those who produced the capital, the proletariat, occupied a key material and epistemic position that could, through struggle and heightened consciousness about their conditions, foster insights into the workings of power and spur social change.

Another root of this perspective, also influenced by Hegel, emerges from African American sociologist W.E.B. DuBois' powerful concept of "double consciousness" (1897). One aspect of this multidimensional concept conveys the reality, even necessity, for African Americans navigating a racist world to analyze those conditions from their social position. For DuBois, his grounded experience with the materiality of racism in the late 19th and early 20th century United States created a particular dual consciousness that enabled a form of 'second sight,' as he called it, to analyze the world both from his standpoint and to also see how oppressors viewed him. In this view, social positioning fosters insights about the world; One can recognize and understand power dynamics differently when marginalized.

3 Early Standpoint Theory

Early approaches to standpoint theory (the 1970s and 1980s), including Nancy Hartsock's (1983) influential feminist materialist approach, drew in part from Marxist thought's orientation to consciousness-raising, political struggle, and insights from those with less power in society as vital to analysis. Yet, because Hartsock's materialist approach holds that patriarchal social and economic conditions shape women's lives, she and others critiqued the absence of gender in class analysis and rejected the masculine domination evident in Hegel and **Marxist** thought as oppressive for women. They argued that women (and other groups without social privilege) had a distinct perspectival advantage to challenge dominant forms of knowledge that are inherently androcentric (male-centered). As a method of analysis, "feminist" standpoint theory for Hartsock offered the potential to counter such privileged forms of knowledge that governed the social order. It enabled social analysis of gendered conditions and stratification directly from women's embodied experiences of shared oppression within those systems. For Hartsock, Hilary Rose (1983), and Smith (1974), starting from women's embodied lives could uncover the

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taken-for-granted assumptions that shaped social relations and spur new analyses. Importantly, scholars did not orient such analyses of dominant forms of knowledge and social relations only to epistemological concerns; Such standpoints could and should contribute to praxis (both reflecting and acting) to change the social order.

Sandra Harding (1986, 1991, 2004), a philosopher of science, has played a significant role in the development of standpoint theorizing. Like materialist feminists, Harding has critiqued the ways dominant knowledge systems such as positivism dictate approaches to knowledge production, including the claim that quality science is 'value neutral.' To Harding, 'value neutrality' is itself a stance that shapes knowledge practices. Positivism's claim that knowledge can be separated from socially and historically situated knowers is a problematic and 'inadequate' site to generate knowledge. Harding, like Hartsock, argued that drawing from women's gendered social positioning enabled them to mobilize more "empirically adequate" explanations of the social world than positivism by intentionally and systematically relying on diverse experiences to produce knowledge (Harding, 1992, p. 442). In this view, women's experiences with marginalization can offer women, in some cases, an "epistemic advantage." Some thus advocated for starting empirical inquiries from the diverse realities of women's lives, from embodied standpoints and issues that mattered to them, as rich avenues to explore the world and contribute to knowing otherwise. At this time, standpoint theories embraced an understanding that women as a group shared some conditions of oppression even though diverse experiences were necessary for developing empirically adequate standpoints. Harding (1991) used the term 'strong' objectivity to describe her valuing of an epistemic position situated in multiple perspectives that could create knowledge to serve diverse social issues. This feminist standpoint offers greater epistemic insights than the 'weak' objectivity of positivism's stance that claims value-neutrality and universalism despite its androcentric foundations.

Another nuance of standpoint theorizing called 'situated' knowledge emerged from the work of philosopher of science Donna Haraway (1988), who shares with other standpoint theorists the stance that dominant knowledge traditions are patriarchal and that objectivity is a myth. Haraway's theorizing aligned with Harding's in acknowledging embodied social locations as well as social, historical, and geographic influences on ways of knowing (epistemology) and being (ontology), among other forces, as inevitably and continually shaping any knowledge project. For Haraway (1988), knowledge is situated. This means it is continually grounded in its contextual conditions and the particulars of its knowers. As a type of standpoint, this situatedness animates the knowing and being of the embodied researcher in a specific time and place and

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thus counters objectivity's enactment of a 'view from nowhere,' 'a god trick,' as Haraway (1988) famously phrased it. Haraway uses the metaphor of sight to demonstrate the researcher's gaze as an empirical tool that investigates and orders the world. As an instrument of power, it necessitates researcher reflexivity. Situated knowledges expand our ways of viewing the world and the possible forms of knowledge production available to us. Haraway's work differs from earlier standpoint theorists in emphasizing the danger of creating categories and binaries (e.g., man/woman; fixed epistemic locations) on which knowledge claims rest, a view influential in queer and **poststructuralist** thought.

4 Critiques and Developments

Since these important formulations, **intersectionality**, queer, and poststructuralist scholars, among others, critiqued and expanded theorizing in the 1990s and 2000s (also see Lugones & Spelman, 1983). Some argued that posing "women" as a stable category with particular epistemic clarity and insights relied on essentializing women, or, attributing an "essence" to the nature of woman, that problematically translated to coming to collective consciousness in particular ways. Others questioned the idea that those on the margins, such as gays or lesbians, possessed an *automatic* capacity for insights that lead to critical consciousness (Bar On, 1993; Hekman, 1997). Black feminist sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1990) importantly highlighted that women's diversity locally and globally rendered impossible any broad claims about women's lived realities as stable or shared sites for knowing. Instead, diverse social locations shaped by race, class, nation, and gender, among others, enabled diverse sites of consciousness that could lead to collective critiques of and insights into power.

Collins (1990) positioned her important work in *Black Feminist Thought* against the homogenous conception of (white) 'women' who 'shared experiences.' She theorized Black women's standpoint based on group positioning in intersecting systems of power that were never single axis (e.g., woman, Black, working-class, lesbian). While Black women have varied *individual* experiences, as a *group* they experience racist and gendered stereotypes and structural conditions shaped by dominant knowledge and social systems. Such racialized and gendered power thus can take the form of scapegoating Black women and obscuring other ways of understanding their lives. Black women's contextual positioning shares an epistemic situatedness based on group experiences from which their standpoint, their positioning for critical consciousness, proceeds. Rather than universal claims, these local, situated analytics

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are particular to and achieved through dual consciousness shaped by race and gender as members of a collective. Importantly, foregrounding Black women's multiple viewpoints not only fuels critiques of dominant discourses of reality that can obscure the workings of power, it also, as Collins (1990) details, enables those occupying the standpoint to mobilize agential status as knowers, intervene in systems, and craft new interpretations of the world.

Other scholars' of Color retheorizing of standpoint, such as Chela Sandoval's (2000) theorizing of 'oppositional consciousness' similarly shifted to a vision of multiplicity important for advancing knowledge to advance the interests of disadvantaged groups. This theorizing critiqued white forms of domination, including white feminisms. Drawing from U.S. **women of Color feminisms**, she traces five forms of oppositional consciousness to situate and analyze power. Similarly, Indigenous standpoint theorizing proceeds from local and tribal worldviews to displace colonial knowledge systems and advance all forms of sovereignty for First Nations Peoples. Western colonial knowledge systems have perpetuated deficit views of indigenous peoples and have obscured and dismissed their worldviews through education, language, and research. In this view, Indigenous standpoint theorizing, including indigenous feminist standpoint theorizing that critiques white Western feminisms, offers empowering epistemic situatedness to advance knowledge that serves indigenous peoples (Ardill, 2013).

Postmodernism further shaped the landscape of standpoint theorizing. Countering early standpoint theorizing, postmodernism does not rely on a stable subject or fixed identity categories such as lesbian/gay or man/woman from which to theorize experience. Theorists proceed from a view of the subject as contingent, dynamic, and created by discourse and language. Poststructuralist feminist and queer theorists work to destabilize static identity categories that are far too fluid, intersectional, and contingent to bear a static epistemic privileged standpoint (Collins, 1990). Rather than situating epistemic standpoints in particular bodies or groups, these formulations root analysis in theoretical lenses that trace the workings of power. Postmodern theorists critiqued enduring belief systems they called 'grand' or 'master narratives' that held sweeping explanatory power about the world, such as positivism, capitalism, and Enlightenment philosophy, among others. Rather than, for example, positivism's grand narratives of objectivity and truth, standpoint theorists considered, as Haraway (1988) did, all viewpoints as 'situated' and partial. Whether people occupied social locations as women, gay, indigenous, or proletariats, all positionings offered only partial views of the world.

Scholars instead analyze power dynamics that shape the forces and norms in which categories come into being and how diverse sexual subjects live, move,

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resist, and make meaning in the world. These forces affect embodied realities. Epistemic situatedness thus proceeds from a theoretical standpoint oriented to analysis on behalf of contingent, even strategic, identities and coalitions. Scholar-activists focus their analysis on flexible and intersectional standpoints in each context. Mobilizing a queer or feminist lens of analysis on behalf of vulnerable people can work to uncover the supple power relations that manifest in discourse, language, social conditions, and the parameters of knowledge creation that affect the material realities and subjectivities of diverse groups.

Like standpoint, queer theorizing considers knowledge as socially constructed, scrutinizes the systems of power that create norms of knowing and being, and honors the insights of those positioned as queer. However, a queer standpoint would consider identity categories, including **sexuality**, as constructed, temporary, and contextual while also valuing the critical insights of those whose bodies, desires, identities, and relationships do not align with—and often actively resist—dominant heterosexual or gender norms. Such standpoints might work to render visible ways of knowing the world that emerge from embodied experiences of queer groups (King, 1999). Importantly, queer standpoints are adopted (King, 1999, p. 484) as analytic tools to illuminate the construction of norms (e.g., racism; **colonialism**; **heterosexism**; **heteronormativity**) that govern queer lives and generate questions oriented to, for example, educational, policy, or health care changes. Using varied conceptions of the subject, standpoint theorizing collectively offers grounded constructions of knowledge that aid in surfacing and critiquing dominant accounts. It can be a frame that one adopts to examine those forces rather than one (necessarily) situated in a researcher's own social location.

5 Conclusion

Standpoint theorizing has been a significant contribution to feminist studies and to analysis and praxis on behalf of disadvantaged people. Its development over decades encompasses diverse conceptions of standpoint, theoretical shifts from feminist materialism to poststructuralist to queer analysis, and from fixed categories of people to contingent, dynamic, and intersectional conceptions of the subject. This varied work has been generative for those both inside and outside of feminism. It represents varied disciplines and perspectives, including historical materialism, black feminist thought, gay and lesbian standpoints, indigenous standpoints, and disability analysis. Although used less frequently today, the body of theory remains generative for critical scholars.

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CHAPTER 134

Student Development Theory

Antonio Duran

Student development theory, as a body of research, grew from an interest in supporting individuals holistically as they move through the collegiate environment (Patton et al., 2016). Student development literature encapsulates scholarship that seeks to understand how individuals grow, change, and develop during their time in postsecondary education settings. Higher education and student affairs professionals have long asserted the value of playing a role in students' development. In fact, mention of this goal appeared as early as the 1970s with publications such as *Student Development in Tomorrow's Higher Education* (Brown, 1972). Since then, higher education professionals have endeavored to understand "the ways that a student grows, progresses, or increases his or her [or their] developmental capabilities as a result of enrollment in an institution of higher education" (Rodgers, 1990, p. 27).

To articulate the evolution of college student development research over the years, Jones and Stewart (2016) adopted the metaphor of waves to detail three main shifts that occur relative to developmental theories. Of note, they borrowed the metaphor from feminist scholars who describe the waves of feminist literature. In the case of student development theory, the significance of naming them as waves is to categorize bodies of research based on certain defining characteristics while showing how one wave of theory overlaps with the other. The first wave of student development encapsulates formative families of theories that investigated particular domains of development (e.g., moral, cognitive-structural, psychosocial). These early theories emerged from psychological, social-psychological, and sociological fields, including work on psychosocial development like Erikson (1959/1994) or perspectives on cognitive-structural development such as Perry (1968). However, important to note is that these first wave theoretical contributions frequently came from studies that used samples of white people, and largely, white cisgender undergraduate men from elite institutions. Relatedly, the fields of psychology and sociology viewed **sexuality** and **gender identity** through a lens of disorder. By centering white cisgender undergraduate men, they also failed to attend to the racialized, gendered, and sexualized realities of development.

The second wave of student development involves theories that described social identity development. It is in this wave that research on sexual or gender

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identity development began to emerge. For instance, in the third edition of the *Student Development in College: Theory, Research, and Practice* text, Patton et al. (2016) highlighted the work of Dillon et al. (2011) and their analysis of a unifying model of sexual identity development. In recent years, scholarship on identities that are frequently erased in queer communities like asexual identities (Mollett, 2020) has also started gaining prominence in the college student development literature. Moreover, Patton et al. (2016) offered an example of early research on trans students' identity development (e.g., Bilodeau, 2005). Although these theories advanced the study of sexual and gender identity development for LGBTQ+ communities in important ways, they lacked an in-depth analysis of the oppressive systems that influence development for these populations. Additionally, theories in the second wave may be more likely to assume a core sense of self that is not subject to sociocultural realities, which conflicts with the body of queer studies that seeks to challenge these assumptions (Denton, 2016).

Addressing this noticeable power-neutral stance in the second wave, third wave research specifically mobilizes critical and poststructural frameworks in order to examine how oppression plays a role in college student development. Therefore, it is in this wave of student development research that scholars have started to incorporate knowledge and lenses from queer and trans studies. Examples of research that leverages these critical and poststructural frameworks to explore LGBTQ+ identities have begun emerging in postsecondary education literature. For instance, the work of Nicolazzo (2017) showcases how systems like trans oppression, genderism, and **hegemonic masculinities** affect trans college students as they explore their gender identities. Additionally, researchers have simultaneously started to advance critical perspectives on sexual identity by explicitly centering the experiences of frequently erased groups like bisexual students (Prieto Godoy, 2020), as well as those with multiple minoritized identities (e.g., Duran & Jones, 2020; Miller, 2018). Consequently, the literature on queer and trans identity development located within the third wave has a lot of promise to inform educational interventions by being sensitized to how systemic oppression shapes these students' development.

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CHAPTER 135

Teacher Education and Queerness

J.B. Mayo, Jr.

1 Teacher Education Landscape

Across the teacher education landscape in the U.S., queer invisibility persists even in programs with a strong focus on multicultural coursework where one might expect to find non-normative and inclusive practices (Gorski et al., 2013; Sherwin & Jennings, 2006). As a result, future teachers remain mired in normative teacher education programs that, by design, exclude meaningful **sexuality** and gender education. LGBTQ+ themes, for example, are still considered "controversial" in many settings because of the "erroneous linkage between sex and sexuality established and reinforced by society" (Zacko-Smith & Smith, 2010, p. 5), making it exceedingly difficult for teacher educators to discuss queer topics with their teacher candidates. Consequently, practicing teachers commonly report a lack of preparation to engage in queer topics with their students (Vavrus, 2009).

Despite these grim realities, a strong rationale for the inclusion of queer-centered curriculum and pedagogies within teacher education programs exists. Part of this rationale includes the desire to disrupt teachers' general unease addressing LGBTQ+ topics in class (Fredman et al., 2015) and teachers' prejudice and bias against non-normative sexualities and **gender expressions** more generally (Wyatt et al., 2008). Perhaps most significantly, when practicing teachers provide queer curriculum and enact **queer pedagogies**, queer youth experience an increased sense of well-being and academic achievement, while simultaneously *all* youth – queer, heterosexual, and cisgender – experience nuanced learning opportunities that increase their ability to understand, accept, and celebrate difference (Snapp et al., 2015). An examination of the potential impact **queer theory** may have on teacher education highlights inclusive practices and opens possibilities that aim to challenge and disrupt the normative status quo.

2 Queer Theory Opens Possibilities

Queer theory asserts that identities are neither fixed nor unitary, but multiple and shifting (Kissen, 2002). By extension, it demands that educators work

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to expose any rigid categories and expand them beyond binary thinking like "man/woman, masculine/feminine, student/teacher, gay/straight" in an effort to create more equitable, more relatable, safe, and socially just environments in which students can learn (Meyer, 2007, as quoted in Zacko-Smith & Smith, 2010, p. 7). Queer theory promotes a particular way of thinking that encourages teacher educators and future teachers to actively participate in questioning the meaning of "normal" and how normalcy plays out in classroom spaces. Rather than teachers seeing schools as "places where knowledge means certainty, authority, and stability," for example, teacher education programs utilizing queer theory encourage future teachers to view schools as "places to question, explore, and seek alternative explanations" (Britzman, 2000, p. 51). The queerness in teacher education, therefore, is not only defined by queer bodies that most certainly occupy classroom spaces, but also about this nuanced way of seeing the world. Rigid boundaries soften and become permeable, black/white binaries morph into various shades of gray, and when teachers commit this worldview to action, they are engaging in queer pedagogy (for more discussion, see the entry on **Queer Pedagogy** in this volume).

Incorporating queer pedagogy within teacher education provides instructors with the tools they need to combat the social ills that infiltrate classrooms and thwart transformative practices. Swartz (2005) calls upon teacher education programs to "interrogate homophobia and the naturalization of heterosexuality" (p. 125). Engaging queer pedagogical practices in teacher education pushes individuals toward an important shift in their thinking about teaching. "Some people conceive of teaching as creating order out of chaos; queer pedagogy creates chaos out of order by making visible and calling into question the false binaries that structure society" (Kellinger, 2019, p. 118). As future teacher educators and teachers move toward embracing the chaos that engaging queer pedagogy provides, the following examples from teacher education research provide potential steps toward queering their teacher education programs and/or classroom spaces.

Some scholars insist that the queering process begins with future teachers' prepatory work, which may include "performance ethnography" (Goldstein, 2004), the use of autobiography (Grace, 2006; Miller, 1998), or reading specific biographies (Jennings, 2014), all of which may push both teacher educators and pre-service teachers toward critical examinations of themselves. In this case, Petrovic and Rosiek (2007) define the boundaries of critical examination as "the way **heteronormative** discourses shape their taken-for-granted assumptions" (p. 211). Moving beyond the "prep work," some scholars call for the inclusion of queer topics in individual classes throughout various courses, including having panels of queer individuals (Goldstein et al., 2007; Page & Liston, 2002). Though

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some consider this type of practice surface-level, as giving teacher educators permission to simply check off this box, this example represents a potential start of the queering process, not the endgame. Modeling how to discuss and incorporate queer topics and discussing these models provide preservice teachers with strategies they can use in their own classrooms. Other scholars believe that queering teacher education hinges on teacher educators positioning themselves as learners who model reflection as an ongoing process. This positioning also disrupts the teacher/student binary and opens the door for knowledge creation and flow in multiple directions. Mulhern and Martinez (1999) found that having this orientation opens up dialogue among their students about queer topics. As learners, "these authors found that reflecting on their evolving efforts to address queer topics in their courses with others doing the same was an invaluable aspect of their evolution" (Kellinger, 2019, p. 119). Of great importance, the instructor's repositioning as learner while engaged in reflection is an indication of a change in mindset. It is this mindset, where one seeks questions rather than answers; where one notices in-between-ness, rather than focusing on set categories; and where one allows the expansion of previously fixed boundaries: This shift in mindset is essential to queering teacher education.

3 Concluding Thoughts

Rosiek et al. (2017) call attention to an all-too-common interaction between teacher education faculty and their queer students, students of color, and students who transgress gender norms: the student bears the responsibility to educate the professor and the rest of their White, cisheterosexual classmates on issues that center race, gender, and **sexual orientation** when they come up in class. The queerness that already exists within our classes will only become more evident and have positive impacts on everyone in the classroom when, collectively, teacher educators engage in the hard work of educating the self, practicing self-reflection, and expanding their mindsets. These practices coupled with institutional supports have the potential to transform teacher education programs, which will lead to better-equipped teachers for young people in schools. Teacher educators and the pre-service teachers they instruct must position themselves as learners, work to break down binaries, and thoughtfully engage activities that help them unlearn biases and make visible queer themes, topics, and voices across multiple teacher education courses. This combination may truly empower the teacher workforce to battle the homophobia, **cisheterosexism**, and many other social ills rampant in k-12 schools, doing harm to young people every day.

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CHAPTER 136

Trans* Ethnic Studies

Omi Salas-SantaCruz

Ethnic studies is the critical study of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity through the experiences and perspectives of people of Color within and beyond the United States. As a field of study, Ethnic Studies directly confronts "epistemic racism," or the racial inequities of knowledge production (Bañales, 2019). Trans* Ethnic Studies (T*ES) is a comparative area of study within the major subfields of Ethnic Studies: Black Studies, **Latinx**/Chicanx Studies, Asian American/Asian Diaspora, and Native American/Indigenous Studies that make central the production of **gender** in relation to the construction of race. That is, how the meaning of race and racialized categories are constructed and achieved via the production of gender categories (Lugones, 2007). While research under the fields of **queer** and trans studies has accounted for diasporic, racialized, and ethnic-specific understandings of gender variability and trans* of Color identities and practices (Cornejo, 2014; La Fountain-Stokes, 2011; Ochoa, 2008), T*ES scholarship explicitly addresses gender universality (Lugones, 2020), or the colonialized assumption that all racial groups and ethnic cultures conceptualize gender, gender embodiment, or gender variance in homogenous ways. This racialized and assumed universality further enables **colonialism** and imperialism (DiPietro, 2019).

T*ES benefits from what is being called a Trans* of Color Critique, a decolonizing transing methodology (DiPietro, 2016) that converges analytical lenses such as decoloniality, U.S. **Women of Color Feminism**, Queer of Color Critique, and Trans studies to respond to globalizing and universalizing imperatives about the category "transgender" (Gill-Peterson, 2018; Haritaworn & Snorton, 2013; Valentine, 2007). Trans* of Color Critique is an epistemological antiracist practice wherein scholars rethink the taken-for-granted assumptions about the category transgender, such as a singular conception of the self (Ellison et al., 2017; Hayward, 2017).

Trans* of Color Critique is also a form of epistemic disobedience, or a de-linking from Eurocentric trans knowledge into decolonial options to understand trans* embodiments and trans* configurations via ethnic-specific knowledges and understandings of the self/selves and being/belonging (Salas-SantaCruz, 2021). As a method of "remembering" (Alexander, 2013; Hames-Garcia, 2013) to address the politics of citation, T*ES scholarship uses an asterisk (*) wherein

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the asterisk in Trans*, Trans* Ethnic Studies, and Trans* of Color Critique denotes a grappling with colonial investments in identity. While the asterisk had been previously used and subsequently abandoned by many trans scholars, it had been primarily used as a marker of "greater inclusivity of new gender identities and expressions" (Tompkins, 2014) or a feature denoting gender variability (Halberstam, 2018). Trans* of Color scholarship has repopulated the asterisk to indicate a de-linking from Eurocentrism. According to Green (2016), Trans* marks an epistemological and ontological otherwise, "a decolonial demand upon how, when, and where one sees and knows" racialized gender variance (p. 65). In this manner, the asterisk points to the troubling of the trans archive and the relations of power within transgender knowledge production where "trans* is the queer. Trans* is the colored" (Green, 2016, p. 65).

In the U.S., the field of T*ES not only attends to racialized gender and **sexuality** through a decolonial lens but also traces trans* Black, Latinx, and Indigenous pedagogies and methodologies to attend to the diverse conceptualizations of racialized gender self/selves and to understand refusals and resistances to specific modern identity categories. Specifically, T*ES research recognizes transing, transitions, and ecologies of embodied difference as occurring within trans-Atlantic migrations, in language, and/or in relations to land and culture (Galarte, 2021; Silva Santana, 2017; Tinsley, 2020). As an area of study, Trans* Ethnic Studies signals the centrality and place of the colonial/modern gender system to racial formation, wherein knowing how ethnic minorities negotiate and resist ongoing coloniality of gender becomes critically important to understanding epistemological, communal, and power relations among minoritized ethnic and racial groups. T*ES is thus concerned with relations of power and fields of intelligibility in matters relating to ontology, or of being and of how people come to understand gender, **gender identity**, and gender variance differently when they consider these categories as being ontologically complex or grounded in land, community, and indigenous self-determination (Driskill, 2015).

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CHAPTER 137

Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminists (TERFs)

Justin A. Gutzwa

1 Defining Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminism and TERFs

Radical feminism emerged from the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s as a way to describe the beliefs of women who worked to address the roots of patriarchal oppression societally (Rosewarne, 2021). The related term "trans-exclusionary radical feminists" (most commonly abbreviated as "TERFs") is considered to have been initially coined in 2008 by two cisgender-identifying radical feminists in a joint-authored blog post (McKinnon, 2018; Williams, 2016). In writing about the ways some radical feminists employ exclusionary, violent rhetoric in discussing trans feminists, the authors employed the term to "separate radical feminists into those who accept trans women as women, and those who don't" (McKinnon, 2018, p. 484). Trans-exclusionary radical feminism positions trans subjectivities as oppositional to the ethos of "radical" feminist thought (Pearce et al., 2020)—namely, the liberation of women from the patriarchal oppression of men—though scholars (such as Williams, 2016) have called into question whether feminism which excludes trans* bodies and identities can be truly considered "radical."

The rhetoric employed by TERFs is wholly damaging to trans communities. Scholars and feminist critics have attempted to explain oppressive, trans-exclusionary thought in the "feminist" community. Carrera-Ferndández and DePalma (2020) identify six basic arguments they feel are endemic of the violent nature of trans-exclusionary radical feminist rhetoric, which I paraphrase as: the abolition of gender as a means of eradicating transgender identities; state-sanctioned support of trans communities constitutes a conspiracy against (cis)womanhood, particularly cis-identifying lesbians; trans women are men who attempt to co-opt the power of identifying as a woman; trans men are women who "betray" their cis counterparts; trans-inclusive feminism is not *actually* feminism; and that certain "valid" modes of womanhood, femininity, and queerness both exist and should be enforced. Common amongst these arguments is the supposed essential nature (biological essentialism) of sex and gender—conflations which are starkly at odds with the lived realities and epistemologies of trans people.

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Put simply, a TERF is one who advances transmisogynistic and otherwise transphobic rhetoric akin to that described by Carrera-Ferndández and DePalma (2020). Originally coined as a categorical term, the use of "TERF" has gained some of the widest traction in informal discursive spaces, namely on social media platforms, blogs, and other digital spaces outside of the academy, and has most commonly been used to describe the words and actions of a self-proclaimed "radical" feminist. In response, many who have been labeled as a TERF view the term as a pejorative and misogynistic slur, falsely attributing the term's proliferation to trans women working to reify the patriarchy and dismantle women's rights altogether (McKinnon, 2018). In opposition to the "slur" of TERF, some have elected to use "gender critical" as a way to continue engaging in **transmisogyny** by "claiming 'biologically defined' notions of femaleness and womanhood over gender identity and social concepts of gender" (Pearce et al., 2020, p. 681).

It is important to note that radical feminism—both with and without the prefix of "trans-exclusionary"—has been critiqued for its overt centering of white feminist ideologies and, therefore, their silencing of Black, Indigenous, and other women of Color (e.g., Combahee River Collective, 1982; Lorde, 1984). For TERFs, who attempt to unify (cis)women under the pretense of a shared (cis)womanhood, the understanding that all women's experiences are the same presumes that all women are also white (Koyama, 2020). As such, the transmisogyny espoused by TERFs, while violent towards all trans individuals, is particularly violent to Black, Indigenous, and other queer and trans People of Color.

2 TERF Ideologies in Educational Contexts

Scholars spanning educational contexts, including K-12 (e.g., Carrera-Fernández & DePalma, 2020; Schmidt, 2017) and higher education (e.g., Chang & Leets, Jr., 2018; Nicolazzo, 2017), have identified educational institutions as **cisheteronormative** spaces whose structures, classrooms, and curricula oftentimes perpetuate trans-exclusionary ideologies. In many instances, TERFs oppose LGBTQ+ inclusive school policies and educational advancements (Pearce et al., 2020), contributing to understandings of cisnormativity in educational spaces and rendering such **heteronormativity** inextricable from the discussion of TERFs. This being said, the actual term TERF is not frequently used in educational scholarship, even in discussions of trans inclusion/exclusion in education.

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Debates over the appropriateness of the term TERF in educational spaces frequently coincide with larger discussions of academic freedom. In describing a course taught on gender and sexuality where students (correctly and categorically) used the term TERF on final examinations, Pearce and colleagues (2020) explain how exam proctors and graders complained to department leadership about the "misogynistic" use of TERF, arguing that course instructors should be disciplined for promoting and allowing the use of "slurs" in their classrooms. Further, in response to McKinnon's (2018) piece outlining how TERFs' rhetoric is a form of violent propaganda, a group of scholars petitioned to the editor-in-chief of the publishing journal to retract and correct McKinnon's article, claiming it to be libelous towards those holding trans-exclusionary worldviews (Flaherty, 2018). These examples not only demonstrate the false outrage TERFs weaponize when their oppressive ideologies are challenged but also speak to the ways institutions perpetuate heteronormative trans-exclusion.

Pedagogy is one place where rhetoric espoused by TERFs can be circumvented. As discussed by Carrera-Fernández and DePalma (2020), education on gender must take a comprehensive, equality-based approach, which means actively dismantling TERF perspectives in the classroom; they write: "A trans-inclusive feminism would support schools in providing the kind of education that we all need; trans-exclusionary voices within feminist circles only serve to divide us and support a heteronormative and oppressive status quo" (p. 758). At all educational levels, it is important to reflect not just on the ways we support trans students but also the ways our teaching advances liberatory and inclusive ideologies.

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CHAPTER 138

Trans Faculty (Postsecondary)

Mel Kutner

1 Overview

There are a growing number of transgender or gender non-conforming faculty in postsecondary institutions, but little is known about their experiences as trans individuals and educational professionals. Like **queer** LGB-identified individuals, queer trans and gender-non-conforming individuals are impacted by **heteronormativity**, which condones certain relationships and expressions of **sexuality** between a Man and Woman as "good" or "natural" while condemning the rest as "immoral" or "unnatural." The narratives and structures of heteronormativity are built upon the foundational logics of what Bilodeau (2009) termed "**genderism**;" "a social system of structural inequality with an underlying assumption that there are two, and only two, genders" (p. 54), as well as the analogous assumption that these two genders correspond to the **sex a person is assigned at birth**. While queer LGB-identified individuals may experience genderism, by definition, all queer trans and gender-non-conforming individuals will do so. Because of these differences between their experiences and the larger narratives or structures that impact them, scholarship that focuses specifically on trans or gender-non-conforming queer people is necessary.

Despite shifts in cultural awareness and attitudes towards transgender people, schools and education are the staging ground for many legal and rhetorical attacks on trans and gender non-conforming people and topics. Trans students continue to report being subject to frequent discrimination, harassment, and violence at the hands of other students and educators and at higher rates than their cisgender LGB peers. At the same time, states and local school districts are increasingly taking legislative steps to roll back legal protections instated at the federal level to recognize and affirm gender identity. In 2021, "more than 100 anti-trans bills have been introduced in state legislatures across the country" (Keenan & Nicolazzo, 2021). While these measures often take aim at the access of trans youth schools to necessary and appropriate bathrooms, uniforms, and extracurricular activities, schools have also been at the center of debates about the appropriate role of teachers in educating students about gender diversity. This environment impacts K-12 and postsecondary educators at K-12 and postsecondary on multiple levels, and particularly trans individuals. Surveys of

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LGBTQ+ faculty found that trans faculty experience greater instances of overt discrimination, hostility, and marginalization because of their **gender identities** than their queer cisgender counterparts (Simmons, 2017).

2 Professional Experiences

The roles and responsibilities of postsecondary faculty and K-12 educators overlap but also are marked by important differences. In general, there are three common features of postsecondary faculty jobs: teaching, research, and service. Like their counterparts in K-12 settings, postsecondary faculty plan and teach courses and support student learning. Teacher evaluation in K-12 settings is too large and complex a topic to be addressed in this entry. Often the perceived effectiveness and job security of K-12 teachers are often determined by considering their students' performance on standardized testing. In contrast, the quality of postsecondary faculty is often determined by their students' evaluations of their teaching. In both instances, evaluations of teacher effectiveness are impacted by historical and systemic inequity. Research on student evaluations of postsecondary instruction found that they can be unfair, erroneous (Esarey & Valdes, 2020), and reflect racial and gender biases (Peterson et al., 2019). Transgender and LGB postsecondary faculty, and especially those with BIPOC identities, may have to contend with how their students' biases—implicit and overt—impact their teaching evaluations and, therefore, job security and opportunities for advancement.

In addition, where K-12 educators are often expected to participate in ongoing professional learning throughout their careers, as evidenced by attaining certifications, additional degrees, or having proof of training, postsecondary faculty are expected to continue to grow as scholars by conducting research and producing publications about their work. Because of the system of peer review that undergirds academic publications and conferences, trans and gender-non-conforming postsecondary faculty are particularly impacted by their professional interpersonal relationships. Some of the professional impacts on trans faculty include being delayed or denied tenure or blocked from funding to conduct research—both of which are important for many academic faculty (Rankin et al., 2010; Wells, 2018).

Finally, postsecondary Faculty are also expected to engage in "professional service," which could include acting as a peer reviewer for a journal, taking a leadership role in a national professional organization, and sitting on an administrative committee at their college or university. In addition, faculty are increasingly expected to contribute to institutional goals related to diversity,

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equity, and inclusion in their teaching, scholarship, and service. However, different forms of service are neither valued nor shared equally. The emotional and relational labor of student mentorship and support work is often gendered as feminine and done by women and/or faculty from and for identity groups traditionally marginalized in academic spaces (Hanasono et al., 2017)—including queer and trans faculty. Increasing numbers of young and college-aged people are identifying as LGBTQ+ and transgender (Beemyn et al., 2005). Students from racial, ethnic, and social-economic communities that have been traditionally marginalized in academia may rely on faculty mentorship and support to successfully navigate the structures of postsecondary education because their familial or social networks do not have those forms of knowledge. Similarly, aside from their peers, queer and transgender faculty and staff are likely an important source of mentorship and support to navigate the structures and norms of academia. Postsecondary faculty may take on these roles in formal and informal capacities while also experiencing isolation and marginalization in postsecondary settings (Harris & Nicolazzo, 2017; Pitcher, 2017; Simmons, 2017). Includes being misgendered or tokenized by being asked to stand in as the expert or representative for all trans or gender-non-conforming people, as well as overt misgendering, hostility, and unequal access to workplace protections. Twenty-seven have laws that prohibit discrimination on the basis of **sexual orientation** and **gender identity**. Twenty-two states, including three of the high population states of Georgia, Florida, and Texas, do not have protections in place. While private institutions may have their own policies, public universities, including many research-intensive institutions, do not. Additional scholarship and attention to specifically trans and gender non-conforming faculty in postsecondary institutions are needed.

3 Scholarship

Trans faculty are not passive subjects within institutions. They are contributors to both the environment and intellectual activities of higher education. As Duran et al. (2020) noted, "too often, studies in higher education have positioned queerness and trans*ness as purely embodied identities, as opposed to embracing queer and trans* ways of thinking and knowing" (p. 112).

Trans faculty in postsecondary settings contribute to empirical and theoretical scholarship in education in a myriad of different ways. From increasing the representation of identities and theoretical perspectives in curriculum, LGBTQ+ and trans faculty may incorporate trans-affirming competencies, concepts, and materials into their instruction of future educators, administrators,

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policymakers, and educational researchers—including postsecondary faculty who may expand the ways they share the emotional and social burdens of advocating for spaces where gender diverse individuals and concepts may thrive.

For example, some may focus on the education of trans, gender-non-conforming, and/or LGB students in public education, and others may use trans-affirmative decolonial **queer theories** to analyze a concept, a moment, or a pedagogical practice. Just as the LGBTQ+ population is not a monolith, neither are the theoretical orientations that are used to examine the experiences of queer subjects in education or discourses about education. As Renn (2010) noted a decade ago, and Lange et al. (2019) more recently reiterated, a landscape of literature represents different philosophical orientations of different uses of queer theory and LGBTQ+ studies in education. More recently, trans faculty in education have been significant contributors to the newly emerging interdisciplinary Trans Studies. Informed in part by their experiences as trans faculty in education, such scholars bring trans ways of knowing in conversation with other social and political theories to theorize new approaches to epistemology and research methodology and advocate for ways that the academy can increase the **visibility** of trans scholars and embrace gender expansiveness (Nicolazzo, 2017).

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CHAPTER 139

Trans K-12 Teachers

Mario I. Suárez

1 Background Information

Even as trans **visibility** grows across the United States, trans people continue to feel unsafe **coming out** in the workplace. Data from the 2015 U.S. Trans Survey show that nearly half of trans people in the U.S. are not "out" to their supervisors or coworkers, all the while experiencing varying levels of discrimination in the workplace (James et al., 2016). One of the groups not well documented in the research literature is that of trans teachers in K-12 contexts. Until recently, the information available about trans teachers came from studies that included **gender identity** as part of larger studies that focused on the broader population of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans (LGBT+) teachers (Irwin, 2002; Smith et al., 2008).

Part of the challenge of designing research studies that focus primarily on trans teachers in K-12 contexts involves the variation in research designs. That is, due to the low numbers of "out" trans teachers and difficulty in recruiting of trans teachers, few quantitative studies with only trans teachers in K-12 contexts exist that can provide an overview of the full population. Qualitative studies that exist have established a need to further explore the working conditions and other professional challenges of trans teachers. For example, through third-person narratives (Francis, 2014; Harris & Jones, 2014; Wells, 2018), autobiographical studies (Buterman, 2015; Keenan, 2017; Suárez, 2020), and mixed methods studies (Dow, 2020; Ullman, 2020), research has highlighted the negative workplace experiences of trans teachers.

2 Workplace Experiences

Past research that documents workplace experiences of trans teachers highlights the overwhelmingly negative encounters of trans educators with coworkers and supervisors. These experiences range from harassment, apathy from supervisors and other higher-level administrators, and loss of job, among other hardships, largely due to an educational system that is hostile towards teachers who exist outside of the **cisgender binary** (Kahn & Gorski, 2016).

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To complicate things further, the greater workplace discrimination literature has largely documented how much easier transitioning on the job is for trans men in comparison to trans women and how trans women of Color are more likely to endure different types of discrimination (Schilt, 2006, 2010; Schilt & Wiswall, 2008; Suárez et al., 2020).

In her study of 27 trans educators, Dow (2020) found that all of the participants in her study, coming from different states across the U.S., lacked support, felt lonely in navigating their transness in the school environment, and experienced attempts at job removal. Discrimination for teachers was apparent across earlier studies as well (Irwin, 2002).

3 Sources of Support

As difficult as the lives of trans teachers can be, there are a few sources of support documented in the research. One of the largest sources of support is the Trans Educators Network (TEN), founded in 2016 by Dr. Harper Keenan as a response to the often-undocumented experiences of trans people in everyday life, continued suicide and murders of trans people, and living in a society that does not expect trans people to survive (Keenan, 2019). Formed under the framework of mutual aid, the group consists of trans-identified educators from all walks of life who help each other on teaching-related issues through advice, support, and meetings. In 2018, a group of eight educators and Keenan set out to become part of the initial group of educators known as the Core Collective, a group that represented, in large part, differences in religious affiliations, gender identity, geographic location, teaching experiences, and ethnicities, in order to help move TEN forward in organizing the hundreds of trans teachers in the network.

Other research highlights the importance of cis coworkers and positive interactions with students through relationship-building.

4 Recommendations for Research

Though educational researchers are learning more about trans teachers in K-12 contexts, there is still a lot of information that has not been studied. For example, the literature documents the experiences of predominantly white trans teachers. Therefore, the experiences of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) teachers is crucial considering that the student population is predominantly non-white. Further research should explore how wide

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or narrow the pipeline to teaching is for trans BIPOC teachers. Additionally, larger scale empirical studies that focus solely on trans teachers could provide a more nuanced perspective into positive and negative interactions that trans teachers encounter in the workplace, and how they navigate their personal and professional lives.

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CHAPTER 140

Trans Postsecondary Students

Jesse Wiley and Kathleen Clarke

Trans students in postsecondary education represent a vast array of **gender identities**. This may include students who identify themselves as **agender**, bigender, genderfluid, gender non-conforming, **genderqueer**, **intersex**, non-binary, transgender, transsexual, **Two-Spirit**, or some other gender identity that is not cisgender. Intersex people and non-binary people may or may not include themselves within this trans umbrella. Two-Spirit people hold specific roles within Indigenous communities and is not a term that should be used by non-Indigenous trans people. The broader category of gender is a social phenomenon by which societies organize gender categories, often by way of physical characteristics and gender expression (dress and presentation of the body). In societies within which gender is assigned at birth based on physical characteristics, a cisgender person is someone who identifies with the gender they were assigned. Cis- is a Latin prefix meaning 'on the near side of' or 'on this side of.' A trans person is someone who does not identify with the gender they were assigned. Trans- is a Latin prefix meaning 'across, over, or beyond.'

Trans students may be of any sexual or romantic orientation, including but not limited to **asexual**, aromantic, bisexual, gay, heterosexual, lesbian, and pansexual. Trans students come from all demographic and social identity contexts. While information about gender is often collected through large-scale surveys of students, it is not always collected in a way that makes trans students visible. Historically, surveys request data for the category of 'sex' by giving two options, male or female. Whether respondents are cisgender or transgender is not captured within the data collection process. Furthermore, this gender binary does not provide any space for any fluidity across, over, or beyond the two options. This means that the existing data on the number of trans students in postsecondary education is difficult to determine. An analysis of trans-spectrum students' responses to the 2017 National Survey of Student Engagement found that of approximately 126,000 students, there were 500 trans-spectrum students (Greathouse et al., 2018). Contrastingly, Woodford et al. (2019) found that of over 39,000 Canadian students who responded to the National College Health Assessment, 2.5% were trans. Further research is required to obtain a comprehensive and more accurate understanding of how many trans students might be participating in postsecondary education.

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1 Trans Students in Higher Education Research

In their overview of the state of LGBT and queer research in higher education, Renn (2010) directly addressed how queer and trans communities are treated as a monolith. This has limited the ways in which the experiences of trans postsecondary students emerge within higher education literature. Nicolazzo (2017a) expanded on this understanding by defining the concept of **compulsory heterogenderism**, namely that the erasure of trans genders contributes to the conflation or overvaluation of sexualities rather than gender identities. While queer and trans communities have ties and linkages, the submersion of trans students into conversations about queer students as a whole further invisibilizes trans students, even within queer-affirming spaces or research. For example, a queer student may insist that a trans person is actually a butch lesbian rather than a trans-masculine non-binary person.

Trans students are made invisible across campuses by systemic applications of the **gender binary**, also referred to as genderism (Ashton, 2019; Goldberg & Kuvalanka, 2018; Hill, 2003;). Systemic applications of the gender binary within higher education can be found within intake processes, residences, classrooms, and student services.

2 Kinship Networks

The establishment of supports based in communities of chosen family and friends, described as kinship networks by Nicolazzo (2017b), are a significant element to emerge from research on trans students. Kinship networks can be maintained both online and offline and can include friendships, peer mentorships, and romantic relationships (Nicolazzo et al., 2017). Information about different trans identities, as well as information about transition-related supports, largely come from these networks of trans communities. Goldberg and Kuvalanka (2018) found that trans friends were regarded as sources of information, support, and identity affirmation by nonbinary students. Trans students are aware that many aspects of campus life are not inclusive or safe for trans people. Interpersonal interactions were central to Garvey et al.'s (2019a) respondents' perception of **campus climate** and their willingness to disclose their trans identity. These kinship networks are not just drawn along the lines of gender but also those of class, race, ability, and other lived experiences. This means that identity construction and reconstruction occur intentionally when trans students are able to access trans-affirming spaces (Jourian, 2017a).

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When trans students see, interact with, and have access to trans staff or faculty, they are witnessing examples of how they can exist in the world and expanding their networks to include what Laverne Cox, a trans activist, actor, and speaker, called "possibility models." Trans students can look to these "possibility models" for guidance on how they can come into their own being. This is important for trans students as they navigate between being vocal educators in encounters with cisgender individuals and being quiet or withdrawn while enduring difficult interactions such as transphobic **microaggressions**. Duran and Nicolazzo (2017) emphasized the exhaustion carried by trans students as they negotiated these weighted choices. Kinship networks become essential elements of both the resilience and success of trans students.

3 Trans Students of Color

Specific subgroups of the trans student population must be considered, as trans students also hold identities beyond their gender. For example, it is well-documented that there is limited research on trans students of Color, particularly when compared with the growth in literature on students of marginalized **sexualities** (Duran, 2018; Renn, 2010). Race and racism play a critical role in the lives of trans students of Color, one that differs greatly from trans students who are white. **Antiblackness** is one such example that impacts Black trans students who engage with queer and trans spaces on campus (Jourian, 2017b). Viewing trans students in isolation without considering the multiple identities within their lived experiences ensures a similar problem as the monolith of queer and trans identities. The whitewashing of trans higher education literature will continue to occur if researchers are not intentional while conducting research, particularly as it relates to race (Jourian, 2017b).

When race is intentionally centered in research on trans students, it can produce insightful narratives on how race impacts trans students' experiences with gender. It can reveal the ways in which trans students of Color find courage in being out and taking up space on campus, as well as the ways in which racism and cissexism impact their experiences (Garvey et al., 2019b). Being made doubly invisible as a trans student of Color often means that the onus is on the student to access support and find resources. It can also mean feeling like they are between two or more worlds as they navigate campuses or investigate trans scholarship and find that they do not see themselves reflected (Nicolazzo, 2016; Ware, 2010).

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4 Student Services

Existing research on trans students has shown that they have mixed experiences with access to and use of student services. Part of these mixed experiences may be due to the services that are provided, the staff, or other organizational challenges. Marine and Nicolazzo (2014) found challenges with the conflation of gender identities and sexualities by LGBTQ center staff, echoing Renn (2010). In addition, when it comes to trans-related programming within these centers, they found that all of the trans-related programming was about, rather than for, trans students. Catalano and Jourian (2018) argue that queering gender-aware practices in both LGBTQ centers and other areas of campus could ease gender tensions that are experienced in both spaces by students. Trans students encounter gender tensions in student services when they are refused any options to use their chosen name rather than their legal name or when they are referred to by a gendered term as a greeting. Residences present obstacles to trans students as campus spaces that are often marked by gender. While student affairs professionals do attempt to improve or establish gender-inclusive housing options on campuses, they can find themselves working against a larger system of normative discourses regarding trans students (Marine et al., 2019). Paradoxically, gender-inclusive housing options can also perpetuate trans oppression (Nicolazzo, 2018). Trans students are not always consulted effectively during policy drafting of gender-inclusive housing, and this impacts the overall effectiveness of the housing option.

5 The Resilience of Trans Students

Trans students continue to encounter barriers, microaggressions, and discrimination in postsecondary environments. Within the classroom, they cannot engage with a classroom space effectively if faculty have not prepared themselves and their content to be trans-inclusive (Duran & Nicolazzo, 2017). A lack of kinship networks and appropriate supports can then compound the challenges within the classroom. In some cases, trans students even may leave their postsecondary institutions entirely rather than endure microaggressions and erasure (Nicolazzo, 2017b). However, trans students are often activists, writers, and knowledge-producers who participate in and collaborate on research about trans students, organize protests on campus, and willingly provide education on trans identities. It is important now for institutions to recognize their role in establishing whole-campus approaches to supporting trans students—thereby ensuring that this often-invisible group is not erased.

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CHAPTER 141

Trans Studies in Education

Omi Salas-SantaCruz

1 Trans Studies in Education

Trans studies in education makes the category "trans-" its primary frame of analysis. While "transgender" refers to a particular gender identity category, trans- (with a hyphen) disentangles "trans" from identity. That is, trans- studies is not only about the experiences and knowledge of trans people but the different operations and movements outside the politics of **gender identity** (Stryker, Currah & Moore, 2008). Through this "transing" of trans-, education scholars engage with issues regarding gender-expansive identities and focus on issues across or between gendered spaces. This shift in how people think of trans leverages three distinct areas of research within education: research on transgender identities, trans-experiences, and analysis on the gendered organization of schools through programming, practices, and curriculum.

2 Understanding Transgender Identities

Transgender recognition in schools is, in part, an issue of understanding the complexity of transgender identities and embodiments. In this line of work, scholars map transgender identity development processes and how gender creative and/or gender expansive youth describe, define, enact, understand, and deploy the category "transgender" (Sausa, 2005). Rankin and Beemyn (2012) found over 100 different ways transgender students describe their gender expressions and practices relative to self-identification. Jourian (2018) explored how transmasculine college students defined, understood, and embodied masculinity. In the study, trans-masculinities were described as identity and embodiment, including the ways that cultural ideas of gender create gender expectations. Trans-masculinities, in this case, were conceived as both a masculine transgender identity and a new way to unsettle normative conceptions of **hegemonic masculinity** and racial stereotypes imposed on men of Color. Likewise, Catalano (2015) highlighted the contradictions within identity discourses of and about trans men. He argued that medical discourses

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both enable and constrain how transgender college students identify and experience masculinity.

There is also a diversity of femininities in schools and higher education, but unfortunately, limited research on specific trans-femininities in school contexts, given the conflation of boy femininity and girl masculinity as related only to **sexuality** and not gender expression or identity. Reay (2001), for example, uncovered how tomboys expressed and enacted a modality of femininity that directly challenged the notion of girls as "natural subordinates." Scholars focused on trans*femme people, particularly on Black trans*femininity, has shown how femme is not an identity in opposition to masculinity but a robust way of being in opposition to femmephobia (Shelton, 2018). That is, femme is a subversion of the **gender binary** for both trans and cisgender bodies.

Understanding the complexity of transgender identities and embodiments is central to creating trans-inclusive educational policies, resources, and curriculum development (Beemyn, 2019; Bilodeau, 2007; Goldberg & Kuvalanka, 2018). Culturally specific repertoires of practices regarding trans* identities and embodiments also provide insights into how students of different racialized and ethnic backgrounds enact and understand transing (Salas-SantaCruz, 2021). For example, some students conceptualize their gendered practices, identities, and aesthetic choices as transing expected racialized gendered assumptions of professionalism imposed onto them based on their racial and/or ethnic identities (Salas-SantaCruz, 2020). Knowledge about the complexity of transgender identities and embodiment helps to challenge "institutional genderism" (Goffman, 1977) or how institutions are organized in narrow gendered terms.

2.1 *Trans Student Experiences*

Knowledge of transgender identity and its complexity helps education scholars and practitioners to uncover the unique experiences and challenges trans students face. These include heightened vulnerabilities for violence and health issues to incidences of school absenteeism and truancy (Day et al., 2018). National quantitative data, for example, captures general students' perceptions in matters related to harassment based on gender identity and expression, peer-to-peer bullying, sexual harassment, school discipline, and the surveillance of transgender bodies from grade school to college (Kosciw & Cullen, 2002; Goldberg, 2018; Greytak et al., 2009). These data demonstrate that transgender students are at higher risk of violence, sexual assault, and sexual risk behaviors than cisgender youth (Johns et al., 2019). Case studies such as Beemyn (2003) and McKinney (2005) explain how the experiences of students "coming out" to professors can diminish relationships with peers and

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staff, while sometimes a necessary disclosure to access trans-specific student services. Other case studies describe a range of micro and macro aggressions and exclusions such as explicitly abusive, demeaning language, dead-naming, misgendering, intrusive questioning over bodies, surgeries and/or intimate life, and even physically avoiding or distancing from trans students (Beemyn & Rankin, 2011). These series of aggressions make trans life "unlivable" in many schools and produce heightened vulnerabilities, particularly for transgender students of color (Caraves, 2018; Johnson & Javier, 2017).

Case studies on trans student experiences also reveal some of the limitations and frictions in implementing trans awareness models for higher education (Nakamura, 1998). Enke (2012), for example, describes forms of "cis allyship" practices in the classroom, such as disclosing being cisgender. In Enke's analysis, this practice only re-naturalizes cisgender identity instead of exposing it as a socially produced category and as a category concerning individuals' proximity to **whiteness**. Finally, a growing number of studies on transgender student experiences highlight the importance of transgender staff and faculty **visibility** for students' career and academic choices (Dow, 2020; Johnson, 2019; Jourian et al., 2015).

3 Undoing (Cis)gendered School Organization

Trans-education research is also concerned with the gendered and normative dimensions of school organization. This line of inquiry delineates how curriculum, literacy, school practices, and management uphold rigid **cisnormative** traditions (Martino & Cumming-Potvin, 2018), or what Nicolazzo (2017) describes as "**compulsory heterogenderism**." Hart and Lester (2008), Meyer and Keenan (2018), and Martino et al. (2020) highlight the numerous forms of bigender recognition that exist within schooling. These include gender-specific physical structures, such as gyms and restrooms, official student records and forms of identification that require students to use assigned birth names and gender in school documents, and classroom practices that group students into perceived stable gender categories. Woolley (2015), for example, exposed the limits of binary language in teaching practices that foreclose possibilities of choosing expansive modes of gender self-identification. That is, the practice of pairing or separating "boys over here, girls over there" during class activities prevents students' ability to choose beyond the gender binary while simultaneously exposing trans students as being different from the norm. Overall, this research reveals the ideological gender-sex constellations that structure school organizations in order to transform them via policy and practice. To this end,

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Rands (2009) proposed a "transgendering" of infrastructure through a "gender complex education" model wherein schools commit to account for how heterosexism and gendered oppressions play out in schools and the central role that teachers play in resisting and undoing gendered oppressions.

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CHAPTER 142

Transgender K-12 Students

Melinda M. Mangin

1 Introduction

Transgender identities and experiences have been documented across time and contexts (Gill-Peterson, 2018; Snorton, 2017; Stryker, 2017). In contrast, K-12 schools have only recently begun to consider how to meet the needs of transgender students.

By its nature, the term *trans*, or *transgender*, defies definition; however, as an identity category, it is generally understood as referring to people whose gender does not align with their sex assigned at birth. Some transgender students fit perceived gender norms for girls or boys, and others, defy traditional gender expectations. Tragically, schools can be dangerous places for trans students who commonly face social exclusion, harassment, and violence that can lead to emotional distress, school avoidance, and even self-harm (Kosciw et al., 2018).

While there have been significant legal advances that protect trans students, schools have resisted new knowledge about gender diversity, and educational practices have been slow to change. Trans students present educators with opportunities to challenge binary gender norms and create more affirming and equitable educational spaces.

2 Gender in Schools

Schools play a regulatory role in the social production of gender norms. When children enroll in school, they are categorically defined as boys or girls, and gender continues to be an explicit part of their social, academic, and extracurricular activities.

Gender is infused in school routines and traditions in ways that reproduce binary gender norms for girls and boys and preserve **cisnormative** beliefs (Miller et al., 2018), the idea that all people are cisgender, and their **gender identity** aligns with their legal sex category assigned at birth. Gender policing reinforces cisnormative beliefs about the right way to be a boy or girl (Mayo, 2014; Pascoe, 2011). Consequently, students who disrupt perceived gender

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norms—whether they identify as cis, trans, queer, nonbinary, or agender—commonly face harassment, exclusion, and even violence (James et al., 2016; Kosciw et al., 2018).

For students who embody additional marginalized identities from categories like ability, citizenship, class, ethnicity, race, and religion, the adverse effects of intolerance are magnified (Singh, 2013). To adequately support trans students, schools need to challenge binary gender norms and affirm all gender identities and expressions.

3 Legal Protections for Trans Students

Beginning in 2014, a series of nine legal rulings[1] in seven states (Florida, Maine, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin) upheld protections for transgender students in K-12 schools (National Center for Trans Equality, n.d.). Collectively, these rulings indicate that, under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and the Equal Protection Clause of the US Constitution, schools must allow equal access to restrooms for transgender students; school policies that protect transgender students do not violate others' rights, and discrimination against transgender students is sex discrimination. These rulings reinforce federal civil rights protections for transgender students in K-12 schools. Schools that do not uphold trans students' rights may be subject to litigation (Seals & Gonzales, 2019).

In an effort to facilitate trans students' equal access to education, numerous state departments of education and school districts have developed policies intended to support and affirm trans students (Lewis & Eckes, 2020; Whalen & Esquith, 2016). However, policy implementation is dependent upon subjective interpretation, and policy mandates alone may be insufficient for changing inequitable school structures (Loutzenheiser, 2015; Meyer & Keenan, 2018).

Importantly, increased legal protections for trans students do not ensure that schools or districts will comply, and there is growing evidence of a historic political backlash. In 2021, states had introduced 115 anti-transgender bills, the highest number ever, many of which aimed to reduce trans students' access to facilities and programs (Legislative Tracker, n.d.).

4 Supportive Education Practices

Some schools and educators are taking steps to support trans students, and new scholarship points to a variety of practices that can facilitate more gender-affirming school environments. Principals can work with teachers and families

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to build knowledge about diverse gender identities and experiences (Leonardi & Staley, 2018; Mangin, 2020a). Some schools have begun to provide teachers with professional learning related to gender diversity (McQuillan & Leininger, 2021; Meyer & Leonardi, 2018). Teachers are increasingly adding gender-inclusive books to their classrooms, creating lessons about gender, and affirming students' gender identities and expressions (Hermann-Wilmarth et al., 2017; Mangin, 2020b). New approaches to instruction, including "trans pedagogy," can provide students with opportunities to "unscript" gender norms and construct new understandings of themselves (Keenan, 2017). Curriculum can be revised to reflect and celebrate the contributions of trans and **genderqueer** people (Beemyn, 2017). Schools can decrease their reliance on gender-based procedures, facilities, and activities and develop new procedures for handling records and information that protect students' privacy (Orr & Baum, 2015).

5 Challenges to Trans-Affirming Practices

Despite increased legal protections and new knowledge about how to create supportive educational environments for trans students, schools have been slow to change. Many schools have assumed a reactive stance, placing the onus on students to sacrifice their privacy and disclose their gender identity before schools initiate trans-affirming practices (Meyer et al., 2016). In some cases, students are asked to assume responsibility for educating their peers and teachers about gender (Frohard-Dourlent, 2018). Some schools simply refuse to support trans students (Eckes, 2017).

Many educators do not understand the relevance of learning about transgender identities (Payne & Smith, 2018), failing to see how binary gender norms limit all children's identity development and expression. Educators who want to create supportive educational environments for trans students may lack know-how or fear reprisals (Payne & Smith, 2014). Policies intended to support trans students can erase the complexities of trans experience and construct trans youth as a problem to be solved (Loutzenheiser, 2015). Taken together, these challenges continue to limit trans students' access to equitable and affirming educational environments.

6 Conclusion

There is a new awareness in schools about the needs of transgender students and the constraints that binary norms place on everyone's **gender expression**

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and identity. As such, K-12 educators are presented with an opportunity to critically examine and change the educational practices and structures that reproduce cisnormative beliefs. Legal rulings that protect the rights of trans students and research on trans-affirming educational practices provide educators with the knowledge and resources needed to create more equitable educational environments for trans students in K-12 schools.

Note

1 Doe v. Regional School Unit 26, ME, 2014; Dodds v US Department of Education, OH, 2016; Whitaker v Kenosha USD, WI, 2017; A.H. ex rel. Handling v. Minersville Area School District, PA, 2017; Evancho v. Pine-Richland School District, PA, 2017; Grimm v. Gloucester County School Board, VA, 2019; M.A.B. v. Board of Education of Talbot County, MD, 2018; Doe v. Boyertown Area School District, PA, 2018; Adams v. School Board of St. Johns County, FL, 2018.

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CHAPTER 143

Transnormativity

Romeo Jackson

1 What Is Transnormativity?

Transnormativity describes the ways in which some transgender people, often white, heterosexual, and with class privilege, are positioned within trans activism and discourse as the "right" kind of trans person to be. That is, those who conform most closely to whiteness and norms of cisgender and homonormativity are often positioned as the "right" kind of trans people. As Glover argued, "Transnormativity, [is] a process shaped by adherence to respectability politics, heteronormative standards and class privilege" (Glover, 2016, p. 340). This has been perhaps embodied the most by epopular media embracing Caitlyn Jenner as a representative of trans women, and by *Time* magazine's cover of Laverne Cox, which was accompanied by the title "The Transgender Tipping Point: The Next Civil Rights Frontier." Particularly for Jenner, her proximity to whiteness, stereotypically feminine gender presentation, and status of wealth and celebrity all elevated her profile, despite critiques from trans scholars and activists. These media events have prompted scholars (Children of the House of "Pay It No Mind," 2018; Gosset & Dunham, 2015) to question who exactly is this so-called transgender tipping point serving, and who is benefiting the most?

It is important to note the ways that trans people of Color are viewed by these discourses. Glover (2016) indicated this in their essay "Redefining Realness?: On Janet Mock, Laverne Cox, TS Madison, and the Representation of Transgender Women of Color in Media." Glover detailed the ways in which Janet Mock and Laverne Cox, even as Black trans women, are upheld as the "right" kind of trans women to be, given they are both heterosexual and present normative gender expressions of "womanhood" and idealized notions of beauty and femininity. Mock (2014) herself echoed the experience of tokenized elevation in her memoir. She wrote, "I have been held up consistently as a token, as the "right" kind of trans woman (educated, able-bodied, attractive, articulate, heteronormative). It promotes the delusion that because I 'made it,' that level of success is easily accessible to all young trans women. Let's be clear: It is not" (Mock, 2014, p. XVII). In contrast, Glover (2016) recounts the ways in which TS Madison, also a Black trans woman who is a former sex worker, has not yet received the same level of integration into public discourse as Cox and Mock, given her unapologetic

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approach to resisting transnormativity. For example, TS Madison spoke frequently and proudly of her history of sex work and having a penis (Glover, 2016).

2 Transnormativity & Education

While transnormativity remains relatively under-explored in education research, groundbreaking work alongside Black trans college students has explored how these students have understood and navigated transnormativity on one college campus (Nicolazzo, 2016). Nicolazzo provided a helpful framework for expanding the critique of transnormativity as an analytic approach for education research. As an analytic method, transnormativity can help researchers and practitioners to understand how many of the interventions imagined as transformative for trans people in higher education have, in fact, relied on the reinforcement of transnormative discourses. That is, trans inclusion in education has relied on centering binary trans people's transition narratives (Lange et al., 2019) that often rely on the privileging and almost fetishistic focus on narratives involving medical intervention and gender-affirming care. Gender and sexuality professionals, such as those working in LGBTQ+ resource centers, have worked within binary gendered frameworks to suggest that trans people who medically transition should have their names and genders reflected in data information systems, while such opportunities for non-binary, trans people are denied in order to preserve harmful binary notions of gender that often structure much of campus and residential life. Put simply, transnormative discourse allows space for some trans people to be seen as real, and thus worthy of inclusion in public discourse and imagination, while leaving other trans people purposefully excluded from these spaces. Thus,

> Transnormativity creates even greater difficulty for those who are gender nonconforming, genderqueer, bigender, or agender—and often subsumed under the term "transgender"—in that transnormativity does little to dismantle existing gender binaries and thus cannot sufficiently address the particular challenges that gender nonconforming, genderqueer, bigender, or agender people face on a daily basis. (Glover, 2016, p. 344)

3 Challenging Transnormativity

Challenging transnormativity means challenging whiteness, settler colonialism, and heteronormativity, because transnormativity is inseparable from systems of oppression (Lange et al., 2019) that are designed to limit the life chances,

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opportunities, and life expectancy of trans people. I pose a key question for anyone who is invested in trans liberation: What does it look and feel like to center queer, poor, non-binary and agender people in trans activism and education? Doing so would require a radical shift in the underlying assumptions about who is believed to be trans within public discourse. It furthermore asks educators and researchers to consider who they center in their activism. The way forward can include several strategies at once: 1) center trans people who are agender/non-binary and who do not wish to medically transition in queer and trans-activism 2) understand and educate regarding the fact that transitioning is a diverse experience, which means different things to different people, 3) work towards ending gender oppression and all forms of violence and dominance.

Editors' Note

This entry was revised by the volume editors Kamden Strunk and Stephanie Anne Shelton at the request of the primary author. Some of the language and expression in the entry is that of the volume editors.

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CHAPTER 144

Transphobia/Transmisogyny

Aryah O.S. Lester

1 Overview

Alongside the increasing visibility of trans communities, discriminatory and exclusionary belief systems have caused a rise in phobia-related violence and hate targeting trans people (Boe et al., 2020; García-Acosta et al., 2020; Them, 2018). Societies perpetuating masculine-centered dominance have also seen transgender-specific misogyny, where an ingrained prejudice against both women in general and men who do not enact and embody masculinity in expected ways extends to any feminine-presenting person.

2 Definitions

The term "**transphobia**" came into regular use in the 1990s and refers broadly to "a rejection of trans identity and a refusal to acknowledge that it could be real or valid" (TransActual, 2021, para. 1). The University of California San Francisco Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Resource (2021) defines transphobia as "the fear or hatred of transgender people or people who do not meet society's gender role expectations" (para. 28). While these concerns are important, the term's emphasis on fear, with the "-phobia" suffix, has become less commonly used over time; its literal meaning suggests that these rejections of trans people's humanity are linked to oppressors' fears, rather than interlocking systems of oppression and violence. Additionally, the -phobia phrasing centers oppressors' perspectives and presumed justifications, rather than the "complex interplay between transphobia and misogyny" that trans people, and especially trans women, face (Carstensen, 2017, para. 3).

To better reflect the complexities that shape trans individuals' experiences within systemic oppressions, author Julia Serano (2007) coined the term "transmisogyny" instead in the book *Whipping Girl: A Transsexual Woman on Sexism and the Scapegoating of Femininity*". In discussing her rationale for writing the book and proposing the new term, Serano explained that her experiences as a trans woman were more complex than a mere phobia and that anti-trans sentiments are inextricably linked with sexism and misogyny (Carstensen,

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2017; see also Serano, 2007). She selected "transmisogyny" as the most apt way to describe "this complex interplay between transphobia and misogyny" (Carstensen, 2017, para. 3). Since Serano's groundbreaking discussion, transmisogyny has become a common one in scholarship, and its feminist emphasis on misogyny often has the concept applied to trans women.

3 Attitudinal Prejudices

Trans individuals, as well as all individuals who are included within the overarching umbrella term "trans," do not conform with societal expectations of gender and often do not subscribe to the **gender binary** system (discussed in a separate entry in this book). Due to **cisheteropatriarchy** (discussed in a separate entry in this book), male bodies and attitudes have dominated society since the adoption of patriarchal systems, and any person embodying femininity is disadvantaged and oppressed within those systems (Boe et al., 2020; Partridge, 2018; Positive Women's Network USA, 2019). Patriarchal privileging of men and specific versions of masculinity, which fosters and maintains subjugation and contempt for women, extends to include all who violate these normative notions of masculinity—including transgender individuals, and particularly those read as "feminine" (Boe et al., 2020; Carstensen, 2017; Serano, 2007). Additionally, transmisogyny can have dire consequences for trans people, with violence including abusive language, physical assault, sexual assault, and murder (Human Rights Campaign, 2019; Lambda Legal, 2021; Natividad, 2021; Peitzmeier et al., 2020). An additional important point is that when intersected with other sites of oppression, such as racialized identities, for example, transmisogyny is a key element of the violence that trans women of Color face on a daily basis, with ever-climbing sexual assault and murder rates (Boe et al., 2020; Lester, 2018).

4 Transmisogyny and Education

While a significant portion of discussions relating to trans individuals and schooling often focus on issues such as facility usage (e.g., bathrooms) or school activity access (e.g., extracurricular sports), and while these topics are critically important, there is little consideration of the ways that transmisogyny shapes schooling. Schooling is "cisheterosexualized" (Herriot et al., 2018), and the individuals in schools, including administrators, teachers, and students, "prescribe and reinforce particular presumptions about sex, gender, and

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bodies" (Herriot et al., 2018; see also Grosz, 2001). Efforts to institute policy changes, such as creating and enforcing **agender** bathrooms, are insufficient without examining the ways that anti-trans sentiments, captured in the term transmisogyny and the concept's emphasis on the ways that **cisheteronormativity**—and especially traditional notions of masculinity—dehumanizes trans people and threatens their very existence.

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CHAPTER 145

Trauma and Trauma Stewardship

Chelsea Elizabeth Gilbert

1 Defining Trauma

The American Psychological Association (2020) describes trauma as a psychological response to a life-altering event that can have both immediate and long-term physical and psychological impacts. This definition, along with its associated clinical diagnostic criteria, has evolved considerably over the years (Jones & Cureton, 2014), evidencing the socially constructed nature of trauma (Stevens, 2009). Societal understandings of trauma and who is considered to be traumatized have also been inevitably entangled with racism, classism, and sexism (Brown, 1991; Herman, 1992; McDonald, 2018). The power dynamics behind questions of trauma's nature have caused some scholars to critique its usefulness as a term (Stevens, 2016), especially as common clinical understandings typically exclude forms of traumatic exposure[1] that disproportionately impact minoritized communities. Still, it is clear that traumatic experiences carry tangible impacts on the mental and physical well-being of individuals and communities (see Felitti et al., 1998). As such, bringing a critical perspective to trauma can allow for scholars and practitioners to "keep one eye on what trauma does, while keeping another on *how* it does it, for whom, and with what consequences" (Stevens, 2016, p. 36).

2 Trauma and Queer Communities

A critical awareness of trauma is essential for both scholars and practitioners working with queer communities, as trauma's impact on these communities is far-reaching. Individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, asexual, and additional minoritized genders and sexualities (LGBTQ+) experience traumatic events at greater rates compared with their heterosexual and cisgender peers, including witnessing or experiencing interpersonal violence, gender- or **sexuality**-based harassment, and familial rejection (Alessi & Martin, 2017; D'Augelli et al., 2006; Kelly et al., 2020). Additionally, LGBTQ+ older adults still experience many reverberating psychological impacts from governmental and societal stigma during the HIV/AIDS pandemic[2] (Bower et al., 2019).

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LGBTQ+ individuals' experiences with traumatic events are deeply connected to historical and societal systems of oppression, such as heterosexism, cissexism, homophobia, and transphobia (Alessi & Martin, 2017; Schneeberger et al., 2014).

The concept of *queer battle fatigue* (Wozolek et al., 2015) sheds light on another form of trauma faced by LGBTQ+ individuals: the pernicious nature of gender- and sexuality-related microaggressions that, over time, become compounded and can result in physical, emotional, and spiritual exhaustion (Nadal, 2018). LGBTQ+ individuals disproportionately experience negative health outcomes as a result of all forms of trauma, including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation (Schneeberger et al., 2014). Because of these realities, engaging in trauma-informed practice and building trauma-informed systems are imperatives for queer-focused researchers and service providers (Eckstrand & Potter, 2017). Additionally, beyond having a basic understanding of individual trauma as it relates to LGBTQ+ communities, it is critical that queer studies scholars and practitioners are also aware of the impact of two other specific forms of trauma on LGBTQ+ people in educational settings: community trauma and secondary trauma.

2.1 *Community Trauma*

Beyond individual traumatic events experienced by many LGBTQ+ people, anti-LGBTQ+ acts of violence, such as the June 2016 Pulse Nightclub Shooting, can result in significant collective trauma for LGBTQ+ communities (Stults et al., 2017). *Collective trauma* refers to the impact that traumatic events can have on a particular community or on society at large and can disrupt both individuals' and groups' senses of safety and meaning (Hirschberger, 2018). The impact of collective trauma can be especially insidious for LGBTQ+ people of Color, who experience even higher rates of both traumatic experiences as well as detrimental health outcomes as a result of systemic racism (Ching et al., 2018; Murphy & Hardaway, 2017).

Community-level traumas amongst LGBTQ+ people can result in a widespread sense of disempowerment (Kelly et al., 2020). Within educational settings, it has been argued that the epidemic of suicide attempts and completions amongst queer K-12 students is directly related to homophobic and transphobic structures and environmental factors in schools (Wozolek et al., 2016); similarly, chronic experiences with marginalization have been found to increase depression amongst LGBTQ+ college students (Kulick et al., 2016; Woodford et al., 2018). Community traumas can be especially impactful for those LGBTQ+ people who work with and serve their own communities (Namer & Hunler, 2014).

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The impact of this emotional labor with traumatized individuals and communities can result in another form of trauma for practitioners themselves: secondary trauma.

2.2 *Secondary Trauma*

Secondary trauma, also known as *vicarious trauma* (Pearlman, 1999) or *indirect trauma* (Knight, 2010), refers to the impact that empathic engagement with others may have on those in helping and healing professions (Stamm, 1995). The consequences of secondary trauma can include symptoms similar to PTSD, such as sleeplessness, hypervigilance, fatigue, and intrusive thoughts (Newell & MacNeil, 2010). *Compassion fatigue*[3] (Figley & Stamm, 1996) and *burnout* (Maslach, 1982) are closely related to secondary trauma,[4] and all have implications for the well-being of practitioners, their effectiveness in their roles, and the ability of their organizations to fulfill their missions (Cieslak et al., 2014; Conrad & Keller-Guenther, 2006).

Those working in educational settings are likely to have supported a student experiencing trauma (Lynch & Glass, 2019), and the numbers of trauma-impacted students continue to grow (Lynch & Glass, 2020). The nature of student support work can place practitioners especially at risk for secondary trauma responses[5] (Lynch, 2017; Stoves, 2014), and these responses can be further exacerbated by forces of systemic oppression for those with minoritized identities (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Carter, 2019), including those who identify as LGBTQ+. Trauma-informed supervision (Berger & Quiros, 2014; Gilbert, in press), as well as attention to the structural conditions that contribute to burnout and compassion fatigue (Furr, 2018; Joubert et al., 2013), are promising strategies for mitigating and stewarding secondary trauma that may be applied by queer and non-queer individuals alike who hold space for others' traumatic experiences.

3 Stewarding Trauma

Trauma stewardship (van Dernoot Lipsky, 2010) is a philosophy focused on responding to the cumulative impact of trauma through mindfulness and compassion. A core element of trauma stewardship is caring for oneself; however, self-care is on its own an insufficient strategy for managing the impact of primary and secondary trauma (Newell & MacNeil, 2010). As Anthym & Tuitt (2019) argue, "Self-care is a sandbag. There are many minor storms it can withstand. But when what is needed is a levee, a sandbag simply will not serve" (p. 1084). Trauma-informed practice and trauma-informed systems are thus necessary components of trauma stewardship in addition to self-care.

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3.1 *Trauma-Informed Practice*

Trauma-informed practices (Harris & Fallot, 2001) are those in which practitioners are attuned to the possibility that those they serve have experienced trauma, and as such foster conditions to minimize re-traumatization. The five principles of trauma-informed practice are safety, trustworthiness, choice, collaboration, and empowerment (Jennings, 2004). These practices have been applied extensively in the literature to K-12 schools (see Blodgett & Dorado, 2016, and Walkley & Cox, 2013) but have yet to be widely incorporated within postsecondary settings (Shalka, 2015). Recommended strategies for implementing trauma-informed practices in higher education contexts include training faculty and staff on trauma's impact on learning, providing opportunities for traumatized students to cultivate resilience, and utilizing de-escalation techniques in the classroom (Davidson, 2017).

3.2 *Trauma-Informed Systems*

Trauma-informed systems (Ko et al., 2008) go beyond interpersonal practices and involve comprehensive, multi-level strategies to address the adverse impact of trauma. This systems-level awareness accounts for the impact of trauma on both the traumatized and on those that serve them (Bloom & Farragher, 2013). Organizations with a trauma-informed organizational culture have a protective effect on their team members against burnout and secondary traumatic stress (Handran, 2015). Importantly, effective trauma-informed systems must also be built on an awareness of the sociopolitical context of trauma and address the ways in which marginalized groups are uniquely impacted by both acute and pervasive traumatic experiences (Quiros & Berger, 2013). This necessitates a "paradigm shift [that] requires that every involved person [in a system] take an active role in ensuring that [they] do not re-traumatize the clients, staff, organizations, and communities" (Handran, 2015, p. 17).

4 Resilience and Healing

Despite trauma's impact on queer individuals and communities, queer resilience has been and continues to be a key component of individual and community survival and persistence (Bower et al., 2019; Singh, 2017). Indeed, for many queer individuals, especially those who are transgender and BIPOC, the very act of existing unapologetically in public is a resilient, revolutionary act (Cox, as cited in The Faith in Action Writing Collective, 2017; Singh & McKleroy, 2011). Additionally, some LGBTQ+ individuals experience post-traumatic growth[6] after acute or chronic traumatic experiences (Ratcliff et al., 2020).

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Ultimately, unlearning oppressive systems and pursuing liberation for oneself and one's community can be a powerful method for healing (Berila, 2016), and those who work with queer students in educational settings have a powerful opportunity to leverage healing-centered strategies as they pursue knowledge and practice to create a better world for all genders and sexualities.

Notes

1 Traumas that commonly fall outside conventional diagnostic criteria include intergenerational trauma (see Yehuda et al., 1998) and insidious trauma (see Szymanski & Balsam, 2011).
2 This is considered a form of intergenerational trauma by some scholars (Jolivette, 2018).
3 Importantly, Zembylas (2013) problematized the notion of compassion fatigue, pointing out that "Western audiences [are] increasingly preoccupied with their own self-pity, rather than the suffering of other people" and that "attachment to one's own (perceived or real) suffering prevents the development of solidarity with others who also suffer" (p. 511). He promotes a critical pedagogy of compassion as an antidote to this particular type of self-victimization.
4 Though secondary trauma, vicarious trauma, indirect trauma, compassion fatigue, and burnout are distinct constructs, they have been found to be interrelated (Sansbury et al., 2015) and, in some cases, empirically indistinguishable (Cieslak et al., 2014).
5 Stoves (2014) draws attention to the "corrosive nature of caring" (p. 48) to refer to the structural conditions that often necessitate practitioners to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their student support work.
6 Post-traumatic growth refers to "the phenomenon of positive change arising from the encounter with trauma" (Calhoun & Tedeschi, 2014, p. 4).

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CHAPTER 146

Two Spirit

J.B. Mayo, Jr.

1 Historical Context

Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang (1997) report that prior to 1990, white researchers used the term *berdache* (ber-dash) in the literature when describing indigenous people known today as Two Spirit. Originating from the Persian term *bardaj*, which refers to a young man who is "shamefully abused" or "one who permitted sodomy to be committed on him" (Williams, 1986, p. 9), this term signifies an identity that first-contact Europeans imposed upon specific, male-identified indigenous people who they perceived as feminine or in some cases androgynous. Given its homophobic and misogynist origins, this term is no longer acceptable when describing the indigenous people who displayed expressions of gender unfamiliar to early Europeans, and it is used here simply because of its presence in the written, historical record. Texts also reference individuals assigned female at birth who performed more "masculine" roles, but male-identified berdache were cited more frequently (Jacobs, Thomas, & Lang, 1997). This term imposed European cultural norms (including a static, binary understanding of gender) and limitations on a number of cultures that had more fluid understandings of gender and the world around them. Lang (1997) wrote, "The acceptance of gender-variant individuals in [Native American] cultures can be seen as part of a worldview that realizes and appreciates transformation, change, and ambiguity in the world at large as well as in individuals" (p. 114). First-contact Europeans and those who followed them, however, saw only "perverse" sexual practices and expressions of gender that they did not recognize, understand, or accept. Over time and greatly influenced by a Christian worldview that demonized the behaviors they witnessed, these Europeans justified the slaughter of countless gender-nonconforming individuals and the condemnation of their ceremonial roles.

2 Two Spirit Societal Roles

'Two Spirit' refers to the recognition and understanding among many Native American groups that some individuals are born with both a feminine and a

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masculine spirit. Native scholar Anguksuar (1997) reports that the term originated from the Northern Algonquin dialect and gained widespread acceptance among many Native groups at the Third Annual Spiritual Gathering of Gay and Lesbian Native People that took place near Winnipeg in 1990. However, long before this "official" designation, many Native groups had traditional language to describe individuals who performed a variety of roles not usually associated with their biological sex. The Navajo (more correctly referred to as the Diné) called these individuals nadleehi (nawdlay), the Dakota referred to them as winkte (win-tay), among the Crow, they were known as bade (baw-day), and the Zuni called them lhamana (la-ma-na). The original Northern Algonquin term, *niizh manitoag*, refers to the understanding that "all humans bear imprints of both [the feminine and the masculine], although some individuals may manifest both qualities more completely than others" (Anguksuar, 1997, p. 221). This term does not indicate or determine an individual's sexual activity, but it does determine the characteristics that define a person's social role and spiritual gifts.

Clearly, traditional Native teaching included more fluid and expanded conceptions of **gender expression** and **identity**. Consequently, various Native societies created roles for all members of their communities to fill, regardless of an individual's gender expression. Indeed, historians and anthropologists report that those individuals, who in modern times would be called Two Spirit, performed highly respected and important spiritual, medical, and economic roles within various Native groups (Brown, 1997; Gilley, 2006; Jacobs, Thomas, & Lang, 1997; Roscoe, 1998; Williams, 1986). They were ceremonial leaders and the interpreters of dreams; they performed the duties of shamans/priests who acted as therapists and medical doctors; they were compassionate caretakers and teachers (Brown, 1997); and they served a vital economic role within various groups, serving as weavers and cooks without the responsibility of infant care (Gilley, 2006; Jacobs, Thomas, & Lang, 1997; Roscoe, 1998; Williams, 1986). Two Spirit individuals played vital, positive roles within Native societies without the negative stigma that is now attached to people who violate expected gender norms.

3 Contemporary Connections to Two Spirit Traditions

In addition to uncovering the historical contexts of Two Spirit people, scholars have examined the experiences of contemporary Native people who explain their connections to more traditional understandings of Two Spirit roles (Red Earth, 1997; Walters et al., 2006) and the ways in which modern-day Two Spirit individuals strive to correct western misconceptions of indigenous knowledge

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(Anguksuar, 1997). Part of correcting the misconceptions includes moving away from labels and classifications that are derived from Western understandings of gender. Blackwood (1997) reminds us, "Dominant gender ideology in [the United States] equates one's sex with one's gender" (p. 285). It is very difficult for many people to perceive a person assigned male at birth as a "woman" and a person assigned female at birth as a "man" or to conceive of other genders beyond the male/female binary. Therefore, Blackwood suggests considering Two Spirit people as part of contemporary culture "situated within social relations that are negotiated and contested by family, community, and historical interpretations" (Walters et al., 2006, p. 127). Blackwood (1997) also suggests exploring how Two Spirit people position themselves in relation to other Native people and other queer groups as well. Walters et al. (2006), for example, found that among contemporary Native lesbians, the Two Spirit identity was a means to define themselves apart from the larger White lesbian movement. In particular, they did not agree with separation from men, finding that "the women in [their] study were particularly uncomfortable with the anti-male separatism that is a core principle in some lesbian communities" (p. 131). These Two Spirit women embraced the men in their Native communities just as they embraced the masculine and the feminine within their own bodies and as part of their spiritual identity. These individuals sought a balance between their masculine and feminine qualities, a theme that recalls the importance of balance in many Native origin stories. They saw the importance of harmony between perceived opposites as a way of wellness and wholeness (Wilson, 1996).

Despite this desire for harmony and balance among many Two Spirit people, however, Tinker (1993) found that upon colonization by Europeans, traditional ceremonial and social roles were undermined; inclusivity and acceptance were replaced with condemnation and shame. By the early 20th century, much of the traditional teachings of acceptance for multi-gendered individuals had been lost or had gone underground, and the traditions of gender variance had been forgotten or repressed (Lang, 1997). The influence of Western ideas, including Christianity, also caused many Natives to "forget" their traditional teachings; they no longer understood gender and **sexual orientation** as two distinct phenomena. They were now understood as identical terms and met with strong disapproval. Consequently, "traditional gender roles for Two Spirit individuals disappeared on many reservations, and young people who [grew] up to be "different" in terms of occupational preference and/or sexual orientation often [found] themselves at a loss for role models" (p. 109). In the mid-1970s, an organization called Gay American Indians (GAI) was founded and spurred a movement to recapture some of the traditional teachings. In 1984,

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GAI sponsored a nationwide history project that resulted in the publication of *Living the Spirit*, an anthology that contained essays on the Two Spirit tradition. These events laid the groundwork for the 1990 gathering, where Two Spirit was adopted as the official, and preferred, term of use. As Lang (1997) wrote, "the concept of Two Spirit emerged from an increasingly positive attitude toward being Native American and gay and the rediscovery of the acceptance—and sometimes even privileges—once enjoyed by Two Spirit people" (p. 111). A Two Spirit person became seen as someone actively living, preserving, and honoring Native cultures. As one contemporary Two Spirit person shared,

> We lived openly in our tribes. Our families and communities recognized us and encouraged us to develop our skills. In turn, we made special contributions to our communities. As activists, providers, and healers, our traditional gay ancestors had important responsibilities. Gay and lesbian Indians of today represent the continuity of this tradition. We are living in the spirit of our gay Indian ancestors. (Lang, 1997, p. 110)

Indeed, the spirit of community support and activism noted in the quote above lives actively within current-day Two Spirit groups like The National Confederacy of Two Spirit Organizations and the East Coast Two Spirit Society (Filice, 2015) and was seen explicitly in protests over the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline near the Standing Rock Reservation in 2016. Though unsuccessful—oil began to flow through the pipeline in May 2017—among the protestors was Candi Brings Plenty (Oglala Sioux), leader of the Two Spirit Nation, who proclaimed, "I know that there has been some unspoken hesitancy to address the camp, which is why I have both initiated an official grand entry blessing and public media campaign to bring **visibility** for our arrival on 10/14/16" (Swan-Perkins, 2016). Two Spirit people are not only steeped in our past but are very much a vital part of modern times as well.

4 Two Spirit Connections to Education

Jacobs et al. (1997) dedicated their seminal work, in part, to the memory of those Native Americans who died as a result of homophobia, HIV/AIDS, and racism. It was their hope that their work would help decrease the incidence of death and diminish the destruction caused by these social ills. Almost twenty-five years have passed, and today another social ill all too frequently shows up in the headlines: suicides by young people who identify as LGBTQ+ and who were tormented because of their sexual orientation and/or gender expression/

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identity. Oftentimes mainstream media attempts to explain these deaths in terms of individual bullying and the stress youth endure living as modern-day (pre)teens. Members of queer communities and their allies, however, believe strongly that these young people choose death over continually fighting the intense homo/transphobia they face each day in schools. Queer youth (and those merely perceived as queer) face harassment—physical, verbal, and emotional—in classrooms, in locker rooms, school dining areas, and on the buses that take them back and forth to school each day.

Educators, administrators, and all school personnel must work collaboratively and engage strategies that prevent young people from taking their lives. In concert with additional school and community efforts, embracing and teaching for a different type of social learning in schools may alter the conditions that push young people toward self-destructive behaviors. The lessons learned from traditional Native understandings of gender expression/identity and their acceptance of Two Spirit individuals may help straight-identified students accept their gender-nonconforming and queer peers for who they are, instead of trying to enforce conformity by tormenting their classmates who are perceived as "different."

Equally significant, Two Spirit acknowledgment and acceptance provide teachers an opportunity to share *positive* historical and current-day exemplars on one facet of the larger LGBTQ+ community, which may also contribute to prejudice reduction and social justice in schools. Many students who identify as queer rarely encounter examples of other LGBTQ+ people in their school lessons. In fact, some queer youth only see negative stereotypes presented as part of their daily existence at school. Therefore, the Two Spirit traditions described earlier (alongside lesson plans created based upon these traditions) will provide opportunities for queer students to view themselves in a positive light, thus affirming a part of their identity that often remains hidden or intermittently suppressed because of shame, fear, and/or ignorance. Consequently, all students—both queer and non-queer alike—gain access to a mode of thinking and behaving where difference is valued, rather than persecuted, and where all individuals may find a respected social role to play and a space to express themselves freely.

As McCarthy (2003) reminds us, "as young people increasingly explore the diversity of gender expression, educators must be prepared to understand and support their students by providing resources and a safe school environment" (p. 47). Students' investigation of Two Spirit individuals will affirm those young people whose gender identity reaches beyond the boundaries of "boy" or "girl" and encourage all students and teachers to rethink the limitations of the gender binary. Rather than adopting this either/or mentality, our students—like

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many Native societies who came before them—will come to understand the many shades of gray that exist between black and white.

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CHAPTER 147

Undocuqueer

Alonso R. Reyna Rivarola and Jesús Cisneros

"Undocuqueer" has become an increasingly popular umbrella term used to describe individuals who identify as members of both the LGBTQ+ and undocumented communities in the United States. The term was first strategically adopted in the early 2010s by LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrant youth in LGBTQ+ and immigrant rights activist circles and organizations (Unzueta Carrasco & Seif, 2014). Youth activists from Chicago's Immigrant Youth Justice League, in particular, claimed the term "undocuqueer" to unapologetically bring their specific hybridized identities and plights to the center of the immigrant and LGBTQ+ rights movements (Seif, 2014). In the most simplified sense of the expression, "undocuqueer" can be understood as the blending of the terms "undocumented" and "queer." However, undocuqueer is so much more intricate than the mere combination of two words. As a political identity, undocuqueer is integral to the immigrant and LGBTQ+ rights movements. It interrogates the single-axis approach by which Western societies have made sense of the experiences of systematically marginalized and oppressed communities (Cisneros, 2018; Cisneros & Bracho, 2019). Since 2010, however, popular media and news outlets have decontextualized the term undocuqueer by removing it from its activist origins to infer a broader definition. Thus, the mainstream understanding of the term "undocuqueer" encompasses all LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrants, regardless of their alignment or participation in either political movement (Ramirez, 2020). "Undocuqueer" must be contextualized within its sociopolitical beginnings to be understood and appropriately utilized to describe the particular experiences of LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrant activists, organizers, and people involved in the movement for citizenship and political recognition.

1 History of LGBTQ+ (Im)migration

The struggle for immigrant rights in the United States is not a new one. Whether implicitly or explicitly, homophobia and **transphobia** have historically been part of U.S. immigration policy (Chávez, 2013). In 1965, Congress amended the inadmissibility clause of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) of 1952

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to explicitly bar aliens "afflicted with…sexual deviation" from being eligible to acquire legal entry to the United States. The definite refusal of gays and lesbians from being admitted to the country was pivotal to the framing of the "good" and "bad" immigrant narrative that has polarized the modern immigration debate (Cisneros, 2018). U.S. law and society have historically relied on heterocentric ideals to determine who is and is not welcome to the country.

Pre-1990s, the legal repulsion of gay and lesbian immigrants rendered practically impossible their political organizing efforts. In particular, LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrants feared that protesting or demonstrating against a discriminatory system could jeopardize their possibilities for staying in the United States, let alone acquiring a pathway to citizenship (Luibhéid, 1998). Following the 1969 Stonewall riots and the 1974 American Psychiatric Association removal of homosexuality from the mental illnesses list, in 1983, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled unlawful the practice of denying naturalization and citizenship to "homosexuals" (Chávez, 2013). Then, in 1990, Congress repealed the INA exclusionary provisions against gays and lesbians, thereby rescinding policy language banning LGBTQ+ people from entering the country and decreasing immigrants' pressure to conceal their sexual orientation within immigration processes and beyond. Today, the heteronormative foundations of U.S. immigration policy continue to affect the immigration system and the quest for political integration and acceptance of some immigrant groups.

2 A Movement Is Born

Homonormativity (Duggan, 2003) and **heteronormativity** within the LGBTQ+ and immigrant rights movements, respectively, have limited the scale and impact of intersectional liberation movements. Within the LGBTQ+ rights movement, homonormativity privileges certain forms of same-sex relationships and perpetuates the cultural unintelligibility of certain bodies, sexualities, and expressions. The LGBTQ+ movement often overlooks the struggles of queer and trans individuals of Color, particularly those who are undocumented. Within the immigrant rights movement, heteronormativity ignores the ways gender and sexuality shape undocumented immigrants' experiences. Essentialist political constructions of "good" and "bad" immigrants criminalize those who fall outside of the "good" immigrant paradigm, thus perpetuating the production of legal violence against LGBTQ+ immigrants (Gonzalez, 2014). Built upon a discourse of exceptionalism and privatized notions of citizenship, the struggle for legal documentation simply means the incorporation

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of undocumented immigrants into a neoliberal system that perpetuates marginalization and oppression. It is in this context that LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrant youth pushed back.

3 "Undocumented and Unafraid/Queer and Unashamed"

Tired of being welcomed as undocumented in immigrant rights organizations and as queer in LGBTQ+ rights organizations—but never holistically in either—queer and trans undocumented immigrant youth coined the term "undocuqueer" as a form of resistance to dominant ideologies that frame gender, sexuality, and immigration issues as singular and unrelated (Cisneros & Gutierrez, 2018). Coming out as undocuqueer privileged individuals' voices and their non-normative perspectives disrupted the consistent erasure of their experiences within the LGBTQ+ and immigrant rights movements (Cisneros & Bracho, 2019, 2020). The contradiction between their physical and social presence generated spaces of nonexistence, an erasure of legal personhood, and forced invisibility, exclusion, subjugation, and repression (De Genova, 2002). Hence, by coming out as "undocuqueer," LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrants both "unreservedly and unapologetically assert[ed] their irreversible presence" and upheld "the intractable challenge of their own intrinsic incorrigibility" (De Genova, 2010, p. 103).

In shaping "undocuqueer," the prefix "undocu" both recognized the legal effects materially inscribed by a system of (il)legalization and the impact of discursive formation (De Genova, 2002). For LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrant youth, the adoption of the term "undocumented" challenged and reshaped the grounds of exclusion by rejecting the fear, shame, and invisibility inherent in their unauthorized immigration status (Corrunker, 2012; Galindo, 2012). It signified that repressive power is nothing compared to the power of vitality and the indomitable will to persevere and prevail even without Congress's protective blanket (De Genova, 2010). Hence, reclaiming the term "undocumented" challenged the notion of illegality and undocumented immigrants' criminalization, demonstrating that they would no longer allow the state or their antagonists to cast them into the shadows of U.S. society (Chávez, 1997; Gonzalez & Chávez, 2012).

Similarly, the suffix "queer" asserted differences from cisgender people and heterosexuals, and differences within the LGBTQ+ community, resisting inclusion within existing **cisheteronormative** social structures. By embracing the category used to shame and cast out "sexual deviants," "queer" became synonymous with a form of opposition (Warner, 1991). It insisted upon more

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inclusivity because political membership was no longer defined by one's sexuality or the sex/gender of one's sexual partner, but rather by the shared dissent of the dominant ("normal") organization of sex and gender (Duggan, 1992, p. 20). Because its roots lie deeply in activism, "queer" audaciously asserted the existence of something fundamentally unintelligible, incommensurable, incompatible, and inassimilable (De Genova, 2010). It did not seek integration within the existing social systems, rather a destabilization of normative and hierarchical, rigidly constructed power systems. Current structures are built upon and reliant on others' oppression (Foucault, 1978), further marginalizing LGBTQ+ people.

So, while "undocu" uncovered the complexity within the LGBTQ+ community, "queer" forced attention to how sexuality and gender are as significant as other systems of power in immigration policies and practices. "Undocuqueer" destabilized notions of collective identity by focusing on the complexity of navigating multiply marginalized identities and the power of creating something new within the contradictions. This self-defined standpoint provided an alternative identity formation that disrupted unitary identity politics within the larger LGBTQ+ and immigrant rights discourses. "Undocuqueer," as a discursive formation, thereby critiqued not only dominant LGBTQ+ and immigrant rights frameworks but also produced alternate subjectivities and subject positions that resisted multiple axes of oppression. "Undocuqueer" exposed both the privileging and normalizing tendencies of organizations and institutions that cast LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrants into the shadows and into the closet. For this reason, the term undocuqueer must be recognized for its activist alignment.

4 Undocuqueer as Nomenclature

Outside of activist circles and organizations, the term undocuqueer has been utilized to name all individuals who are systematically "illegalized" (Sati, 2017) and identify as members of the LGBTQ+ community. One of the central tensions with calling all LGBTQ+ undocumented people "undocuqueer" is that it ignores the activism central to the term's emergence. To further illustrate the complicated effects of naming all LGBTQ+ undocumented youth "undocuqueer" is that it hegemonizes all LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrants, regardless of political alignment. The reality is that, even within the LGBTQ+ community, there are undocumented immigrants who do not identify with the political struggle, as some are comfortable with the status quo and vice versa. However, mainstream society has misappropriated the term "undocuqueer" by

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reducing it to simply mean an LGBTQ+ person who cannot produce an immigration status. Undocuqueer, instead, is a political identity that actively pursues the abolition of geopolitically- and socially-constructed heteronormative borders.

The term undocuqueer must be contextualized in particular events and encounters (Ramirez, 2020). According to Ramirez (2020), some LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrants only use the term "undocuqueer" in activist circles and organizations or social media as a hashtag, but never as a term to introduce themselves in everyday social settings or the home. While the term "undocuqueer" is useful, provided the correct context and political alignment, scholars, practitioners and activists should continue to refer to LGBTQ+ undocumented immigrants however they choose to self-identify (e.g., undocuqueer, undocumented, queer, undoculesbian, undocutrans*, among others).

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CHAPTER 148

Visibility

Ethan Trinh

Visibility is "the fact or state of being easy to see." Visibility for the LGBTQ+, or **queer**, community, could be seen as making queer subjects socially, culturally, and politically seen, heard, and supported, which presumably resists and disrupts **cisheteronormative** ideologies and assumptions. However, making queer subjects visible is not always safe or possible. An example could be coming out (see the entry on **The Closet** in this volume for more discussion) when visibility and the structure of the closet might be empowering, dangerous, or both for an individual (Talburt, 2000). According to Laura Kipnis (1989), visibility is "a complex system of permission and prohibition, of presence and absence, punctuated alternatively by apparitions and hysterical blindness" (p. 158). In other words, visibility is not a fixed binary state of visible/invisible; rather, it always embeds and attaches with invisibility and hypervisibility simultaneously.

According to Rubin (1984), those who are in a heterosexual, monogamous, and reproductive relationship are considered "natural and normal" and thus continue enjoying their privilege to be seen, heard, known, and accepted as "good." In contrast, those who are outside these norms, such as LGBTQ+ people, are viewed as "abnormal," "unnatural," and "bad," and, when visible, presumably need to be policed, excluded, and erased. Within the queer community, White, abled-bodies, middle and upper-class, gay men are hypervisible as and representative of the queer community in mainstream media outlets (Johnson & Boylorn, 2015; Steinbugler, 2005), placing minoritized queer people who do not meet these criteria (Gross, 1991), in positions of powerlessness, voicelessness, and double-invisibility. Thus, it is necessary to constantly examine and critique the meanings and implications of visibility for queer people.

Relatedly, it is important to emphasize that forms of visibility can make queer individuals potentially hyper-visible, exposing them to potential risks. For example, trans and gender-nonconforming individuals regularly experience greater degrees of violence and harassment when visible through disclosure and/or through gender expression (Lamble, 2009). Therefore, some individuals implement forms of invisibility, such as "passing" as a cisgender person, to avoid risky and unsafe attention (Trinh, 2021). These actions can provide greater security and safety, but at the cost of invisibility, leaving many

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individuals' **gender** and **sexual identities** in the margins of exclusion and erasure.

In essence, the indistinguishability of hyper/in/visibility in critical queer scholarship is complicated and is always in the meaning-making process. The hyper/in/visibility is an intertwined sociopolitical process that can perpetuate and oppose, exclude and include, perpetuate and disrupt cisheteronormative ideologies and assumptions simultaneously. Therefore, this process needs further queering/que(e)rying to support queer individuals and to continue exploring the complexities of visibility moving forward.

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CHAPTER 149

Vocal Pedagogy

Jessye DeSilva

1 Definition

Societal constructs around gender and **sexuality** have long informed the ways in which voice instructors address their students' needs. Aspiring voice teachers are taught by both society and academic programs to form assumptions based upon the appearance of a singer entering their studio, and to operate upon those assumptions in a prescriptive way for "male" and "female" voices. Much of these approaches are the result of traditional approaches to Vocal Pedagogy (VP). VP is the study of both the aesthetics and science of vocal instruction, usually in relation to the singing voice. VP scholars seek to define what constitutes singing, the physical production of singing itself, and how techniques align with differing genres of music.

Areas of study within VP may include anatomy and physiology (as they relate to the physical production of vocal phonation), posture and alignment, resonance and acoustics, diction and phonetics, vocal styles and historical considerations, methods for efficient vocal production, management of vocal health, and treatment of vocal disorders (LeBorgne & Rosenberg, 2013).

2 Traditional Vocal Pedagogy vs. Expansive Vocal Pedagogy

Traditional Vocal Pedagogy (TVP) methods rooted in Western classical music, often reinforce **cisnormative** ideas of identity and embodiment when discussing issues of vocal range, timbre, and voice classification (Manternach et al., 2017). At its core, TVP operates as a technology of education that reinscribes dyadic conceptions of gendered and sexed embodiment.

Where vocal science and anatomy are concerned, TVP has long taught of differences between "male" and "female" vocal production with respect to perceived differences in anatomy due to hormonal development during adolescence and later adulthood (Taranko, 2020). This school of thinking points to the effects of testosterone on the adolescent larynx of those assigned male at birth—such as the thickening and lengthening of the vocal folds, as well as

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the enlargement of laryngeal cartilages—as the primary distinguishing aspect between voices perceived as masculine or feminine. In a body which undergoes testosterone-dominant puberty, such developments at a laryngeal and vocal tract level can result in lowered pitch range, as well as a deepening in resonance within the voice (Hearns & Kremer, 2018; Romano, 2018).

Musical aesthetics, combined with the theatrical nature of singing in mediums such as opera and musical theatre, have historically reinforced these **gender binaries** (McBride & Palkki, 2020; Palkki, 2020). Ascribing gendered attributes to vocal characteristics such as pitch range and sound quality, or timbre are most evident in the distribution of gendered roles on the basis of performers' vocal range.

Consider, for example, how in European operatic traditions, male identified characters are largely written for singers of lower vocal range. While there are exceptions to this, due to aesthetic preferences and historical trends in both Eastern and Western operatic and theatrical traditions, opera and its musical offshoots largely subscribe to the notion that higher voices are "female" and lower voices are "male."

In early Peking opera, female roles, referred to as *dan* roles, were played by men, some of whom achieved considerable fame (Li, 2003). During the 17th and 18th centuries, *castrati* (singers who had their testicles removed [castrated] before the completion of puberty to preserve their high vocal ranges) often appeared in female operatic roles, particularly in Rome and the Papal States (Jenkins, 2000). Both Eastern and Western practices came from a place of societal misogyny, as women were banned from both theatrical and religious performance. However, in other areas of Europe, where women were permitted to perform operatically, many composers wrote high male roles for female singers in which they appeared *en travesty*—essentially in "**drag**" (Adamy, 2015). Despite the present day potential for queer readings of such works, their lineage can still be traced back to the wholesale exclusion of women from public performance.

These threads of sexist acculturation form the foundation upon which western society considers vocal ranges as necessarily gendered *a priori* on the basis of performers' sexed bodies (Aguirre, 2018). Compounded with these antecedents, the majority of TVP unfolds within institutions of higher education that are similarly steeped in colonialism and white supremacy. Historically, such institutions privilege western bourgeoisie ways of thinking, which render trans* and nonbinary identities invisible (Meyer & Edwards, 2014). The academic model for musical study has historically excluded traditions outside of western classical music.

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2.1 *Voice Range and Classification*

TVP presumes a direct correlation between voice range and sex assigned at birth. Rather than considering singers who fall outside of this presumption as aberrations, a more inclusive approach can better address how performers' genders are considered in VP. An Expansive Vocal Pedagogy (EVP) can more readily account for the inclusion of trans*, nonbinary, and **intersex** individuals whose vocal attributes are currently rendered illegible through TVP categorizations (Sauerland, 2018).

As an example, a person assigned female at birth, who undergoes gender affirming testosterone hormone therapy may possess the vocal capacity to sing *soprano*, *alto*, *tenor*, or *bass*, depending on their specific laryngeal anatomy and the size of their vocal tract (Austenfeld, 2020). Table 149.1 shows some of the possible ways in which gender identities might interact with vocal range. Singers' ranges exist along a continuum: high to low; these are subcategorized by the size of their vocal tract: small or large. Thus, a cis woman with a small vocal tract may very well be considered *soprano*, *alto*, or even *tenor*, depending on her range. Equally, nonbinary singers could also be considered *soprano*, *alto*, *tenor*, or *bass*. The distinction, however, is that vocal pedagogues should recognize that the range and tract across these embodied genders can vary in multiple ways; thus, pedagogues' approaches to their teaching cannot solely rely on presumptions of embodied gender presentation or disclosure of sexed attributes (Sims, 2017; Pullinger, 2020).

TABLE 149.1 Vocal range and gender identity

High range (soprano/alto) small vocal tract	**Low range (soprano/alto) large vocal tract**	**Low range (tenor/bass) small vocal tract**	**Low range (tenor/bass) large vocal tract**
Cis woman	Cis man	Cis woman	Cis man
Trans man (with or without testosterone therapy)	Trans woman (with or without estrogen therapy and/or vocal feminization surgery)	Trans man (with testosterone therapy)	Trans woman (with or without estrogen therapy and/or vocal feminization surgery)
Nonbinary person	Nonbinary person	Nonbinary person	Nonbinary person
Trans woman (with GnRH agonists and estrogen therapy)			

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3 Queer Considerations

Untangling artistic, societal, and medical equivalencies between sex and gender is predictably complicated where the human singing voice is concerned. While the act of queering has an artistic context, it is further complicated by the entanglement of the singer's art itself with their lived sense of identity and the ways in which they perform gender through speech and singing (Charton, 2021).

While there is a great deal of literature on gender affirming speech therapy in practice and methodology, as well as in medical treatment such as hormone therapy, considerably less headway has been made in the area of the singing voice (Cler et al., 2020). There is much overlap in terms of anatomy and function of the vocal tract and mechanism; however, the added consideration of singing as artistic and theatrical practice itself, as well as the interplay between identity and craft, necessitate further unique study (Cayari, 2019; Cozart Steele, 2019).

As a nonbinary vocal instructor, I often re-evaluate how my field continues to perpetuate binary and **cisnormative** notions of gender through our pedagogical practices. It is imperative to cultivate spaces where gender diverse students of singing can thrive as performers; an Expansive Vocal Pedagogy approach can not only achieve this, but also stands to benefit students of all genders.

Queering the assumptions of TVP underscores how singers of all genders have their potential growth limited—and in some cases, harmed—by norms and expectations placed on their voices, especially when we are discouraged from deviating from these norms. As such, I continue to search for more expansive ways to talk about, listen to, and understand the human voice. Referring to the singing students' own voice, identity, and experience, rather than making comparisons is not only liberating, but essential, in developing efficient and reliable vocal technique. Engaging in these practices cultivates the empathy and vulnerability necessary for artmaking. Indeed, dismantling the gendered restrictions society places on vocal performances can only expand the possibilities for variety and innovation in the study and practice of singing.

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CHAPTER 150

Whiteness in Queer Studies

Andrea M. Hawkman

1 Whiteness

Whiteness studies is the examination of an ideological system (whiteness) used to obfuscate the humanity of people who are deemed to not be white. Whiteness is understood as a power structure that is dehumanizing, ever-shifting, hierarchical, and **hegemonic** (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Frankenburg, 1993; Leonardo, 2009; Roediger, 1991). Benefactors of whiteness (often, but not exclusively, white people) receive various benefits and privileges across all aspects of the lifeworld. As a result, whiteness functions as a malleable structure in order to retain its position of supremacy (Omi & Winant, 1994). In what follows, this entry will detail several ways that whiteness functions within society and then situate whiteness studies within the field of queer studies.

Operationally, whiteness functions in at least four ways. First, whiteness relies upon the adoption of a color-evasive ideology.[1] Annamma et al. (2017) suggested that referring to white people's refusal to recognize race as "colorblind" improperly associates visual impairment with the more insidious act of deliberately choosing not to recognize or engage with racism. Color-evasiveness refutes the passivity implied by a colorblind framing and centralizes the reality that systems intentionally reproduce racism and uplift whiteness.

Second, sociologist Charles Mills (2007) suggested whiteness is rooted in an epistemology of ignorance. A tool of white supremacy (white supremacist **cisheteropatriachy**), white ignorance facilitates the development of a form of racism that tacitly accepts white norms and privileges. White ignorance is more than the absence of knowledge; it is a performative ignorance that distorts racial realities. This dysconscious form of racism, as defined by King (1991) is, "not the absence of consciousness but an impaired consciousness or distorted way of thinking" about race/ism, inequality, and white supremacy (p. 135). Through this epistemological frame, whiteness dismisses the violence and pain caused by racism and allowed white people the privilege of selectively engaging with race/ism as they find it most palatable (Mills, 2007).

Third is the reality that white ways of knowing, or white common sense, have been widely adopted and expected. Leonardo (2013) suggested the construct of white common sense draws upon the Gramscian notion of common sense in

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that hegemonic understandings simply become what is expected. Common sense refers to *ordinary folks' perceptions* of being and knowing (Patnaik, 1988). This "conventional wisdom," as Gramsci understood it, is connected to hegemonic power structures (as cited in Femia, 1987, p. 44). Institutions or people who maintain power do so through shaping the construction of common sense. Therefore, white common sense refers to the unquestioned acceptance of white notions of truth, knowledge, and power.

White common sense is often centralized within education policy, pedagogy, and curriculum. For example, the selection of "expert" panels to participate in state content standards writing or revision processes without attention to the racialized identities or experiences of members of the panel is evidence of whiteness at work (Cuenca & Hawkman, 2019). Chinnery (2008) noted that common practices utilized in teacher education (privileging speech over silence, privileging compliance over conflict, and equity-centered confessionals) actually place additional burdens on students of Color, when instructors purport that these approaches are utilized to advance social justice. White common sense may appear to be "just how it is" for white people; however, these norms are rooted in anti-Black racism (**antiblackness**) and seek to minimize information, experiences, or knowledge that disrupts white ignorance or challenges color-evasiveness. Therefore, the ontological frame of white common sense is implemented in ways that universalize the white experience making it difficult to refute, despite its inherent shortcomings (Leonardo, 2009).

Fourth, ultimately the goal of white common sense is to protect white racial comfort. Because of white common sense, discussions of race/ism and whiteness have been situated as taboo, too difficult, or inappropriate. To protect the comfort of white people, and thus protect whiteness, white emotional responses used to deflect, avoid, or resist interactions with race/ism or People of Color are situated as normal. For example, Matias and Zembylas (2014) observed that white teachers often display feelings of pity or care when considering experiences of their racial Other. While empathy and care are emotions often advocated in teacher education, when performed through whiteness, these emotionalities actually serve to deflect and disengage with racial realities. Individuals will display emotions that have been deemed socially appropriate through white common sense while still embodying feelings of disdain, guilt, and/or anger. In this way, white racial comfort is protected through the performative use of emotionalities (Leonardo & Zembylas, 2013; Matias, 2016; Matias & Mackey, 2016; Matias & Zembylas, 2014). In this way, white people spend a great deal of time talking about race, though often through coded or veiled language that allows them to express white racial/racist opinions without feeling uncomfortable (Roediger, 1991).

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To many white people, whiteness is maintained as invisible, insofar that the norms, expectations, rules, and expressions centralized in the dominant culture are rooted in whiteness. However, to Black people, Indigenous persons, and other people of Color, whiteness is often quite visible, insofar that whiteness attempts to retain white supremacy are a constant barrage across all areas of society.

2 Whiteness in Queer Studies

Within queer studies, whiteness plays a pernicious role. Due to the ways that racial privilege is connected to whiteness, white queer people have long worked to diminish attention to the ways that whiteness interacts with **queerness** (Hinkson, 2019; Ramirez et al., 2018). White queer folks have asserted and enshrined a white, queer universalism, or white **homonormativity** (Duggan, 2002; Ward, 2008). Because of white common sense, white homonormativity simultaneously centralizes whiteness within its efforts to control and constrain queerness while also ignoring its presence in pursuit of universalism. This neoliberal approach to inclusion insists queer people and constructs assimilate to white **heteronormative** expectations in order to make queerness more palatable to "mainstream" interests, with particular concerns for capitalistic gains in the marketplace. As Martino and Cumming-Potvin (2011) reported, when talking about families with their students, elementary teachers often default to and hierarchically reference heterosexual family structures in relation to queer family structures. Moreover, because of teachers' lack of **queer literacy** (Miller, 2015), they have limited references for how queerness can be represented within educational resources. As a result, teachers often select texts that feature "exclusive celebration of homonormative, non-threatening LGBT characters that conform to expected gender roles, have a vested interest in parenting, and are White and upper middle class" (Lester, 2014, p. 244). Therefore, white homonormativity reinforces white heteronormativity by attempting to strip queerness of its inherent and intentional position outside of bounds, norms, and expectations of traditional society (Ward, 2008).

Further, given that the dominant assumptions and institutions are controlled through whiteness, white homonormativity maintains white supremacy and enforces heteronormative and patriarchal expectations, values, behaviors, and norms within queer relationships, spaces, and communities. In this way, white homonormativity asserts that the white queer experience can be understood as the same as the experiences of queer people of Color. Therefore, people of Color whose experiences are undoubtedly different from white queer folks are

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demonized. For example, the negative reaction to Black gay rapper Lil Nas X's 2021 music video for his song "Montero (Call Me by Your Name)" is evidence of the ways that whiteness and anti-queerness function in concert with each other. Critics attacked Lil Nas X for the artistic representation of the ways that racism and homophobia impacted his youth and identity (Alcindor et al., 2021; Chow, 2021). Essentially, critics suggested that he was not representing Blackness nor queerness as white homonormativity would permit or expect.

Whiteness, thus, simultaneously rejects and co-opts the ways that queer people of Color express and embody queerness. Additionally, the whitewashing of the Stonewall Inn riots in 1969 and the corporate takeover of **Pride** celebrations both serve as evidence of the ways that whiteness functions within queerness (Abad-Santos, 2018; Dugan & Fabbre, 2021). Similarly, queer studies often fails to account for the ways that queer people of Color experience interlocking forms of oppression and privileges the single axis of oppression that many white queer people understand (Bowleg et al., 2017; Combahee River Collective, 1995/1977; Mills, 2007; Shelton, 2020). King (2009) noted that often the racial identities of queer people are silenced or pushed to the background when considering their queer identities. For example, in 2005, when professional basketball player Sheryl Swoopes came out as a lesbian, King (2009) observed that while her lesbian identity was recognized, its relationship or connectivity to her identities as a Black woman was ignored. Additionally, white homonormativity erased narratives shared by **Latinx** queer people in the wake of the tragic Pulse Nightclub attack in Orlando, Florida in 2016 (Ramirez et al., 2018). Rather than acknowledge the reality that anti-Latinx racism played a part in the attack, white homonormativity insisted that all queer people were impacted equally by the event and that race/ism had nothing to do with it.

Within this context, it's no wonder that the field of queer studies is positioned and often interpreted as synonymous with white queer studies. Or, as Logie and Rwigema (2014) suggested, "the normative idea of queer is a white person" (p. 174). Johnson (2001) recognized that queer studies has the potential to "transform" the ways scholars and educators theorize and make sense of **sexuality**. However, because whiteness is centralized within the field, research has largely failed to account for the intricate relationships between race and sexuality. Sykes (2014) recognized that white, **settler-colonial** ways of thinking are centered within queer studies. Further, Butler et al. (2010) noted that the positioning of queer studies as a "new" or "recent" area of research focus is a demarcation of time in relation to the white middle-class progressive adoption of LGBTQ+ rights within their range of normative expectations. As Ward (2008) observed, most organizations, editorial boards, and institutions with

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an avowed connection to queer studies are controlled and populated by white people.

Whiteness, therefore, is centralized within queerness and queer theory while ignoring, erasing, and at times co-opting decades (generations) of contributions from queer people of Color. When race is discussed in queer studies, it is often done so clumsily or in ways that seem disconnected to queerness (Butler et al., 2010; Ng, 1997), rather than through an intersectional queer epistemology that recognizes varied forms of oppression are dependent upon each other; i.e., racist, sexist, genderist, ableist, and classist oppression all inform and interact with each other (Crenshaw, 1991).

Note

1 Color-evasive ideology was conceptualized by Annamma et al. (2017) in response to color-blind ideology, or the commonly adopted stance that ignores the presence or influence of race (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2017).

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CHAPTER 151

Womanism

Kiara S. Summerville

1 Introduction

Alice Walker's (1983) "womanist" concept celebrates the nuances of Black womanhood while also working against separatist ideologies that position Black women and Black men as adversaries. At its foundation, Womanism argues for a cultural continuity that values the holistic well-being of the Black community. Womanism does not center or emphasize **genderism** or **sexism** (Phillips, 2006) as feminism does. Historically and in current-day practice, feminism's emphasis on women's rights can be exclusionary and perpetuate allegiances to whiteness (Moon & Holling, 2020), as White women involved in the feminist movement have historically dismissed the intersections of genderism and racism. Too often, feminist theory has not considered the gendered-racialized experiences of women of Color. In response to this exclusion, Womanist theory explicitly confronts both sexism and racism and is critical of the erasure of Black women in feminist movements (Brewer, 2020). Walker (1983) and other scholars recognized that the experiences of Black women and women of Color are uniquely divergent from white women's experiences (Banks-Wallace, 2000; Hudson-Weems, 1993; Phillips, 2006). Furthermore, Womanism is a culturally-based way of knowing and being that elevates Black people, the Black experience, and the Black community as a whole (Walker, 1983).

2 Alice Walker's Vision of Womanism

Alice Walker, in her 1983 work *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens: Womanist Prose*, introduced the term "womanist" and defined it in four ways. According to Walker (1983), a womanist is (1) someone who identifies as a Black feminist or feminist of Color, (2) a woman who, sexually or otherwise, loves other women, and appreciates women's culture, emotional flexibility, and strength; someone who is committed to the wholeness of an entire group of people, (3) someone who loves music, dance, the moon, spirit, food, roundness, struggle, and herself, and (4) finally, Walker (1983) provided an analogy of Womanism,

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writing that womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender. Fryer (2006) discussed how Walker's (1983) vision of womanist theory was "the most important voice" (p. 313) in African American Queer Studies in the 1980s. However, relative to queerness, it is important to note that though Walker's (1983) definition of Womanism was influential to the growth of queer studies (Fryer, 2006), Walker used binary language throughout the definition in regard to gender.

3 Womanism and Black Feminism

Related to Walker connecting Womanism to feminism in her definition (Walker, 1983), scholars have further considered similarities and differences between Womanism and Black feminism (Brewer, 2020; Collins, 1996). Black feminist scholars created their own pathways to understanding how feminism is coupled with Black women's gendered and racial experiences, positioning Black feminism as a school of thought (Collins, 1989; Dillard, 2000; King, 1988).

Black feminist scholars consider the unique feminist and epistemological standpoint of Black women (Brewer, 2020; Collins, 1986, 1990, 2000). Black feminist researchers note that Black women's gendered experiences are connected to intersectional structures (Crenshaw, 1989) and that Black women are the best producers of knowledge related to their nuanced experiences (Collins, 1990, 2000). Black feminists also suggest that Black women engage in the process of self-definition and self-valuation as a way to resist dehumanization and systems of domination (Collins, 1986). Using Black feminist theory, Black women make creative and productive use of their marginality and document their ways of knowing (Collins, 1986, 1990, 2000; Dillard, 2000).

A review of scholarly debates about Womanism's relation to Black feminism suggests two general approaches – 1) Womanism is tied to feminism and is situated within feminist frameworks (Banks-Wallace, 2000; Walker, 1983), and 2) Womanism is fundamentally different from feminism and should be considered as a standalone theoretical framework (Hudson-Weems, 1993; Maparyan, 2012).

In essence, Black feminism centers the voices and unique, intersectional experiences of Black women (Collins, 1986, 1990, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989). Womanism, on the other hand, transcends Black women's unique experiences and seeks to rectify all sites of oppression and bring those inequities to a level of equal concern for all people. Black feminism and Womanism are interrelated, but they each document a commitment to gender justice in unique ways (Brewer, 2020).

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4 Womanism in Queer Studies in Education

In her definition of Womanism, Walker (1983) writes that a womanist is a woman who loves other women, sexually and/or non-sexually. However, there is little research that explicitly studies Womanism in relation to queer women's love for other women and/or interrogates the intersections of womanist theory and **queer theory**. There are womanist scholars who center queer theory in their work (Lightsey, 2015) and center *kuaer* theory, which Lee (2003) considers a more race-conscious, womanist, and transnational approach to queer theory. Scholars recognize Walker's (1983) definition of Womanism as a foundation for womanist research, and with the definition in mind, consider where the definition is outdated or does not capture the queer community at large (Fryer, 2006; Yetunde, 2017). Womanism as a theoretical framework has been critiqued for its lack of attention to queerness and LGBTQ+ women. Scholars suggest that Womanism's connectedness to spirituality and the Black church leaves little room for critical engagement with **heteronormativity** and/or sexual and gender diversities (Douglas, 1999), such as an examination of the experiences of transgender Black women.

A recent line of inquiry has opened conversations about how Womanism can be used in conjunction with queer theory. Lightsey (2015), for example, examines contexts in which a Black queer woman practices spirituality as womanist queer theology while using the term "womanist" to privilege Black women who identify as **queer**. Lightsey (2015) expanded Walker's (1983) definition of Womanism, focusing particularly on the emphasis on Womanism's appreciation and love for all women, and intentionally situates Black queer women as sacred beings. Lightsey's (2015) work opened up thought about how Womanism can be placed in conversation with queer theory. Because of the limited amount of research that centers Womanist theory in queer studies, there is a need for more productive and widespread work on how Womanist and queer ways of knowing can together advance the commitment to all people that Walker (1983) purported in her original work.

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CHAPTER 152

Women of Color Feminisms

José Manuel Santillana Blanco

The formations of women of Color feminisms emerged in response to the individual, structural, and historical racism women of Color experienced within feminism. Unlike white women, the concerns of women of Color throughout history extended beyond the issues that white feminist women focused on. Time and again, women of Color expressed the intersections of sexism with race/racism, **sexuality**/patriarchy and homophobia, indigeneity/**settler colonialism**, immigration/xenophobia, and class/classism. While the term reflects a politic of solidarity within the experiences of racialized women, it is important to understand that not all women of Color share the same struggles, experiences, and commitments within feminism. Rather, through their deep commitment to working across differences, women of Color feminisms modeled, theorized, and created multiple avenues to think more critically about the necessities and difficulties of working together to combat multiple systems of oppression.

1 Historical Overview

Feminism refers to a range of social, political, and ideological movements that aim to address gender inequalities, injustices, and oppressions. In the United States, feminist movements have been broadly divided into four temporal waves. The First Wave has been characterized by the women's suffrage movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Harris, 2018; Rothenberg, 2016). The Second Wave emphasized the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) of the late 1960s, as well as attention to issues such as sexuality, family, workplace, domestic violence, rape, and reproductive rights into the 1980s (Molony & Nelson, 2017). The Third Wave saw the rise of feminism in popular culture, **intersectionality**, sex positivity, ecofeminism, and postmodern feminism (Tong & Fernandes Botts, 2014). The contemporary Fourth Wave is largely defined by feminists' use of digital media platforms (Frankel, 2019) to organize and challenge gender-based inequities. Notably, some scholars have complicated, modified, and rejected the "wave" metaphor in favor of instead understanding feminist histories locally, nationally, and globally (Molony & Nelson, 2017).

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The specific term "women of Color" within and outside of feminist movements surfaced during the 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas. Drawing over 2,000 delegates and 15,000 participants, the four-day conference, organized by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, played a pivotal role in shifting U.S.-based feminism to center abortion rights, sexual orientation, and race. As a contingent of internal organizing efforts, African American women created the Black Women's Agenda to challenge and replace the "Minority Women's Plank" that had been proposed during the conference, with the new agenda offered as a way to address the needs and social positioning of African American women more fully. Native American, Chicana/Latina, and Asian American women also caucused to discuss their shared interests in the proposal. For example, Native American women focused their concerns on both challenging the removal of children from their communities and advocating for tribal rights; Chicana/Latina women addressed deportation, farmworkers' rights, and citizenship; and Asian American women critiqued the myth of "model minority" as a way to address issues such as the invisibility of sweatshop working conditions. Consequently, women of Color representatives from these many groups reconvened in the Minority Women's Caucus meeting to negotiate their respective contributions and complete the proposal that ultimately led to the term "women of Color." The term was a direct result of these efforts that replaced the originally proposed and inadequately intersectional Minority Women's Plank (Mattingly & Nare, 2014). On an international scale, some scholars have noted the interchangeable usage and simultaneous shift of "women of Color feminism" and "third world women feminism" as a way to address the local, national, and international concerns of women from Asian, African, Middle Eastern, and Latin American origins (Herr, 2014; Jayawardena, 2016; Mohanty, 2003; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981).

2 Feminist of Color Formations

Artists, activists, and scholars have expressed the ways women of Color, including Black, Caribbean, Chicana, Latina, Asian, Arab, and Indigenous women, have been largely excluded from white mainstream feminism (Alexander, 2006; Fujiwara & Roshanravan, 2018; hooks, 2015; Lorde, 1984; Mohanty, 2003; Moraga, 1993; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981). From these insurgent voices have come new theories and vocabularies that have sought to name, define, and address women of Color as multiply oppressed women. In 1981, the groundbreaking feminist anthology *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria E. Anzaldúa brought together Indigenous women

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and women of Color writers to challenge white feminists' notions of solidarity, unity, and sisterhood. *This Bridge* is widely recognized for the development of the term Third World feminism, as well as challenging the universality of womanhood. Similarly, in 1982, the landmark text *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave* by Akasha Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith set forth Black feminist criticisms at the intersections of race and gender. In *In Search of Our Mothers' Garden: Womanist Prose*, Alice Walker (1983) first coined the term womanist as "A black feminist or feminist of color. From the black folk expression of mother to female children and also a woman who loves other women, sexually and/or nonsexually" (p. xi; see the Womanist entry in this volume for more discussion). Almost a decade later, Latina writers Ana Castillo (1994) and Ada María Isasi-Díaz (1996) coined *Xicanisma* and *Mujerista* to reflect the distinct struggles Latina women experienced in the United States.

The plurality of women of Color feminisms exemplifies the importance of difference, coalition, and solidarity work. While its political roots came as a response to the racism of white feminism, the transformative nature of the work has been its ability to foster transient spaces of exchange, dialogue, and transgression. As a locus of multiple positionalities, theories, and activism, women of Color feminisms reflect an array of voices that account for the different ways that women of Color's experiences, oppressions, and needs converge, intersect, and separate from one another. For additional resources, foundational Black feminist writers in the field include Audré Lorde, bell hooks, Barbara Christian, Patricia Hill Colins, Barbara Smith, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Alice Walker, Toni Cade Bambara, Angela Davis, and the Combahee River Collective; Chicana/Latina feminists include Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherríe Moraga, Ana Castillo, Maria Lugones, Anna Nieto-Gómez, Edna Acosta-Belen, Chela Sandoval, Norma Alarcon, Aurora Levins Morales, Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez, Alma Garcia and Alma Lopez. Indigenous feminist writers Leslie Marmon Silko, Max Wolf Valerio, Chrystos, Joy Harjo, Winona LaDuke, and Paula Gunn Allen; Asian American feminist writers include Mitsuye Yamada, Genny Lim, Nellie Wong, Mayumi Tsutakawa, Elaine H. Kim, Sonia Shah, Shirley Hune, and Gail Nomura; and, transnational feminist writers include Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Richa Nagar, Jacqui Alexander, Inderpal Grewal, Harsha Walia, and Susan Muaddi Darraj.

3 New Directions

Women of Color feminisms have transformed the bounds of knowledge influencing the fields of anthropology, sociology, education, law, science, and many

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others. Yet, the works of women of Color feminists still remain undervalued as critical sites of inquiry that continue to challenge traditional fields of study. Simultaneously, women of Color feminisms examine and challenge power, privileges, and struggles attached to race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, dis/ability, immigration, indigeneity, and other social-political categories. Concurrently, many queer of Color scholars have firmly situated themselves within women of Color feminisms. For example, a number of queer of Color scholars who examine racialized sexualities have all noted ways that their work examining racialized sexuality extends from the writings of women of Color feminisms, particularly in ways that do not separate gender, sexuality, and race (e.g., Bakshi et al., 2016; Ferguson, 2004; Hames-García, 2011; Hames-García & Martinez, 2011; Muñoz, 1999). In "Queer Theory Revisited," for example, Hames-García (2011) points out the importance of rethinking queer genealogies to more accurately account for the influential writings of feminists of Color that preceded foundational queer writers, including Eve Kosofsky, Michael Warner, Judith Butler, and Gayle Rubin (p. 19). Thus, the future of women of Color feminisms within queer scholarship continues to push scholars to rethink, reimagine, and create new possibilities in sexuality studies.

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Notes on Contributors

Carey E. Andrzejewski
is a Professor of Social Foundations of Education and Educational Research in the College of Education at Auburn University. As a critical scholar of teaching, she explores and facilitates the work of educators toward more socially just schools. In particular, she is interested in how educators develop critical consciousness and how that consciousness shapes their work with students, in schools, and in their broader communities.

Marcos de R. Antuna
is a doctoral candidate in Interdisciplinary Learning and Teaching at the University of Texas at San Antonio. He is peer-published on queer issues in education as well as on indigenous philosophy. He is passionate about the reclamation of queer traditions with indigeneity. He currently teaches ESL to immigrants and refugees in San Antonio.

Andrea Arce-Trigatti
(Ph.D.) is an interdisciplinary scholar whose research interests are connected to enhancing innovation-driven learning strategies, multicultural and cultural studies, social justice in education, educational policy, and engineering education. She is a founding member of the Renaissance Foundry Research Group and a member of the National Association of Multicultural Education.

Matthew Archer
is a student affairs practitioner, and an Educational Leadership Ph.D. student at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan. His work focuses on scholarship for and support of LGBTQIA+ college populations and students, faculty, and staff with disabilities. His current work places particular focus on asexualities and aromanticism in higher education, "inter-acronym" and inter-queer-community frictions, and abrasions with systemic power in educational systems.

Lobat Asadi
(Ph.D., Curriculum and Instruction, Texas A&M University) is a post-doctoral researcher with Dr. Cheryl J. Craig, as well as a lecturer at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley and Associate Instructor at the Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning at Harvard University. As an educator, researcher, and storyteller, Lobat focuses on cultural, racial, sociolinguistic, gender and other

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issues of equity in education. Lobat is interested in arts-based education and integration, feminism, social ecology, nature-based solutions, and indigenous perspectives.

Chris Babits
is a Postdoctoral Teaching Fellow at Utah State University, where he teaches courses in History and Religious Studies.

Hannah Carson Baggett
is Associate Professor of Educational Research in the College of Education at Auburn University. Her scholarship and teaching focus on issues of race and racism in education, educator beliefs and social justice education, and qualitative methods. A former high school French teacher, she continues to work with high school students in East Alabama in formal and informal teaching and mentoring roles.

Lucy E. Bailey
is faculty in Social Foundations and Qualitative Inquiry and the Director of Gender, Women's, and Sexuality Studies at Oklahoma State University. She is a qualitative methodologist and critical diversity scholar of both historical and contemporary educational issues. She is the editor of *vs: The Journal of Educational Biography* and the co-editor of a book series in life writing research. Most recently her work has focused on the racial dimensions of methodological developments in life writing.

Aldo M. Barrita
is a doctoral student at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas in the Psychological and Brain Sciences program. His primary research area explores the frequency and impact of microaggressions primarily targeting racial and sexual minorities. Aldo's research also explores coping mechanisms used by Latinx and LGBTQ individuals such as resilience. Aldo has served as part of the leadership council for the National Latinx Psychological Association and is currently co-chair for their LGBTQ+ interest group Orgullo.

Robert Bittner
has a Ph.D. in Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies (SFU), and is also a graduate of the M.A. in Children's Literature program at The University of British Columbia in Vancouver, BC. He loves reading a wide range of literature, but particularly stories with diverse depictions of gender and sexuality.

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Mollie Blackburn
is a Professor in the Department of Teaching and Learning at The Ohio State University. Her research focuses on literacy, language, and social change. She is the author of *Interrupting Hate*, editor of *Adventurous Thinking*, among other co-authored and co-edited books. She has received NCTE's LGBTQ+ Advocacy and Leadership Award; WILLA's Inglis Award for work in gender, sexuality, sexual orientation, and young people; AERA's Queer Studies SIG body of work award; and the Alan C. Purves Award for an article in the *Research in the Teaching of English* deemed rich with implications for classroom practice.

Allison BrckaLorenz
(Ph.D.) is an Associate Research Scientist at the Center for Postsecondary Research. She helps people use data to make improvements on their campuses, uses data to highlight the experiences of traditionally marginalized subpopulations, and provides professional development opportunities and mentoring to graduate students. Her research interests focus on the teaching and learning of college students, the accompanying issues faced by faculty, and the experiences of small and understudied populations with an emphasis on the engagement of queer students.

Rachel Brooks
(she/her/hers) was, at the time of writing, a graduate student at Texas Christian University. As of May 2021, she holds a Master of Education in Curriculum Studies. She also holds a Bachelor of Arts in English and a Bachelor of Science in Secondary Education. She teaches middle school reading and language arts in Fort Worth. Her areas of interest are critical race and queer studies, specifically regarding disruption of the western literature canon.

Zachary Brown
is a doctoral candidate in the Center for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Arizona. His research works within Black critical theory, gender and sexuality studies, and psychoanalytic thought to examine issues of power and desire within and beyond educational contexts.

Elissa Bryant
is a Ph.D. student in Curriculum Studies at Texas Christian University and a former elementary school teacher. She holds a bachelor's degree in Elementary Education and an M.Ed. in Curriculum Studies. Her ongoing work examines bullying as a process of identity formation and the ways in which liberatory

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pedagogies, philosophical instruction, and cooperative play can both support healthy social-emotional development and address systemic inequity in K-12 settings.

Arielle Burgdorf
is a Ph.D. candidate in Literature at University of California, Santa Cruz. Their research interests include queer masculinities, 20th century Latin American literature, art as a response to collective trauma under dictatorships, and vampires. They are a Lambda Literary Emerging Writer Fellow for 2021 and a GSS Fellow for 2020–21.

Kevin J. Burke
is an Associate Professor in the Department of Language and Literacy Education at the University of Georgia. His work in teacher education sits at the intersections of religion, curriculum, and queer theory. He is particularly interested in the ways in which religion exists and persists in public education in the United States.

Nathan Caballero
(he/him) is a graduate student at Texas Christian University working toward his master's degree in English Literature. He holds a Bachelor of Arts for Writing and Strategic Communication. His areas of interest are gender and sexuality in film, television, and digital and new medias, particularly cross-media adaptive literature.

Leia K. Cain
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Professor of Evaluation, Statistics, and Methodology at the University of Tennessee. In her research she examines researcher identities, positionalities, and epistemologies, and how these considerations affect methodological and ethical decision making within the inquiry process. She often brings these topics together while examining the lived experiences of LGBTQ+ populations within higher education spaces. She is particularly interested in liminal researcher identities and how those within these spaces choose to come out to participants.

Durell M. Callier
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Leadership at Miami University. His research documents, analyzes, and interrogates the lived experiences of Black youth and the racialized queer dynamics of power within educative spaces and practices.

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Andrés Castro Samayoa
is Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Leadership & Higher Education at Boston College's Lynch School of Education and Human Development. Castro Samayoa's research focuses on the relationship between minoritized social identities and organizational policymaking practices in educational contexts.

Nicholas Catania
(he/him, Ph.D.) is a Visiting Instructor of Elementary Education at the University of South Florida (USF). His research interests include teacher preparation for social justice as well as pedagogical practices for meeting the needs of LGBTQ students. He has over 10 years of experience teaching in K-12 and higher education settings and works with teacher candidates coaching them to improve their practice in the clinical setting.

Sohini Chatterjee
(she/her) is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at The University of Western Ontario. Her research interests include queer cultural studies, queer activism in India, and resistance movements.

Jesús Cisneros
is an Associate Professor of Educational Leadership and Foundations at the University of Texas at El Paso. His research moves gender, sexuality, and immigration status, and their conceptual margins, to the center of analysis in an effort to explore and understand the way politics and identity interact with various axes of inequality.

Caroline T. Clark
is a Professor in the Department of Teaching and Learning at the Ohio State University. Her research focuses on language and literacy practices and collaborative research with teachers, young people, and families in service of advocacy for social justice. She received the AERA Queer Studies SIG Body of Work Award in 2019. For over 12 years, she co-led a teacher-inquiry group whose purposes have ranged from using literature, film, and other media to combat homophobia and heterosexism in classrooms, to examining how LGBTQIA+ youth and families experience support and non-support in schools. Currently, she is researching antiracist approaches to teacher education and collaboratively creating critical race media literacy curricula with local teachers.

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Kathleen Clarke
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Education at Wilfrid Laurier University in Ontario, Canada where she teaches in the Student Affairs Field of the Master of Education Program. Dr. Clarke completed her doctorate in higher education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto. Her research focuses on graduate education, student services, and specific populations of students (e.g., students with disabilities, students with mental health conditions).

Jonathan Coker
is a Ph.D. candidate in Curriculum and Instruction at the University of South Florida, where he also earned a Graduate Certificate in Qualitative Research. He holds undergraduate degrees in Latin and Theatre and served as a K-12 classroom teacher for ten years. He has published work in the areas of LGBTQ+ issues and the effect of educational policy on teacher working conditions in journals including *Middle Grades Review* and the *Journal of LGBT Youth*.

James Joshua Coleman (*Josh*)
(he/him; they/them) is an Assistant Professor of English Education in the Department of English and Comparative Literature at San José State University. His research interests include critical literacy, queer studies in education, affect studies, as well as Children's and Young Adult literature.

Raphael D. Coleman
is the Executive Director of Alice! Health Promotion and Public Health Initiatives at Columbia University. As a public health trained, higher education practitioner-scholar, his work pays attention to health equity in university contexts, student mental and emotional well-being, and the academic and social experiences of Black queer and transgender students. Prioritizing equity-advancing praxis and student-centered pedagogies, he also teaches and mentors emerging public health and higher education professionals about health equity and the U.S. health care system.

Roland Sintos Coloma
is a Professor of Teacher Education at Wayne State University. A scholar of history, cultural studies, and education, his work addresses critical questions of race, gender, and sexuality from transnational and intersectional perspectives. He served as President of the American Educational Studies Association (2018–19) and as editor of the *Educational Studies* journal (2014–17). He received the

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2015 Article of the Year Award from the Queer Studies special interest group of the American Educational Research Association.

Carlson H. Coogler
is a doctoral student in Educational Research with a specialization in Qualitative Methodologies at The University of Alabama. She is interested in interdisciplinary and artful approaches to learning; embodied, new materialist and more-than-human theories; and exploring methodologies that entangle theory and practice. A National Science Foundation CADRE Fellow from 2018–2019, she is especially interested in researching environmental/ecological ethics, practices and literacies.

Olivia M. Copeland
(she/they) is a recent graduate of Ohio University's College Student Personnel master's program and current doctoral student of Higher Education and Student Affairs at Indiana University.

Arturo Cortez
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Professor of Teacher Learning, Research and Practice at the University of Colorado, Boulder. Broadly, his work is animated by cultural historical activity to explore how teachers collectively design for transformative and humanizing learning environments that leverage the everyday cultural practices of non-dominant youth in urban settings.

S. Adam Crawley
is an Assistant Professor of Language and Literacy Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. His research explores LGBTQ+ children's literature and its use or censorship in elementary contexts. He is an active member of the National Council of Teachers of English, Literacy Research Association, and American Educational Research Association. His scholarship is published in *Voices from the Middle*, *The ALAN Review*, *The Journal of Children's Literature*, *English Journal*, and *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education*.

Thomas Crisp
is an Associate Professor of Literacy at Georgia State University in Atlanta, Georgia. His scholarship focuses on issues of representation in children's and young adult literature, media, and culture. He is concerned primarily with youth literature by and/or about people who self-identify as LGBTQ+. Crisp is currently the Past-President of the Children's Literature Association and co-editor of the *Journal of Children's Literature*.

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Stephanie Curley
is Research Fellow in the Education and Social Research Institute at Manchester Metropolitan University, UK. Since the early 2000s, Steph has helped bring queer of Colour, post/colonial studies to the field of education.

Adam Davies
is an Assistant Professor in Family Relations & Applied Nutrition at the University of Guelph. Adam's research interests are queer theory, gender and sexuality studies in schooling, critical disability studies, masculinity studies, and sexuality education. Adam holds a Ph.D. in Curriculum Studies & Teacher Development with collaborative specializations in Women & Gender Studies and Sexual Diversity Studies from the University of Toronto.

Summer Davis
is an Assistant Professor in the College of Education and Human Development at Western Michigan University. Her research centers issues related to teacher induction, equity, and social justice. Her additional scholarship investigates play-based, multimodal, and humanizing pedagogical approaches that expand notions of K-12 literacies.

J. Michael Denton
is an Assistant Professor in the Higher Education and Student Affairs program at the University of South Florida. His work uses queer and post-structural perspectives to research college student embodiment, including gay college men living with HIV and trans students transitioning while in college.

Jessye DeSilva
is a Boston-based singer/songwriter and vocal pedagogue. They earned their Doctor of Musical Arts in Voice Performance and Pedagogy at Temple University. Their Doctoral Monograph, titled A Survey of the Current State of Contemporary Commercial Music (CCM) Vocal Pedagogy Training at the Graduate Level, focuses on the need for the inclusion of contemporary and musical theatre techniques in graduate level voice pedagogy programs. They currently serve as Assistant Professor of Musical Theatre Voice at the Boston Conservatory at Berklee in Boston, MA.

Kari J. Dockendorff
(Ph.D., they/them/their) is an Assistant Professor in Higher Education Leadership at Colorado State University. Their research focuses on the trans* student experience by measuring levels of trans* inclusive attitudes, behavior, and

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knowledge of staff in their interaction with trans* students. Dr. Dockendorff also uses critical quantitative approaches to develop better measures of gender and sexuality in survey research.

Antonio Duran
(he/him) is an Assistant Professor in the Higher Education program at Florida International University. Antonio's research involves understanding how historical and contemporary legacies of oppression influence college student development, experiences, and success.

Kit Emslie
is a Ph.D. candidate in Higher Education Administration at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.

Meg E. Evans
(they/them) is a critical scholar and educator. They currently work as the Programs Director for Break Away, a justice-based educational non-profit, and as a lecturer in the Mary France Early College of Education at the University of Georgia. Prior to working at Break Away, Meg worked for over a decade as a college student affairs administrator mainly in identity-based centers. Their research centers on racial justice advocacy, activism, and resistance in higher education.

Randy Fair
is the author of *Southern. Gay. Teacher.* and taught high school English for 31 years. His 2001 dissertation is entitled, *'Yes, I Should, But No I Wouldn't': Teachers Attitudes Towards Introducing Lesbian/Gay Issues in the English Classroom*.

Jason C. Garvey
(he/him/his) is the Friedman-Hipps Green and Gold Professor of Education and Program Coordinator for the Higher Education and Student Affairs Administration program at the University of Vermont. Dr. Garvey's scholarship, teaching, and service are closely tied to his educational journey as a queer person. His research examines queer and trans collegians across educational contexts primarily using quantitative methods.

Chelsea Gilbert
(she/her) is a doctoral student at The Ohio State University who concentrates her scholarship on critical approaches to trauma in higher education and student affairs. Prior to this, she spent ten years as a practitioner in diversity,

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equity, and inclusion roles in higher education. She is the author of a number of chapters and publications and co-edited the forthcoming text *Critical Praxis in Higher Education and Student Affairs: Social Justice in Action*.

Ángel de Jesus Gonzalez
is a queer Latinx *joto* scholar and a pedagogy fellow at the Center for Black, Brown, and Queer Studies. They received an Ed.D. in Community College Leadership from San Diego State University. Their research focuses on the conditions, experiences, and outcomes for queer and trans community college students and professionals, queer Latinx leadership, and equity at community colleges.

Sergio A. Gonzalez
is a Ph.D. candidate in the School of Educational Studies Program at Claremont Graduate University. He earned his M.A. in Applied Gender Studies from Claremont Graduate University, an M.Ed. in Postsecondary Administration and Student Affairs from the University of Southern California, and his B.A. in Communication Studies from Manhattanville College. Currently, Sergio is a Research Associate at the Rutgers Center for Minority Serving Institutions. His research interests focus on Jotería pedagogy, social justice, undocumented/DACAmented students, and Queer Latinx students in higher education.

Kevin Gotkin
is an artist, activist, and academic. They received their Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 2018. From 2018–2021, they were a Visiting Assistant Professor of Media, Culture, & Communication at NYU.

Karen Graves
is Professor of Education at Denison University. Her publications include *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida's Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* and "So, You Think You Have a History?": Taking a Q from Lesbian and Gay Studies in Writing Education History, among the Top 10 articles in the 60-year archive of *History of Education Quarterly*. She is Past President of the History of Education Society and former Vice-President for Division F: History and Historiography for AERA.

Christian George Gregory
is currently an Assistant Professor of Education at Saint Anselm College and formerly a Lecturer at Teachers College, Columbia University. He has written for the *International Journal of Dialogic Pedagogy*, *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking*, and the *Journal of LGBTQ Youth*, where he serves on the Editorial

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Board. His research interests include queer theory and pedagogy, classroom discourse, and expanding the canon in English Education.

Jarrett Gupton
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Professor of Higher Education and Student Affairs in the College of Education at the University of South Florida. Much of his work focuses on the experiences of housing and food insecure students and issues of access, persistence, and completion in higher and postsecondary education.

Justin A. Gutzwa
(they/them) is a doctoral candidate in Higher Education & Organizational Change at UCLA. Their scholarship works to dismantle deficit-based understandings of trans communities in higher education, primarily through the exploration of the classroom experiences of trans collegians. Prior to their doctoral work, they graduated from Pomona College with a bachelor's degree in Anthropology and worked in undergraduate admissions at Whitman College.

Heidi Lyn Hadley
is an Assistant Professor and Director of the English Education program in the English Department at Missouri State University. She has previously worked as a Language Arts and ESOL teacher at a suburban high school in Utah. Her research interests include teacher education, the intersection of religion and education, reading instruction, and community-based youth literacy practices.

Nick Havey
is a Ph.D. candidate in the Higher Education and Organizational Change program in the UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies. His research focuses on how politics influence campus climates; he leverages large-scale survey data and social media data to track trends and identify how off-campus polarization influences on-campus practices and experiences. He is currently a UC Center for Free Speech and Civic Engagement Fellow and Managing Editor of the *Journal of Higher Education*.

Andrea M. Hawkman
(Ph.D., she/her) is an Assistant Professor of Social Studies Education and Cultural Studies at Utah State University. Her research focuses on how teachers and students engage with and disrupt whiteness in social studies education. Her work has been published in *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *The Social Studies*, and *Urban Review*. Beyond academia, she enjoys impromptu family dance parties in the kitchen, women's soccer, road trips, and camping.

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Mark E. Helmsing
is an Assistant Professor of Education, History, and Folklore at George Mason University where he teaches courses in curriculum theory, history/social science education, and LGBTQ issues. His scholarship uses critical hermeneutics of affect, nationalism, and queerness to examine how people develop historical attachments to specific times and places through schools, museums, popular culture, and everyday life.

Jill M. Hermann-Wilmarth
is a Professor of Social Foundations in the Department of Teaching, Learning, and Educational Studies at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, MI. Her main area of research is LGBTQ-inclusive English Language Arts instruction. Her work can be found in the *Journal of Literacy Research*, *Language Arts*, and *Journal of Language and Literacy Education*, among other places. She is the co-author of *Reading the Rainbow: LGBTQ-Inclusive Literacy Instruction in the Elementary Classroom*.

Rob Loren Hill
(they/them/theirs) is an Inclusive Instructional Design Specialist at William Rainey Harper College in Palatine, IL. They earned their Ph.D. in Higher, Adult, and Lifelong Education from Michigan State University. Their research and practice center a liberatory agenda with a focus on teaching, learning, and curriculum.

Payton D. Hoover
(she/her/hers) is a doctoral student in the Educational Psychology program at Auburn University. She earned her bachelor's degree in Psychology from Hanover College in 2018. Her research interests focus on social justice and equity in education.

Rhea Ashley Hoskin
is an Ontario Women's Health Scholar, an AMTD Global Talent Postdoctoral Fellow and recipient of the 2019 Governor General's Gold Medal from Queen's University, as well as a Postdoctoral Researcher at the University of Waterloo.

Kathleen Hurlock
is a Ph.D. student in English and Women's Studies at the University of Georgia. She studies 18th and 19th century British women writers through a feminist and queer lens.

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Quortne R. Hutchings
(Ph.D., they/them/theirs) is an Assistant Professor in Higher Education and Student Affairs at Northern Illinois University. Their research primarily focuses on Black gay, bisexual, queer, and non-binary undergraduate and graduate experiences in higher education, minoritized student affairs professional experiences, and programmatic interventions in student and academic affairs.

Derek A. Hutchinson
(he/him/his) is an Assistant Professor, Curriculum & Teaching at the University of Kansas. At KU, his teaching centers on elementary pedagogy, curriculum, and qualitative research theory and methods. From a narrative inquiry perspective, Dr. Hutchinson's research centers on the curriculum making and identity making of individuals around gender and sexuality. The concept of identity making implies an ongoing process of making sense of one's self through experience in and among the contexts and relationships of a life.

Romeo Jackson
(they/them) is from the southside of Chicago and the grandchild of Gracie Lee Fowler. They are a Queer, Non-Binary Femme, and a Black descended of the estimated 11 million Africans who were kidnapped and sold into enslavement. Currently, Romeo serves as the Political Education Coordinator at Black Youth Project 100 and is a Ph.D. student at Colorado State University in the Higher Education Leadership program.

Hyun Sung Jang
is a Ph.D. candidate in Educational Psychology at Auburn University. His research interests include the relationships between personality, motivation, and achievement goals. He also looks for cultural studies and equitable education for all students. He aims to create pedagogies for students that reflect their different backgrounds and individual needs.

April M. Jones
is a doctoral student at The University of Alabama, pursuing an Educational Research Ph.D. in qualitative methodology. April is also a licensed clinical social worker with over fifteen years of experience. Her research interests and paradigms are influenced by her identity as a woman of Color and her experiences as a social worker in the juvenile justice system. Qualitative research affords April the opportunity to meaningfully explore the lived experiences of marginalized, underrepresented, and historically oppressed populations.

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Eli Kean
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Professor of Instruction in Gender and Sexuality Studies at Northwestern University. They earned their Ph.D. in Curriculum, Instruction & Teacher Education from Michigan State University. Eli was awarded Dissertation of the Year from the AERA Queer Studies SIG in 2018. Their most recent publication is "Advancing a Critical Trans Framework for Education", published in *Curriculum Inquiry*.

Amy Keating
is a Ph.D. candidate at Western University in the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies, in London, Canada. Their research explores various queer communities that surround art and aesthetics, working to uncover how art can foster spaces of belonging and joy for queer identified folx.

Kate E. Kedley
is an Assistant Professor at Rowan University. Dr. Kedley is a former secondary English Language Arts and Drivers Education teacher in Iowa, Arizona, and the Central American country of Honduras. Dr. Kedley's research centers around critical literacy and education, public engagement, LGBTQ and young adult literature, language education, and social and educational movements in Honduras. Kate has published work in various journals such as the *English Journal, Sex Education, the Journal of Lesbian Studies*.

Jacob Kelley
is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Educational Foundations, Leadership, and Technology at Auburn University. His research examines teaching and learning in higher education through a critical lens. In particular, he is interested in the development of faculty and staff as agents of change who are committed to equity and justice within their spheres of influence. Other research interests include international education, civic engagement, and program evaluation.

Cindy Ann Kilgo
(they/them) is an Assistant Professor of Higher Education and Student Affairs in the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at Indiana University. Their research explores high-impact educational practices, the college experience for minoritized student populations, and the facilitation of institutional change processes toward more inclusive and equitable campus environments.

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Monica C. Kleekamp
(she/her/hers) is an Assistant Professor of Speech-Language Pathology at Maryville University in St. Louis, Missouri. Her research with dis/abled students who have complex support needs reimagines pedagogical possibilities and methodological approaches in literacy classrooms by harnessing anti-ableist orientations to being, learning, and participating. This work, which actively disrupts deficit-laden approaches to dis/ability and students, sits at the theoretical intersections of disability studies in education, neurological queerness, situated literacies, and actor-network theory.

Mel Kutner
is currently a Doctoral Candidate in Critical Studies of Educational Theory and Practice at the University of Georgia. Their research interests include Deleuzian articulations of "Ethics" and "thought," and qualitative inquiry. Mel has a Masters in Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and prior to pursuing a Ph.D., was a Researcher at the American Institutes for Research. Mel is currently the Director of Restorative Practices and Culture at Deep Center in Savannah, GA.

Brian Lackman
is an engaged scholar-practitioner. While fulfilling his role as the Assistant Director of Student Engagement and Leadership at Duke University, he also maintains an active research agenda including multiple prior publications on asexuality. His research also explores masculinities in higher education and equity-based supervision practices.

Aryah O.S. Lester
is a nationally-awarded author, speaker, educator, and a woman of trans experience from New York living in Washington DC. Aryah is a Board member of AIDS United and is also national Board Chair of STARR—the nation's first transgender organization, which was founded by Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson. Aryah founded Trans-Miami while sustaining the work of her organization, the National Alliance of Transgender Advocates and Leaders (NATAL). She speaks with universities as a guest lecturer and is a consultant with government agencies such as the Department of Justice and Homeland Security. Aryah has received many awards and her work is featured in numerous national articles; recently working as Community Advisory Board Member of Trans Tech Social Enterprises, Gilead Sciences, and ViiV Healthcare. Aryah has received many awards and her work is featured in numerous national articles. She currently serves as the Deputy Director of Transgender Strategy Center.

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Jodi Linley
(she/her) is an Associate Professor of Higher Education and Student Affairs at the University of Iowa. She assisted in designing, conducting, and analyzing the original National Study of LGBTQ+ Student Success. In 2018, Linley revised and piloted the NSLGBTQSS survey. The same year, Linley was awarded a Spencer Foundation Grant that funded the first two years of an ongoing longitudinal study of transgender students' college experiences. Linley's research aims to understand the experiences of minoritized people in higher education such that institutional leaders and policymakers can redress environments and practices toward those that are equitable and just.

Darla Linville
is an educational researcher with 20 years of experience advocating for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer and questioning youth, whose research with and about LGBTQ+ young people has unearthed tensions and contestations about queer and gender creative bodies in schools. Currently, Darla is researching the knowledge and dispositions of queer adults working with queer youth. She has several publications about her work with LGBTQ+ youth and their needs in communities and schools.

José Ramón Lizárraga
(Ph.D.) is Assistant Professor of Learning Sciences and Human Development at the University of Colorado, Boulder. They use ethnographic, video, data analytics and multimodal research methods to investigate the role of social networks, television, digital technologies, and other digital new media in the learning of non-dominant populations.

A. Longoria
(they/them) is an Assistant Professor of Secondary Education in the Woodring College of Education at Western Washington University.

Esteban Francisco López Medina
is a Primary Teacher, specializing in English with a B.A. in Religious Studies, B.A. in English Studies and Ph.D. in Feminist and Gender Studies. He has worked as a teacher in all stages, from Infant School to University, teaching different subjects such as English and history in English, in Spain and Argentina. He has been working at UCM Faculty of Education since 2015 and at UAM and VIU since 2020, focusing his research on queer representation in educational resources.

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Kaitlyn Lynch
works in the children and youth services at the Tuscaloosa Public Library (AL) and holds a master's degree in Library and Information Studies and bachelor's in English from the University of Alabama.

Melinda M. Mangin
is an Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers University where she teaches and conducts research related to teacher leadership and transgender identities in the context of K-12 schools. She is the author of *Transgender Students in Elementary Schools: How Supportive Principals Lead* (Educational Administration Quarterly, 2019) and *Transgender Students in Elementary School: Creating an Affirming and Inclusive School Culture* (Harvard Education Press, 2020).

Susan Marine
(Ph.D.) is Professor of Higher Education in the Winston School of Education and Social Policy at Merrimack College where she also serves as Vice Provost of Graduate Education. Her research examines the intersection of queer and feminist transformational praxis and institutional changework, toward ending gender-based violence and advancing LGBTQ+ people and their futures. She is the author of Stonewall's Legacy: Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Students in Higher Education (ASHE reports) and Collaborating for Change: Transforming Cultures to End Gender-Based Violence in Higher Education (Oxford).

J.B. Mayo, Jr.
is an Associate Professor of Social Studies Education at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Mayo is a former middle school teacher from Virginia. His research centers on the incorporation of LGBTQ topics/themes in the standard social studies curriculum and on the impact of Gender & Sexualities Alliances on queer youth and their straight allies.

Darris R. Means
is an Associate Professor of Educational Foundations, Organizations, and Policy at the University of Pittsburgh. His research primarily examines three areas: (a) the collegiate experiences of Black queer students, (b) Black students and science education equity, and (c) college access and success of rural students.

Shelly Melchior
is a postdoctoral fellow with the Coulter Department of Biomedical Engineering at Georgia Institute of Technology. She received her Ph.D. in Instructional

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Leadership—Social and Cultural Studies in 2021 from The University of Alabama. She also earned the Qualitative Research certificate. Her research interests include the high school diploma, meritocracy, credentialism, and human capital within K-12, low-SES, majority-minority schools. She also enjoys working with issues of collaboration, vulnerability, and the feminist collective in qualitative research.

Christopher (Doza) Mendoza
(they/elle) is a Ph.D. student in Linguistics and Graduate Assistant for Education Initiatives in the Resource Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Their research involves language in Latinx drag communities, discourses of embodiment in the Ballroom scene in Puerto Rico, and educational equity for queer communities of color. They are passionate about developing curriculum that unpacks how language is involved in the maintenance of racist, heteronormative, and transphobic structures.

Jaime S. Miller
(she/her) works at Auburn University, where she is pursuing a Ph.D. in Higher Education Administration. Her research interests include student learning, peer leadership, academic support programs in higher education, whiteness in educational spaces, mid-level manager experiences in higher education, and undergraduate student involvement in high-impact practices. She holds a M.Ed. in Higher Education and Student Affairs from the University of South Carolina.

Steve D. Mobley, Jr.
is an Assistant Professor of Higher Education Administration at The University of Alabama in the Department of Educational Leadership, Policy, and Technology Studies. His scholarship focuses on the contemporary placement of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Particularly, his research underscores and highlights understudied facets of HBCU communities including issues surrounding race, social class, and student sexuality.

Arli Mohamed
(she/her/hers) is a third-year Ph.D. student in the Higher Education program at Loyola University Chicago. Arli received her B.A. and M.S. from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Her research focuses on the retention and success of underrepresented populations. She currently serves as a research assistant, leading and co-facilitating research projects on enrollment and credential

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attainment among underrepresented men of Color within the City Colleges of Chicago.

Amanda L. Mollet
is an Assistant Professor in the Higher Education Administration program at the University of Kansas. Her research explores questions of equity and inclusion in higher education from individual, organizational, and ecological perspectives. In addition to her research on asexuality, her scholarship primarily focuses on the experiences of students, faculty, and staff with historically minoritized sexual and gender identities.

Kody Muncaster
is a Ph.D. student at the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at Western University. Their research interests include HIV/AIDS, queer and transgender suicide, trauma studies, homophobia, and transphobia in foster care, as well as gender and sexual diversity in Buddhism.

Jamie Campbell Naidoo
(Ph.D.) is the Foster-EBSCO Endowed Professor at the University of Alabama School of Library & Information Studies where he teaches in the area of youth services and diversity in libraries. He has authored numerous publications related to LGBTQ children's literature and library services to rainbow families.

Ruthie Neustifter
(they/them) is an Associate Professor in Couple & Family Therapy at the University of Guelph, and the Academic Program Chair of the Master's in Couple and Family Therapy program. Ruthie's research interests are sexuality education, intersectional experiences of those who are gender and sexual minorities, and sexual non-monogamy.

David J. Nguyen
(he/him) is an Associate Professor of Higher Education and Student Affairs at Ohio University. His research explores how campus ecology contributes to student success. In particular, his work calls attention to how individuals and organizational features hinder or widen equitable opportunities for students holding minoritized identities (LGBTQ+, Low-Income).

Travis H. Olson
is currently a Ph.D. student in Higher, Adult, and Lifelong Education (HALE) at Michigan State University. He studies the role of social power and identity

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within organizational change. Previously, he worked as a leadership educator at the Aspen Institute College Excellence Program, Johns Hopkins University, and Ohio State University.

Roberto C. Orozco
is a first-generation Ph.D. candidate in the Higher Education Program at Rutgers University, New Brunswick from Sioux City, Iowa. Roberto's research examines the identity, social, and political consciousness of queer Latinx/a/o college student activists in higher education. His dissertation is a project of remembering the ways queer Latinx/a/o people build kinships as a liberatory praxis. His work is at the interdisciplinary intersections of Jotería Studies, Critical Race Theory, and Chicana Feminism.

Joselyn L. Parker
is currently a doctoral student at The Ohio State University studying Multicultural and Equity Studies in Education in the Department of Teaching and Learning. Parker's current research focuses on Black K-12 administrators and their role in creating safe, inclusive and equitable spaces for their Black queer students. Parker, a professional public speaker and social justice activist, is also the founder of SPEAK Project Ohio, a non-profit agency located in Franklin county.

Jenell Igeleke Penn
is a clinical assistant professor of Multicultural and Equity Studies in Education, the Assistant Director of Teacher Education, and the Director of Recruitment, Mentoring, and Retention for Diversity and Social Justice in the Department of Teaching and Learning at the Ohio State University. Her research interests center around how nurturing spaces and visibility for QTBIPOC teachers and youth can help them to experience and share affirmation, community, joy, and liberation. She is a National Council of Teachers of English Cultivating New Voices of Color Fellow for 2020–2022.

Summer Melody Pennell
is Lecturer in the Department of Education at the University of Vermont. Her research is centered in social justice and includes work in queer theory and pedagogy, teacher education, LGBTQ+ studies, critical literacy, social media use in education, and the experiences of academic mothers*.

Kaity Prieto
(Ph.D., she/her) is a University Innovation Alliance Fellow at The Ohio State University where she conducts interdisciplinary student success research.

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She has written and presented on the experiences of LGBTQ+ students, with a focus on bisexual, pansexual, and fluid student communities. Her current research explores bisexual+ student identity negotiation.

Kristen A. Renn
is Professor and Mildred B. Erickson Distinguished Chair of Higher, Adult, & Lifelong Education at Michigan State University, where she also serves as Associate Dean of undergraduate studies for student success research. Her scholarship addresses minoritized students in postsecondary education, including LGBTQ college student identities, experiences, and success.

Alonso R. Reyna Rivarola
(él/he) is the Middle School and Family Engagement Director and Adjunct Faculty in Ethnic Studies at Salt Lake Community College. His research is concerned with issues of how undocumented immigrants experience formalized and informalized education in the United States. Find him on Twitter @areynarivarola.

Scott Ritchie
(he/they) is Professor of Language and Literacy Education in the Department of Elementary and Early Childhood Education at Kennesaw State University and affiliate faculty in KSU's Gender and Women's Studies program. With teaching and research interests that include critical and racial literacies, gender and masculinity studies, educational equity, and teacher education for social justice, Scott is currently PI on a Spencer-funded study of racial literacies in elementary classrooms.

Whitney Neumeyer Roach
is a Ph.D. candidate in Curriculum Studies at Texas Christian University. She holds a bachelor's degree in Early Childhood Education and a master's degree in Curriculum and Instruction. Her areas of work examine relationships between queerness and K-12 schooling with a focus on social justice, teacher education, and LGBTQIA+ educators.

Boden Robertson
(he/him) is a graduate student at The University of Alabama, where he is pursuing a Ph.D. in Educational Research, specializing in qualitative research. Boden also works at The University of Alabama's Research Assistance Center, where he supports students and faculty of diverse disciplines with their

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research endeavors. Boden's research looks at the experiences of graduate students teaching in a university context. Twitter: @WBodenRobertson

Gabriel Rodríguez Lemus, Jr.
is a first-generation Ph.D. student in the Program in Higher Education Leadership (PHEL) at The University of Texas at Austin from Fresno, California. Gabriel's work engages, complicates, & interrogates the ways LatinX masculinities is understood, specifically for Queer LatinX collegians when navigating academe as it relates to their gender, ethnicity, sexuality, & (dis)ability. Moreover, understanding Queer LatinX collegians theorizations of colonization, diaspora, & migration. His work employs anti-colonial, postcolonial, and critical theories.

Caitlin L. Ryan
is Associate Professor of Language and Literacy in the Watson College of Education at the University of North Carolina Wilmington. She is the co-author of the award-winning *Reading the Rainbow: LGBTQ-Inclusive Literacy Instruction in the Elementary Classroom*. Her work has appeared in the *Journal of Literacy Research*, *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, *Theory into Practice*, *Sex Education*, *Journal of Children's Literature*, and *Language Arts*, among others.

Omi Salas-SantaCruz
is a doctoral candidate for the degree in Education with a Designated Emphasis in Critical Theory and Gender, Women, & Sexuality from The University of California, Berkeley. Their intellectual and community work tends to Latinx and decolonial feminist research and praxis, focusing on trans* and queer of Color space-making in higher education.

José Manuel Santillana Blanco
is a Queer Xicanx Feminist activist, scholar, and storyteller. As a son Mexican immigrant parents, José Manuel was politicized within the rural migrant farmworker landscapes of central California. He is a Ph.D. candidate in the Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies Department at the University of Minnesota. Drawing on the ideas of Black, Brown, and Indigenous decolonial thinkers, his work explores the ways women-led community struggles across the United States have been foundational to our understanding of racialized social life, ecological violence, and resistance across entangled geographies.

Ryan Schey
is a Visiting Assistant Professor of English Education at the University of Iowa. His research explores literacy and language practices and social change in

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secondary schools, focusing on queer and trans youth and those who work in solidarity with them.

Charlie Amáyá Scott
is a Diné scholar born and raised within the Navajo Nation. As a doctoral student, Charlie is intrigued by the intricacies among higher education, settler colonialism, and social media. Their work is informed by a desire for a more just and liberating education that supports and inspires the next generation of Queer, Trans, and Indigenous students. Their English pronouns are they/them and she/her.

Bri Sérráno
is a scholar-practitioner that studies the experiences of transgender faculty, staff, and students in higher education. They are adjunct faculty at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona in the department of Ethnic and Women's Studies and oversees the campus LGBT Center. Additionally, they are a Ph.D. student in the Higher Education Leadership program at Colorado State University and a California State University Chancellor's Doctoral Incentive Program Fellow.

Peggy Shannon-Baker
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Professor of Educational Research and an affiliate faculty of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Georgia Southern University. Their scholarship bridges two areas: the pervasiveness of racism and heteronormativity in education and culturally sustainable research methods. This work is published in *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, International Journal of Qualitative Methods, Theory into Practice, RIP Jim Crow: Fighting Racism through Higher Education Policy, Curriculum, and Cultural Interventions, Exploring Gender and LGBTQ Issues in K-12 and Teacher Education: A Rainbow Assemblage*, and other venues.

Sam Shelton
is a doctoral student of Women, Gender, & Sexuality Studies at Oregon State University. Their dissertation project seeks to articulate an intersectional, feminist theorization of trauma that can inform and transform critical, social justice education. Their other research interests include disability justice and access(ibility); gender and technology; politics of care/care work; and consent as liberatory practice. You can learn more about Sam by visiting their website: samsheltonswebsite.com

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Stephanie Anne Shelton
is an Associate Professor of Qualitative Research in the College of Education at The University of Alabama. Recent publications have appeared in the *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *Qualitative Inquiry*, *Qualitative Research Journal*, and *Reconceptualizing Educational Research Methodology*. Her work has been funded by organizations such as the American Educational Research Association, the Georgia Governor's Office of Student Achievement, and the National Council of Teachers of English.

Addie Shrodes
is a doctoral candidate in the School of Education and Social Policy at Northwestern University. Her research interests include sociocultural, political, and relational analyses of learning, language, and literacy with digital media. She draws on queer of Color critique, queer theory, and critical feminist theories to examine counter-hegemonic practices of LGBTQ+ youth on social media. Specifically, she traces the role of humor in critical digital literacies that identify and disrupt hegemonic ideologies and norms.

Patrick C. Skrivan
(MSW, he/him) is the Education and Prevention Coordinator at University of Missouri-Columbia's Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention Center and is a Safe Space trainer for the campus. His education, practice, and research all center identity trauma, queer & trans advocacy, and LGBTQ relationship dynamics. His role on campus is to build networks and foster a community of care, safety, and connection for all identities.

Rsha Soud
is a master's student in Family Relations & Human Development at the University of Guelph. Rsha holds an undergraduate degree from the University of Western Ontario and her research interests are in disability studies, sexuality education, and the intersections of sexuality and disability for students with intellectual disabilities.

Dana M. Stachowiak
(Ph.D.) is an Associate Professor of Curriculum Studies and Director of the Gender Studies and Research Center at The University of North Carolina Wilmington. Their research interests are in trans/gender studies, social justice education, and healing centered engagement. Stachowiak has numerous publications in peer reviewed journals on these topics.

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Sara Staley
is an Assistant Professor in Teacher Learning, Research, and Practice at the University of Colorado Boulder. She is also co-director of A Queer Endeavor (aqueerendeavor.org), a nationally recognized center for gender and sexual diversity in education. Her work has appeared in journals such as the *Harvard Educational Review*, *the Journal of Teacher Education*, and *Research in the Teaching of English*.

Sam Stiegler
researches and explores the everyday experiences of queer and trans youth through mobile methodologies. He is currently working on a book manuscript about his study of queer and trans youth in New York City using go-along interviews. He is a Visiting Assistant Professor of Educational Studies at Colgate University.

Kamden K. Strunk
(he/him/his) is an Associate Professor of Educational Research at Auburn University. His research focuses on integrating critical theoretical frameworks in quantitative methods, as well as queer studies in education. His work primarily focuses on the interactions of racial, sexual, and gender identities in higher education.

Mario I. Suárez
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Professor of Cultural Studies in the School of Teacher Education and Leadership at Utah State University. His research draws from the fields of sociology, demography, and gender studies. He is interested in the intersection of race, gender, sexuality, and socioeconomic status, and how binary notions of gender permeate PK-12 STEM spaces and curricula.

tae min suh
is a queer and transgender diasporic Korean who currently lives on lenapehoking territory in NYC. They're interested in the convergence of Western and non-Western practices of health and healing; data for good practices; and storytelling through animation, writing, and other mediums. They hope to practice community-based health for low-income, immigrant, transgender/gender non-conforming, and other communities who traditionally face high barriers to care.

Kiara S. Summerville
(Ph.D.) is an Assistant Director in the Office of First Year Experience and Retention Initiatives at The University of Alabama. Dr. Summerville coordinates

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programs focused on community-building for first-year Black and Latinx students, women-identifying students, transfer students, and peer educators. Her research focus includes sense of belonging in Black college women, in addition to faith & moral development in undergraduate students, teaching & learning in college environments, and Black feminism in qualitative inquiry.

Dianna Tejada
is a Black, Queer, Non-binary, Latinx educator and doctoral student in Washington, D.C. studying the impact of the school-to-prison pipeline on LGBTQIA+ students of Color.

Meg Thomas
is a Ph.D. candidate in Multicultural and Equity Studies in Education in the Department of Teaching and Learning in the College of Education and Human Ecology at The Ohio State University. Her research focuses on language and identity of rural youth, particularly at the intersections of race, class, and geography. She has served on research teams regarding teacher autonomy under NCLB, writing instruction for English Language Learners, and LGBTQ youth in rural communities.

Ethan Trinh
(they/them) is a doctoral student at Georgia State University with a minor in Women's Studies. They are an activist, feminist, writer, and researcher. Ethan's work focuses on the intersectionality of gender, race, and language that embraces queerness as a healing teaching and research practice. Ethan's book, *Critical Storytelling: Multilingual Immigrants in the United States* with Luis Javier Pentón Herrera was published by Brill in 2021. Originally from Vietnam, Ethan enjoys creative writing and having Vietnamese iced coffee in their free time.

Robin Sudanan Turner
is a doctoral student at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign where she is pursuing a degree in French Linguistics with an emphasis in Romance Linguistics. Her research examines the relationship between gender and sexual identities, multilingualism, and community organization.

Eric J. Van Giessen
(he/him; they/them) is a doctoral student in Sociology at York University studying lived experiences of queer religiosity using arts-based research practices and community autoethnography. Their research interests include critical

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sexuality studies, lived religion, poetic inquiry, and the sociology of knowledge. In 2016, he completed an M.A. in Social Justice & Community Engagement at Wilfrid Laurier University and is the Founder and Editor-in-Chief of *Queerly Faithful Press*.

Brenda Anderson Wadley
(she/her) is a doctoral student in the Center for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Arizona. Her professional experiences include working in higher education case management and sexual violence response. Her research interests include looking at how gender, race, social class, and sexuality are mediated in discourses surrounding sexual violence on college campuses.

Travis L. Wagner
is a Ph.D. candidate in the School Information Science at the University of South Carolina. Wagner is also an instructor in USC's Women's and Gender Studies department. Their primary research interests include critical information studies, queer archives, and social advocacy in libraries. Their recent publications include articles in Reference Services Review and Open Information Science. They are also the co-creator of the Queer Cola Oral History and Digital Archive.

Jon M. Wargo
is an Assistant Professor of Teaching, Curriculum, and Society in the Lynch School of Education & Human Development at Boston College. An educational researcher who attends closely to qualitative methods, Wargo examines how digital media, arts, and technology mediate contemporary conceptions of children and youths' social and civic education. Leveraging children's and youths' ingenuity and difference as sites/sights for teacher learning, his teaching and research focus on understanding and sustaining the literacies and lifeworlds of minoritized communities amid the context of social change.

Jessica Weise
(she/her/they) is a doctoral student in the Administration of Higher Education program at Auburn University working as a graduate research assistant. She has an M.Ed. in Administration of Higher Education and a minor in Sport Management from Auburn University and a B.S. in Sociology from Northern Arizona University. Her research interests focus on student activism and queerly interrogating heteropatriarchal and white supremacist structures affecting campus climate within and beyond higher education.

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Steven H. White
(he/him/his) is Associate Professor, Elementary Education-Social Studies and Chair of the Department of Curriculum of Teaching at the University of Kansas. His primary research interests are geographic literacy, historical understanding, and instructional strategies. Dr. White is currently a reviewer for the *Journal of Social Studies Research*, *Middle Level Education*, and *Teaching and Teacher Education*.

Jesse Wiley
is a doctoral student in the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at Western University. Jesse completed their M.Ed. at Wilfrid Laurier University. Their current research is focused on Queer Service Centres in Canadian postsecondary institutions. Their work is informed by the intersections of critical race theory, feminist theory, and queer theory, as well as from their experiences as a public educator and community youth worker.

Josh D. Williams
is a doctoral candidate at The Ohio State University. In addition to teaching children's and young adult literature courses, his research centers on the overlap of young adult literature and queer theory, with particular focus on how queer YAL generates its own theoretical insights about the human condition in relation to queer teen lives.

Gloria Wong-Padoongpatt
is an Assistant Professor at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. She is a social psychologist, and her primary research program examines the immediate impact of microaggressions, also known as everyday discrimination. Gloria also researches ethnic and gender differences in addictions and substance use disorders. More recently, she uses both programs to investigate the burden of COVID-19 on marginalized people. Gloria also serves on the executive committee for the Asian American Psychological Association.

Michael Woodford
(he/him) is a Professor of Social Work at Wilfrid Laurier University. He is also the associate dean of the Ph.D. in Social Work Program. His research addresses the intersection of campus climate, mental health, and academic development among diverse LGBTQ2S+ university students. The study of LGBQ and trans microaggressions is central to his campus climate research. Currently, he is the principal investigator for Ontario-wide study, Thriving on Campus.

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Susan W. Woolley
is Associate Professor of Educational Studies and LGBTQ Studies and the Director of the LGBTQ Studies Program at Colgate University. Her research focuses on gender and sexuality in schools and the educational experiences of LGBTQ youth. Her recent book co-edited with Lee Airton, *Teaching about Gender Diversity: Teacher-Tested Lesson Plans for K-12 Classrooms*, was published by Canadian Scholars Press in 2020.

William Terrell Wright
(he/him/his) is a Ph.D. student at the University of Georgia in the Department of Language and Literacy Education. His research spans and entangles teacher education, critical media literacy, participatory action research, and educational technology. Prior to pursuing his Ph.D., he was a public high school English teacher in North Carolina.

Karen Zaino
is a doctoral student in Urban Education at the CUNY Graduate Center and a Teaching Fellow in the CUNY Queens College English Education program in the Secondary Education and Youth Services Department. Prior to graduate study, she was a high school English teacher for 12 years in Philadelphia, PA and Covington, KY.

Maverick Y. Zhang
is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Georgia, social activist, and former editorial board member at the *Journal of Language & Literacy Education*. Their research interests include (but are not limited to) social semiotics, post-qual informed discourse studies, embodiment, critical literacy pedagogies, qualitative inquiry, and systemic functional linguistics.

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